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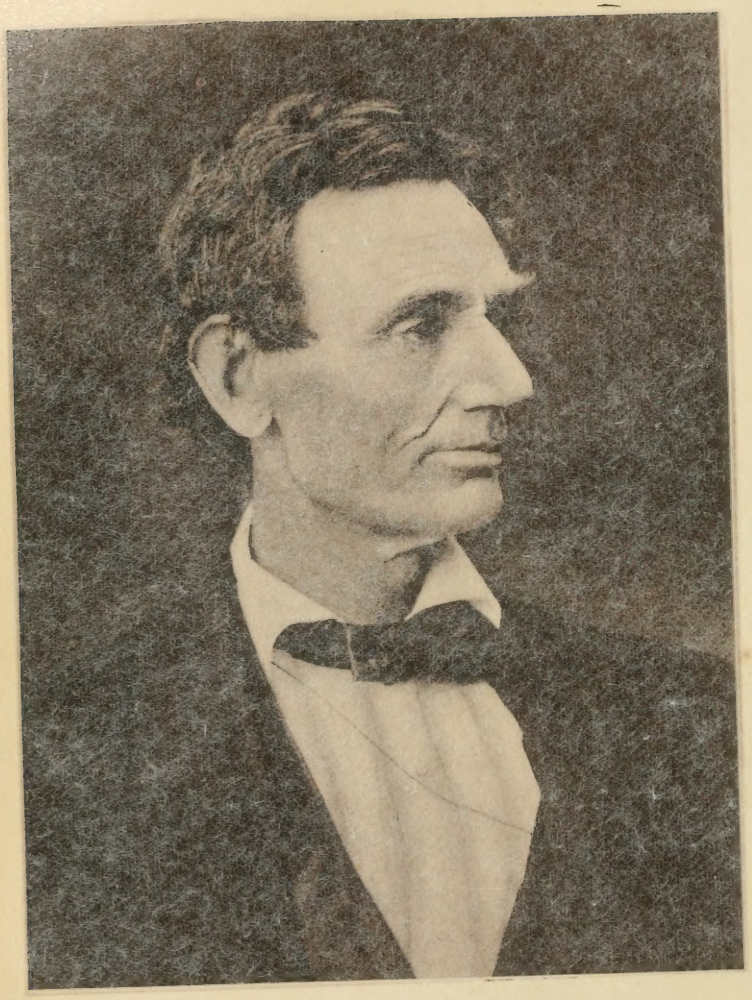
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ILLINOIS:

HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAI

VOL. I.



Abraham Lincoln

ILLINOIS,

HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL

COMPRISING THE ESSENTIAL FACTS
OF ITS
PLANTING AND GROWTH
AS A
PROVINCE, COUNTY, TERRITORY, AND STATE.

DERIVED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES, INCLUDING ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AND PAPERS. TOGETHER WITH CAREFULLY PREPARED STATISTICAL TABLES RELATING TO POPULATION, FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION, INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS, INTERNAL GROWTH, POLITICAL AND MILITARY EVENTS.

BY

JOHN MOSES,

EX-COUNTY JUDGE OF SCOTT COUNTY; PRIVATE SECRETARY OF GOV. YATES; MEMBER OF THE TWENTY-NINTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF ILLINOIS; SECRETARY OF THE BOARD OF RAILROAD AND WAREHOUSE COMMISSIONERS, 1880-3; SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN OF THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY; ETC., ETC.

ILLUSTRATED.

VOL. I.

CENTENNIAL ROOM

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PREFACE.

HISTORIES of Illinois, valuable and interesting, have already been written. It is not because the author underestimates these or would detract from their importance that he has undertaken the same task, but for the purpose of connecting what in some respects are merely fragmentary accounts, contained in dusty volumes, the greater portion of which have been long since out of print; of correcting or modifying many previous statements in the light of later information; and of presenting new facts and recent events in such accessible form and manner that they may be readily consulted and employed in every field of labor, professional as well as mercantile, official as well as manual.

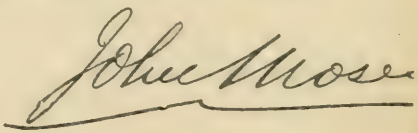
In its preparation every available source of information has been utilized. Public documents, official records, and manuscripts have been carefully examined, compared, and verified. The author has also very largely drawn upon his own knowledge of what such a work should contain, and how it should be arranged—a knowledge derived from half a century's residence in the State, and from a long and varied experience in the judicial, legislative, and administrative departments of public life.

The opinions expressed on public questions and men are his own, intended to be free from prejudice, as they certainly are uninfluenced by patronage or subsidies. Nor has he assumed to be the champion of any party, sect, or measure.

What was originally intended for one, has grown into two volumes, the second of which, now nearly completed, will bring the history down to the date of issue.

Among the many who have contributed information a rendered other valuable assistance in the preparation of t work, the author tenders his especial thanks to the followi persons: Oscar W. Collet, librarian of the Missouri Histori Society, St. Louis, Mo.; Prof. John H. Woods of Jacksonvi Ill.; and Walter B. Wines, LL.B., of Chicago.

In submitting his work—the result of many years of stu and research—to the judgment of his fellow-citizens, the autl is inspired with the hope that it may not be without influence in contributing toward the expansion, elevation, a onward march of the people and institutions of the mig State whose phenomenal progress has been a source of c gratulation and pardonable pride to all her citizens.



CHICAGO, April 1, 1889.

ILLINOIS, HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL.

INTRODUCTORY.

CHAPTER I.

Extent, Soil, Climate, and Productions.

ILLINOIS is the name given by the French to a confederate tribe of Indians and the country which they inhabited. It is derived from the Algonquin word *Inini*, which the French pronounced *Illini*. It signified "the men, perfect and accomplished," and, by way of sharp antithesis, implied that all other aborigines were "mere beasts."* The suffix *ois* is purely French, and denotes tribe. Hence the word Illinois may be translated as meaning "tribe of men." It was variously written by early French chroniclers: *Illinoics*, *Illinoues*, *Illimomouck*, *Illinewek*, *Illiniwek*, and *L-in-i-wek;* but its definition has always been the same.

The general form of the State is that of a truncated cone, extending from north to south. Its boundary line, however, is very irregular, following as it does from its northwest corner the windings of the Mississippi, which separates it from the states of Iowa and Missouri on the west, and which washes its entire western and southwestern border. From Cairo, the line follows the still more tortuous Ohio, which divides it from Kentucky, to the mouth of the Wabash. Thence ascending this river to the meridian of Vincennes, it follows a straight line, separating it from Indiana, to Lake Michigan, from which point it takes a turn east, along the northern line of Indiana, to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence north along the middle of that lake to north latitude forty-two degrees and thirty minutes; thence west along said line, which divides it from Wisconsin, to the middle of the Mississippi.†

* Marquette, Hennepin, *et al.*

† The boundaries of the State are officially defined by the Act of Congress of

As will be seen from the act of Congress, while the jurisdiction of the States separated by the Mississippi and Wabash is concurrent and extends to the middle of said rivers, that of Illinois, in regard to the Ohio River, is confined to its northwestern shore. The jurisdiction of Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin is also coördinate with their respective boundary lines to the middle of Lake Michigan.

Within the above-described boundaries there are 56,000 square miles, or 35,840,000 acres of land, and 650 square miles of water surface. Extending from thirty-seven degrees to forty-two degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, its extreme length is 385 miles; and its greatest breadth, lying between ten degrees and twenty-five minutes and fourteen degrees and thirty minutes west longitude from Washington, is 218 miles.

The State of Illinois is greater in extent than any of the original thirteen States, except Georgia. It is larger than either Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Wisconsin, or Iowa, and embraces a larger territory than all of the New-England States combined, exclusive of Maine. It has several counties, each of which contains nearly as many square miles as Rhode Island, while two of them, McLean and LaSalle, are larger than Delaware. It comprises a larger territory than England, or than Denmark and Portugal together, and has more square miles than Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland united.

There are no mountains in Illinois, and, with the exception of Louisiana and perhaps Delaware, it is the most level State in the Union. Cairo is but three hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea, and the county of Jo Daviess, where the State attains its greatest altitude, is barely eight hundred and twenty feet higher. From this elevation in the northern portion of the State there is a gradual descent to the valley of the Big-Muddy River in Jackson County, where there is a rapid rise

April 18, 1818, enabling the people thereof to form a state government, as follows:

"Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash River, thence up the same, and with the line of Indiana, to the northwestern corner of said State; thence east with the line of the same State to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence north along the middle of said lake to north latitude forty-two degrees and thirty minutes; thence west to the middle of the Mississippi River, and thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio River, and thence up this latter river along its northwestern shore to the beginning."

until a hilly, broken ridge is reached, which extends to the extreme eastern portion of the State.

The general surface of the country inclines to the southwest, in which direction slope the water-shed and interior drainage. There are no lakes* in Illinois, but the best maps show that it is watered by two hundred and eighty-eight streams, great and small;† and while many of the largest of them have been declared by law to be navigable, only the Illinois River has been of any practical use for that purpose.

The Illinois River is formed by the junction of the DesPlaines and Kankakee, which unite at a point near the boundary line dividing the counties of Will and Grundy. The head-waters of the former of these two streams are in Wisconsin, near Lake Geneva, and its general course is southerly. The Kankakee rises in Indiana and flows westerly to the point of confluence. The course of the Illinois is at first nearly due west to Bureau County, thence southwesterly in a diagonal line to a point in Scott County, thence south until, after having traversed the State for five hundred miles, it empties itself into the Mississippi at Grafton, forty miles above St. Louis.

Among the other principal streams in the State may be mentioned the following: Rock River, which rises in Wisconsin, flows southwesterly about three hundred miles, and joins the Mississippi just below the upper rapids, near Rock Island; the Kaskaskia, or Okaw as it has been sometimes called, rises near the eastern boundary of the State in Champaign County, and flowing also to the southwest, enters the Mississippi at Chester, six miles below the ancient village of Kaskaskia; the Sangamon, a branch of the Illinois, has its rise also in Champaign County; the Fox, Vermilion, and Spoon rivers are also tributaries of the Illinois, as is the Pecatonica of Rock River and the Iroquois of the Vermilion; while the Embarras and Little Wabash contribute their quota to swell the waters of the Wabash.

The general surface of the State rises from its bottom lands

* There are numbers of small bodies of water in the State, especially in Lake County, and on river bottoms, called lakes, that are not properly entitled to the name.

† Porter's "The West."

in wooded cliffs or bluffs from fifty to four hundred feet in height. From these extend its beautifully undulating and diversified treeless meadows, called, by the French, prairies. They first appear in Northwestern Ohio, and increasing in dimensions through Indiana, become so wide and extensive in Illinois as to give it the name of the Prairie State.

As seen by the first explorers, the forest covered the entire country around the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, but as these diverged from each other the prairie began to intervene. At first only an occasional savannah, as the English called them, appeared, but proceeding northward the timber gradually diminished and the prairies enlarged, until, arriving at the centre of the State, the continuous prairie from its eastern to its western boundary was only broken by narrow strips of timber on the Vermilion, the Sangamon, and Illinois rivers, and their tributaries. And from Washington County the pioneer could travel a distance of three hundred miles to the Wisconsin line without encountering so much as five miles of timber.*

The native prairies presented themselves to the early explorers and settlers as marvels of beauty and design, as inexplicable as they were enchanting. Their attractive features consisted not only in their rich carpet of verdure and flowers, but in their bewildering extent, their undulating surface, their mysterious paths, and their occasional groves, like islands in the sea.

In the spring, the first coat of grass, sprouting up from the charred remains of autumn fires, was mingled with the violet and other smaller flowers of the most minute and delicate texture, whose natural beauty no handiwork of man's cultivation could improve. As the stronger grass increased in size, these were succeeded by others of a larger growth and more gaudy appearance, displaying their brilliant colors in striking contrast to the green surface. It is impossible to conceive a more infinite diversity or a richer profusion of hues. In the summer, the wild prairie was covered with a long, coarse grass, which later assumed a golden hue, and in the rich, wet soil, fanned by the winds and kissed by the sun, grew to the height of eight

* Beckwith's "Vermilion County."

or nine feet, throwing out long, coarse leaves which reached above the head of the traveler on horseback.

The prairies of Illinois differ from those west of the Mississippi in this, that while the former possess a uniform fertility, the latter, as they ascend toward the Rocky Mountains, gradually become less fertile until a region of drouth and barrenness is reached, rendering them comparatively valueless.

Inviting as were the prairies for agricultural purposes, the first settlers were afraid of them—of their lack of shade and water, and of their pestiferous flies. And when, finding that they improved upon acquaintance, they ventured to locate upon them, they selected the highest situations, shunning the low, wet grounds which, in some portions of the State, have in late years most richly repaid the labor of the farmer.

An interesting inquiry respecting the origin of the prairies has engaged the attention and research of many learned writers. The theories advanced, all of them more or less speculative, need not be referred to here; suffice it to say, that whether due to the action of water or fire, or of both these elements—the one to form and the other to preserve them—they furnished to the hardy pioneer of the West the finest body of farm lands, ready-made as it were, upon which the sun ever shone.

Those large districts in the southern portion of the State which were densely covered with forest trees and heavy belts of timber, extending along the banks and filling the areas between the forks of rivers and creeks, when the white man first entered the territory, have been gradually yielding to the ax and plow. But so many groves have been planted, and so many orchards and hedges now cover the ground where formerly were only grass and weeds, that it has been claimed with great plausibility that the leaf surface of the State is larger now than ever before.*

The proportion of woodland to prairie in 1880 was estimated as follows: in the twenty-three northern counties, seven per cent; in the district extending from the Illinois River below Ottawa to the Mississippi, twenty-one counties, fifteen per cent; in the Grand-Prairie district, east of this last, seventeen counties in the eastern-central portion of the State, six per cent; in the

* Gov. Reynolds, W. C. Flagg, etc.

Centralia district south of this, between the Wabash River and the Illinois-Central Railroad, seventeen counties, twenty-four per cent, in the Kaskaskia district, thirteen counties, twenty-one per cent; and in the eleven remaining counties, the grand chain district, twenty-seven per cent.*

While among the states of which Illinois is the centre, in the Mississippi Valley, the soil contains many elements common to all, yet certain distinctive peculiarities belong to each. While some of the adjoining states possess a greater proportion of prairie and others of timber, there is no other country of the same extent on the face of the globe which can boast of a soil so uniformly distributed over so large a territory, and so universally productive as that of Illinois.

The subsoil over a large portion of the State is usually a yellow clay, but in some of the northern counties it is gravel, and occasionally in the Grand-Prairie region it is of blue clay. The river-bluffs are more or less covered with a silicious deposit called loess, of uniform character and sometimes of great thickness. The surface soil is mainly formed of deposits of drift from more northern latitudes, varying from ten to two hundred feet in depth, overlaid with rich black loam from ten to fifty inches thick. It is the product of finely comminuted limestones, sandstones, and shales, mingled with organic, vegetable, and animal mould left by the dead herds and unknown harvests of countless centuries.† In the north it is coarser and more open; in the south, finer and cleaner, which renders the plants in this soil less liable to damage from extreme dry cold or dry heat. Hence the greater certainty of winter-wheat as a crop in southern Illinois.

Beside this general variation, there are important local differences. The soil of the river bottoms is alluvial, and is practically inexhaustible. Some tracts of land on the American Bottom, which stretches from Alton to Kaskaskia, have been in cultivation for over a century without perceptible deterioration. The river-bluffs composing the loess formation, as at Alton, Quincy, Warsaw, and other points, are specially adapted to fruit-culture and the production of a fine quality of vegetables.

* Illinois Horticultural and U.-S. Special Census Reports.

† Porter's "The West."

Resulting from the peculiarities of soil, the midland counties of Morgan, Sangamon, Menard, Macon, Tazewell, etc., have proved best suited of the upland regions for corn-culture; while Madison, St. Clair, Monroe, Randolph, etc., lead in winter-wheat. In the Grand Prairie there is a wide tract of country lying at the source of a radiation of rivers, and apparently only lately left uncovered by water, in which there is found a peaty character in the fertile soil. The flat prairies in the counties of Clinton, Marion, Washington, etc., develop another condition of the soil. Still farther south, in the hills of the grand chain, appears another variety on which is found the tulip tree, the beech, and other forest growths, unknown elsewhere in the State. Here are grown some of the finest varieties of fruit which the State produces. Everywhere, also, the prairie differs from the forest soil in the same locality. The former is usually darker, more crude, and coarser than the latter. But these differences, more or less, disappear with improved cultivation and drainage.*

But the lands of Illinois possess a twofold and sometimes a threefold value—not only for the unexcelled productions of the surface, but for what is found a few feet below it. The first-recorded evidence of the discovery of coal in the United States is that of Father Hennepin, near Ottawa, in Illinois, made in the exploring expedition of LaSalle in 1679. It is now estimated that of the 195,407 square miles of coal area in the United States, Illinois has 36,800, embracing two-thirds of the entire State. The coal measures may be divided into six principal seams of workable coal, ranging from two and three feet in thickness to seven feet, which are found at a depth varying from a few feet to eight hundred. The most valuable mines for commercial purposes now being worked are those in the vicinity of Belleville, Springfield, Braidwood, LaSalle, Peoria, and in Jackson County.

Just above, as well as beneath, these seams of coal are found, in many localities, thick beds of superior fire-clay, the manufactures from which, together with those from potters-clay, which is found in nearly every county, are yearly increasing in value and importance. In Pope and Hardin counties is found

* Prof. Worthen, W. C. Flagg, in Agricultural Reports.

the Kaolin clay, from which is manufactured the finest kind of porcelain.

In various portions of the State there are also valuable quarries of limestone, both of the upper and lower Silurian formation. The most extensive of these, called the Niagara limestone, are at Joliet, from which was furnished the material for the construction of the State capitol at Springfield, the hospital for the insane at Kankakee, and some of the finest structures in Chicago. The same formation is found also at Grafton, where was quarried the stone for building the St. Louis bridge. Nauvoo furnishes the Keokuk limestone, from which the custom-house at Galena and the post-office at Springfield were constructed. Sagetown, in Henderson County, furnishes the Burlington limestone, from which the court-house at Monmouth was built. In Adams County, the same variety occurs, and is used not only for buildings but also for culverts, and for the manufacture of a fine quality of lime. The Alton beds, called the St. Louis limestone, are used for building, but more extensively in lime-making. At Chester, are found not only lime, but a superior quality of sandstone, from which the penitentiary is built. The Galena limestone, found in the northwestern portion of the State, is also used for both buildings and lime. In Alexander County there is found the Trenton limestone, equivalent to the Cape Giradeau marble.

A heavy bed of sandstone is extensively worked near Rosa Clare, on the Ohio River; and in the same vicinity there is an outcrop of the celebrated Bedford limestone. In Scott and other river counties, are also found the Burlington, Keokuk, and St. Louis groups; and in the former and Hancock counties, a sandstone is found which dresses beautifully and makes a fine-appearing and durable building. At Ottawa is found the St. Peter's sandstone, which is used there for glass; the same formation appearing at Cape au Gris, from which the Alton glass-works obtain their supplies; and also on Rock River at Grand de Tour. A quarry of magnesian limestone is found at Utica, in LaSalle County, which is extensively used in the manufacture of hydraulic cement.

Beds of peat are also found in northern Illinois, the most extensive of which are in Whiteside County, where they are

from twenty to thirty feet thick. Veins of lead are confined to Jo Daviess County in the northern and Pope and Hardin counties in the southern portions of the State. In connection with lead-ore is worked also fluor-spar, which is ground and used in fluxing refractory ores. Iron, which is only found in the southern portion of the State, does not appear in regular beds, and has not as yet been much worked.

The State of Illinois extends, as before stated, from 42° 30′ north latitude a little over five and one-half degrees south, and from 10° 25′ west longitude from Washington four degrees and five minutes west. The northern portion of the State is in the same latitude as Massachusetts and Connecticut; the middle, as that of the lower half of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and northern half of Maryland; the southern as that of Virginia.

But the climate of a country does not altogether depend upon its relative distance from the equator or from Washington. It is modified by its height above and distance from the sea, by the nature of its surface, the proportion of humidity, its proximity to lakes and mountains, its distance from arid or frozen plains and atmospheric and oceanic currents.* Thus the Gulf Stream, extending into the waters which wash Western Europe, causes a higher temperature there than in the same latitude in any other quarter of the globe. The mean temperature of Western Europe at 40° north latitude is 65.50° F, while in North America it is 54.11°. These differences are manifested when places having the same mean temperature are connected by what Humboldt denominates isothermal lines. The mean temperature of London, which lies at 51° 31′ north latitude, is 50.30°, while that of Philadelphia, which is at 39° 56′, is 52.10°. Continents and large islands are warmer on their western than on their eastern sides, so that as we advance from the Atlantic slope to the interior the summers become warmer and the winters colder.† The extremes of heat and cold on the seaboard become still more apparent on the prairies of the West, thus showing the effect of the earth's radiation over vast surfaces remote from the sea and deprived of forest belts.‡

* "Encyclopedia of Geography," by Hugh Murray. Amer. ed., Vol. I.

† Humboldt.

‡ Foster's "Mississippi Valley," page 181.

While Illinois, with other states in the great basin of the Mississippi Valley, has the Rocky Mountains on the west and the Appalachian range on the east, no great barrier is presented to arrest the hot, southerly winds of summer or the cold, northerly blasts of winter. Not only is the climate of Illinois modified by its distance from the sea and mountains, but it is also materially influenced by the trade-winds which blow from the Gulf of Mexico between May and October, to which may be, perhaps, mainly attributed the sub-tropical character of the summers in the southern and middle portions of the State; while the unhindered winds from the bleak Northwest, accompanied by an extraordinary depression of temperature, produce our almost Arctic winters.

The annexed table* of mean annual temperatures, made up from a series of observations, which agree with reports to the State Department of Agriculture, shows that the general average for the entire State is 50.65°, or 48° in the northern half of the State and 56° in the southern. That of New York is 48°; Pennsylvania, 54°; Ohio, 53°; Indiana and Kansas, 51°; Missouri, 55°; and Iowa, 49°.

	Lat.	Alt. feet.	Spring.	Summer.	Autumn.	Winter.	Mean.
Chicago,	41.45	600	43.55	66.76	48.32	24.78	45.85
Peoria,	40.43	512	50.63	74.45	52.94	27.40	51.36
Springfield,	39.48	550	48.37	74.02	48.94	27.62	49.74
Manchester,	39.31	683	51.16	73.90	53.34	28.86	51.82
Highland,	38.44	620	56.55	77.69	56.60	34.13	56.24

From a paper prepared by Prof. Cyrus Thomas, State entomologist, the following facts in regard to the rainfall in the State are obtained: "For the period extending from 1840 to 1877, inclusive, the average annual rainfall was 38.30 inches. Divided into sections of seven years, the several averages were found to be as follows: 1842 to 1848, 41.37 inches; 1849 to 1855, 39.12 inches; 1856 to 1862, 36.04 inches; 1863 to 1869, 37.26 inches; 1870 to 1877, 35.82 inches." From which statement and table it appears that while there has been a decrease of rainfall, there has also been a small increase in temperature.†

* "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge." By A. C. Schott.

† Foster's "Physical Geography of the Mississippi Valley," p. 191.

Springfield, the capital of the State, is on the same parallel of latitude as Philadelphia in the new, and Lisbon in the old, world. It lies south of Madrid, Venice, Constantinople, and Rome. It is six hundred miles south of Paris and eight hundred miles nearer the equator than London; and while the mean temperature of the State is about the same as that of England, its summers are those of Italy and the south of France, while its winters are like those of Sweden or Northern Germany. But happily the winters, kept back by the long, delightful autumns and cut short by the early approach of warm weather, are not of long duration.

While the mean temperature, from observations covering many years, is found to vary but little—the greatest difference being only 3.58° in 1843—the particular seasons are variable. A cold winter is often succeeded by an early spring, and two cold, snowy winters rarely succeed each other; while an unusually wet spring is generally followed by a dry fall.

The winter of 1830–1, which has become famous in the climatic history of the State, particularly in Central Illinois, where it constitutes an epoch in the memory of the early settlers, has long been known as the "winter of the deep snow." The storm began in the latter part of November, and the snow continued to fall, with but brief intermissions, until January. Then there came a cold rain which froze as it fell, forming a crust of ice; and then again came the snow; and after that a continuous blast of cold winds from the north, lasting over two weeks. Although there was only an average fall of from three to four feet on the level, in some places, where it had drifted, the banks were seven feet in depth, covering fences and filling up lanes. Add to this unprecedented snowfall the very low temperature, with the Borean tempest from the north, and the fact that the people generally who then inhabited the State had never experienced anything of the kind, and were wholly unprepared for it, and it is not difficult to believe the stories of the suffering and destitution which its prolonged visitation entailed.

Nearly all kinds of game were destroyed, especially deer, which were unable to run in the snow and fell an easy prey to the hunter and his dogs. The corn not gathered and the wheat from the buried stack had to be dug out of the snow for food;

and roads cut through the drift to the distant mills. Stock perished for want of sustenance. But as no one then lived very far from timber, fire-wood was close at hand, though hauled with great difficulty; and the old-fashioned fireplace was never without its cheerful blaze until the snow began to disappear, early in March. In the towns, after the roads were made, the people enjoyed the splendid sleighing which lasted nearly three months.

While the average temperature in winter is 29.26°, cold "snaps" are of frequent occurrence. On February 15, 1876, the thermometer fell at Beardstown to 26° below zero, and on January 28, 1873, it fell to 40° below throughout the central and northern portions of the State. With the snow in some places sixteen inches deep, this was the coldest day ever known in Illinois.

On the other hand, periods of extreme heat have been experienced, rivalling that of the torrid zone. One of the most marked of these was the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th days of July, 1887, when the thermometer registered above 100° nearly all over the State, and on the last-named day 103° at Springfield, 104° at Galesburg, and 100° at the signal-service station in Chicago, being the hottest day of record in that city.

Not more remarkable is the climate of Illinois on account of its variableness, than for the extremes of heat and cold to which it is subject, the most memorable of which occurred in the central and northern parts of the State, December 20, 1836. Several inches of snow had fallen on that day, and it was warm enough for rain to fall in the forenoon, which melted the snow into slush and water. At about two o'clock in the afternoon it began to grow dark, from a heavy, black cloud which was seen in the northwest. Almost instantly the strong wind, traveling at the rate of seventy miles an hour, accompanied by a deep, bellowing sound, with its icy blast, swept over the land, and everything was frozen hard. The water of the little ponds in the roads froze in waves, sharp edged and pointed, as the gale had blown it. The chickens, pigs, and other small animals were frozen in their tracks. Wagon wheels, ceasing to roll, froze to the ground. Men, going to their barns or fields a short distance from their houses, in slush and water, returned a few

minutes later walking on the ice.* Those caught out on horseback were frozen to their saddles, and had to be lifted off and carried to the fire to be thawed apart. Two young men were frozen to death near Rushville. One of them was found sitting with his back against a tree, with his horse's bridle over his arm and his horse frozen in front of him. The other was partly in a kneeling position, with a tinder-box in one hand and a flint in the other, with both eyes open, as if intent on trying to strike a light. Many other casualties were reported. As to the exact temperature, however, no instrument has left any record; but the ice was frozen in the streams, as variously reported, from six inches to a foot in thickness in a few hours.

Such sudden, violent, and extreme changes, such abrupt rising and falling of the mercury, however, are so exceptional as to be remarkable. It is to this extreme range of climate, nevertheless, during the growing season, that we are indebted for our superiority in the cultivation of many trees, plants, and fruits, the most useful to man; of corn in its native soil, and of those indispensable cereals, wheat, rye, and oats, which, indigenous to the dry plains of Central Asia, find on the prairies of Illinois a soil and climate partaking of the same nature, yet on which they attain a higher degree of perfection as regards growth and yield.

While the climate of Illinois—although far from being ideal—presents many features commonly supposed to be characteristic of climes better favored geographically, the level surface of the State has, from an early period, rendered it peculiarly liable to the visitation of those violent storms, whose anger may be traced to disturbing influences of either an atmospheric or electric nature, which have marked their relentless pathway with death and desolation. To the citizen who is unwilling to admit the inferiority of Illinois in any particular, it may be a source of gratification to know that the record of the State in this respect is second to none, with the possible exception of Iowa.

The first destructive hurricane of which there is any historical mention is that which occurred on June 5, 1805. The storm moved from the southwest toward the northeast, crossing the

* Judge Blodgett and S. Woods of Morgan County.

Mississippi just below the Merrimac River. It swept across the American Bottom, cutting a swath about three-quarters of a mile in width, demolishing houses, tearing up trees, and destroying cattle, stock, and everything movable in its tempestuous pathway. It swept the water out of the lakes, scattering the fish therein far out upon the prairies. It carried in its wrathful embrace, the tops of pine trees from Missouri, fifty miles away. No lives were lost, but several persons were severely wounded by flying rails and timbers.*

Among the most extensive of these tornadoes of late years the following are noteworthy: That which crossed the Mississippi at East St. Louis, March 8, 1871, and continued in a northeasterly direction, with great violence, as far as Sangamon County. A very destructive storm coming from the southwest swept over Mt. Carmel, at 3.20 p.m., on June 4, 1877. Its path was about two hundred feet wide. Seventeen persons were killed and over one hundred wounded and maimed. Nearly one hundred houses were totally wrecked, including the court-house,—the loss of property being estimated at a quarter of a million of dollars.

But what in many respects was the most terrible of these dread visitants was that which occurred May 18, 1883. This storm had its rise in the vicinity of Springfield, Missouri, and extended nearly to Chicago. In its whirling, ruthless course it touched the earth at forty different points, and at each contact its descent was marked by the destruction of property and loss of life. But it was not until it reached Morgan County in this State, toward which it manifested a special animosity, that its uncurbed powers were fully displayed. Striking Greasy Prairie, south of Jacksonville, about six o'clock p.m., it literally wiped out everything that stood in its way, and then, proceeding on its course, came down again at Round Prairie, in Sangamon County, marking its contact with the earth there by equal violence and devastation. At both of these places many lives were lost. The storm-fiend here casting a backward glance over its pathway, as if not satisfied with its work of ruin and desolation, gathered back on its course and again broke out with increased fury about five miles northwest of

* Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," 2d Ed., p. 347.

Jacksonville, having for its objective point the inoffensive village of Literberry.

The day was unusually warm for the season, and a high southwesterly wind had prevailed from early morning, reaching its greatest velocity about four p.m., when there was a slight fall of rain, accompanied by thunder and lightning. The ominous, funnel-shaped cloud was first descried about eight o'clock in the evening. It projected far below the clouds which accompanied it, and was in a state of violent agitation, its rotary movement being plainly discernible. Its lower extremity rose and fell and swayed from side to side in irregular alternations; its motion was frightfully rapid, and it was soon lost to sight as it pursued its northeastern course. At first its work of devastation was confined to fences and fields, but as its track became wider it gathered strength and fury. The first occupied house which it encountered was a two-story frame dwelling, which it lifted from its foundation and deposited some distance to the northwest, leaving two other buildings, one on either side, within a short distance of each other, entirely undisturbed. The width of its swath at this time was about ten rods. Subsequently its path was widened, and the circular motion, characteristic of cyclones, was more pronounced as was evidenced by the rending of trees and fences and the hurling of the fragments in opposite directions.

As the cloud, now balloon shaped, approached the fated village, its madness and rage increased. A roaring, likened by a veteran soldier to the booming of artillery, and a hissing sound, as of escaping steam, accompanied the black monster, while its upper portion was illuminated with continuous flashes of lightning, and balls and sparks of fire. Large hailstones fell from it, together with portions of the debris which it had gathered in its destructive folds. Houses, fences, implements, trees, and entire orchards crumbled at its touch, and were scattered and thrown in every conceivable direction. A building would be torn to pieces and thrown to the north, while its contents would go to the south. Trees were pulled up by the roots, and some of them, two feet thick, twisted off a few feet from the ground; growing wheat was leveled to the ground in some fields as close as if cut by a reaper, and in others the stalks

were bent to the ground, flattened, and covered by a thick deposit of mud, evenly spread out; corn-cribs were blown away out of sight, while their contents were left unhoused in heaps. Twenty-two houses, fourteen of them in Literberry, occupied by sixty-four adults and forty-four children, stood directly in the tornado's path, all of which were shattered, and their contents scattered to the four winds. Ten persons were killed and twenty-four injured in various degrees.

The freaks of this storm were more numerous and astonishing than those of any other heretofore known. The feathered occupants of the barn-yard were rudely lifted from their perches and, after being carried for a brief space in the cloud, were dropped upon the ground as bare of feathers as though they had been picked and singed by the housewife for the next day's dinner. Freight-cars standing upon the railroad tracks were raised high from the ground and their boxes carried six hundred feet away, while their wheels and trucks were strewn broadcast over the fields in the opposite direction. A solid, pine plank, one inch thick and six inches wide, was literally driven into the trunk of a wild-cherry tree, and there firmly imbedded. A family was imprisoned in a storm-cave by the sills of their house having been blown across its door. The top of another cave, to which the family had fled for protection, was destroyed by the house being blown across it. A corner-post of a shed in Literberry was picked up eight miles distant in Cass County. A house was lifted from its foundation and carried twenty-two feet, the L part being broken off; a coal-oil lamp, which was left lighted when the family fled from the house, was found on their return where it was left, and burning as if nothing had happened. A two-story house and small barn stood on opposite sides of a ravine about two hundred feet apart; the barn was first struck and hurled some rods to the northeast, where it was broken to pieces. The dwelling was carried twenty feet to the south, and after plowing up the earth to the depth of two feet, landed on one corner and shared the same fate—material and contents being scattered around. When the terrified inmates of the house came together soon after, it was found that, excepting a scalp wound which one had received, no one was seriously

injured. But, to the horror of all, the baby was missing. The speedy search which followed was soon rewarded by finding the missing member peacefully sleeping in the feather-bed upon which it had been laid to rest early in the evening, which had been carried into the spreading, sheltering arms of an uprooted tree, now serving as a cradle, five hundred feet away. This storm extended with more or less violence into Cass and Menard counties, where great damage was also inflicted.*

The native flora of the State is as numerous as its soil is prolific and its climate varied, from the deciduous cypress and cane of the South to the juniper and tamarack of the North. Six species are found peculiar to the northern part of the State, sixteen to the southern, and sixty-one common to the whole;† in all eighty-three varieties, as against thirty-four in Europe. The oak family is represented by twelve varieties, the hickory by six, the ash by five, the maple by three, and the walnut by two. In addition to these there are the tulip, cucumber, beech, birch, sassafras, catalpa, elm, poplar, hackberry, cottonwood, sycamore, pecan, cypress, and redbud. Of wild fruit-trees, the State produces the plum, cherry, mulberry, crab and thorn apple, haw, pawpaw, and persimmon; besides the grape-vine in endless variety and profusion.

Fruit-growing is made a specialty in some sections, tobacco and hops in others; and it being generally too hot for wheat south of Illinois, and too cold for corn north of it, these two great cereals here find their native home and highest culture.

When the country was first discovered, not only the richness of its flora rendered it an expanse of beauty to the eye, but the abundance and variety of its fauna made it still more attractive to the hunter. Here roamed almost unchecked and in countless numbers, the buffalo, the oebuck, hind, stag, and different kinds of fallow deer, the bear, panther wildcat, and wolf. The rivers were covered with swans, geese, ducks, and teals. "One can scarcely travel without finding a prodigious multitude of turkeys, who keep together in flocks often to the

* Condensed from an account written for the Department of Signal-Service Weather Bureau, after a personal inspection of the locality the next day, by Dr. G. V. Black of Jacksonville, Ill.

† "Congressional Report of Forestry," 503.

number of ten hundred."* And for trapping, there were the beaver, otter, and mink.

From these great flocks and herds, roaming at will over the prairies, Col. Geo. Croghan says: "At any time, in half an hour, we could kill all we wanted." But although there are yet left the squirrel, rabbit, raccoon, opossum, and pigeon, inviting the sportsman to wood and field, the great flocks of geese and ducks which formerly nested within the State now pass over it; and the prairie-chicken, whose wild fields have been taken from him, has flown to others farther west. A few wolves and foxes are still left to prey upon the farmers' sheep and fowl, but the buffalo, with his beaten track through the prairies and groves, the elk and the bear, have long since disappeared with the red man, himself a superior kind of game, before the all-conquering invasion and greed of the white man.

The impressions which the country made upon those who beheld it for the first time were uniformly favorable, and their reports of its appearance and resources were expressed in terms of highest praise. Father Marquette said: "We had seen nothing like this for the fertility of the land, its prairies, woods, and wild cattle." Father Zenobe Membre: "The Illinois River is edged with hills, covered with trees of all kinds, whence you discern beautiful prairies. The soil is good, capable of producing all that can be desired for man's subsistence. The whole country is charming in its aspect." Father Marest: "We must acknowledge that the country is very beautiful. There are great rivers which water it, vast and dense forests, delightful prairies, and hills covered with thick woods." Col. Croghan, in 1765, among the first of Englishmen to visit it: "The country appears like an ocean. The ground is exceedingly rich, well watered, and full of all kinds of game." Col. George Rogers Clark: "On the river you'll find the finest lands the sun ever shone on. In the high country you will find a variety of poor and rich lands, with large meadows extending beyond the reach of your eyes, variegated with groves of trees, appearing like islands in the seas, covered with buffaloes and other game." And Thomas Hutchins, the first surveyor-general of the United States, then called "the geographer," whose testimony is the

* Father Gabriel Marest.

most valuable of all on account of his experience and ability, says: "The Illinois country is in general of a superior soil to any other part of North America that I have seen." Volney (C. F.), in 1796, says: "It will doubtless prove hereafter the Flanders of America, and bear away the prize equally for pasture and tillage."

There is no "earthly paradise," nor any country, however attractive, on which the sun shines in regard to which there is left nothing to wish for. Man has never yet discovered a Utopia, and the physical conformation of Illinois leaves much to be desired in respect of both comfort and æsthetic gratification. The lofty mountain-ranges, with their chain of silver lakes, are wanting; the mineral wealth which nature has locked in the rock-bound caverns of the hills is not hers. The sun of midsummer, which sometimes scorches the very roots of the nodding grass upon her prairies, drives many of her people to seek relief from the sweltering heat in latitudes farther north; while the fierce western winds of winter, which sweep unchecked across her level surface, force others to seek a refuge in more genial southern climes. But while the State loses the uniformity of climate, the picturesque appearance, and the mineral wealth which she might have possessed had her broad bosom been more broken, she can better afford to be deprived of these than surrender her proud preëminence as the first agricultural State in the Union.*

* In writing the foregoing chapter, the author has had occasion to examine and refer to the following works: Foster's "Mississippi Valley"; Worthen's "Geology of Illinois"; the works of James Hall; H. W. Beckwith's "Vermilion County"; R. B. Porter's "The West"; Reynolds' "Illinois"; "A View of the Soil and Climate of the U. S. of America," by C. F. Volney; State Reports on Agriculture and Horticulture; U.-S. Report on Forestry; Encyclopedia of Geography; Eames' "History of Morgan County"; Findlay's "Western Territory"; "Illinois Monthly Magazine"; Laws of Congress; etc.

CENTENNIAL ROOM

Champaign Public Library
Champaign, Illinois

CHAPTER II.

Aborigines—Origin, Location, and Habits.

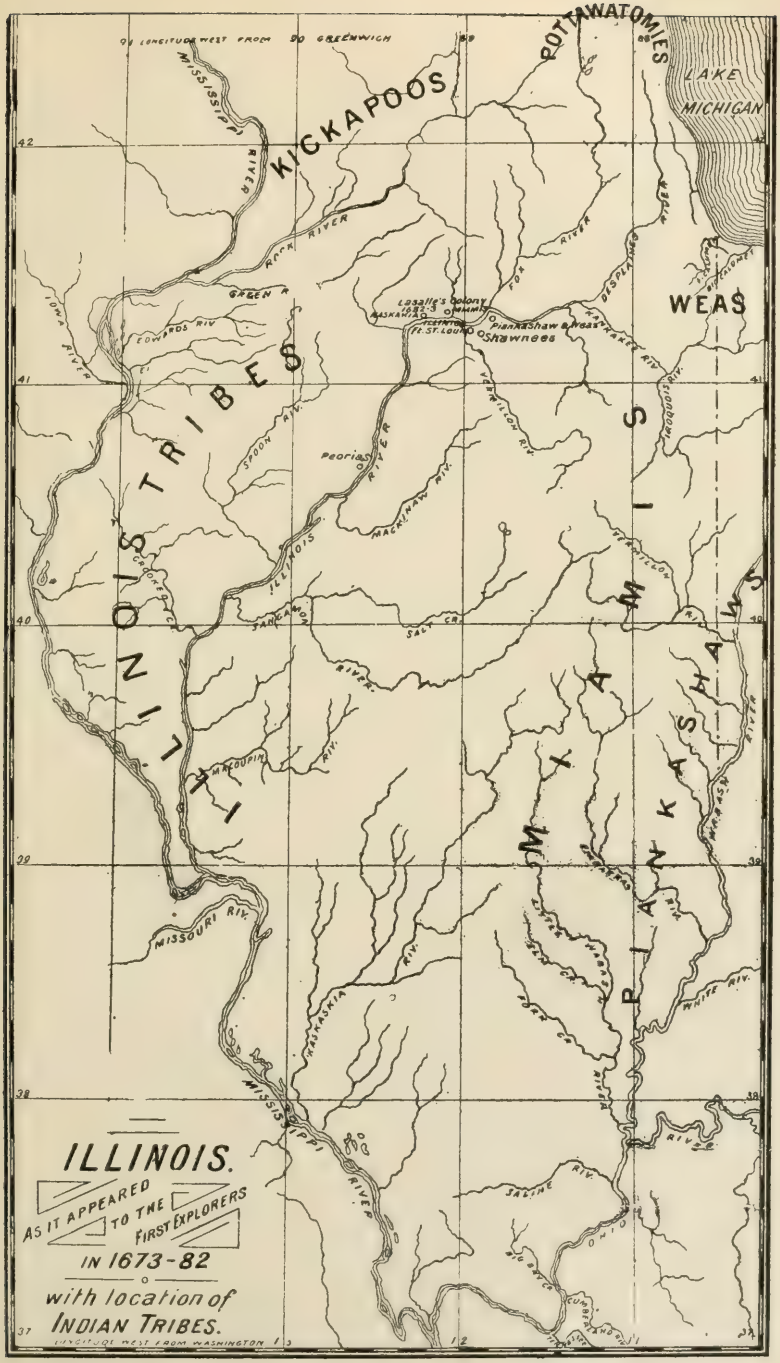
HOW the inhabitants found upon the American continent by the first white explorers came to receive the misnomer of Indians, in consequence of the mistaken belief of Columbus that in the West-India Islands he had found the eastern shores of India, is too well known to call for repetition here.

Of the origin and previous history of the red men, scarcely anything is known. The nature and extent of their former civilization is left to extremely vague tradition and conjecture. That there had been a people more advanced than those found here by Europeans, the mounds erected by them and the stone and copper weapons and utensils showing their handiwork, afford us the only, but not very satisfactory, evidence. Whence they came, whither they went, and at what periods, no one can tell.

Their successors found in this country on the arrival of the white man, with the one exception of the Shawnees, who claimed a foreign extraction—asserted that they were natives, and that they came up out of the earth. But their traditions all pointed to the fact that they came from the West, while their white conquerors came from the East. They were divided into different tribes, who, wandering over hills and valleys, had apportioned these among themselves by indefinite boundaries, which were held by an uncertain possession and title.

They have been classified into five groups, according to language and dialects, as follows: the Algonquins, inhabiting the country from Nova Scotia to the mouth of the James River, thence west to the mouth of the Ohio, thence northward to Hudson Bay; the Iroquois, south and east of Lake Ontario, within the above territory; the Appalachians, south of the Algonquins and east of the Mississippi, the Dakotas, or Sioux, west of the Mississippi and north of the Missouri and Platte rivers; and the Shoshones, south and west of the Dakotas.

Their numbers in 1639 were estimated at about one hundred


LAKE MICHIGAN
POTTAWATOMIES
KICKAPOOS
WEAS
ILLINOIS TRIBES
MIAMIS
KASHAWS
PIANKASHAWS
Shawnees
Pianka Shaw & Weas
Peorias
Illinois River
Mississippi River
Missouri Riv.
Rock River
Green R.
Iowa River
Illinois
Kaskaskia
Wabash
White Riv.
Saline
Ohio
ILLINOIS.
AS IT APPEARED TO THE FIRST EXPLORERS
IN 1673-82
with location of INDIAN TRIBES.

and ninety thousand, as follows: Algonquins, ninety thousand; Iroquois, comprehending the Hurons and the Five Nations, twenty thousand; Cherokees, twelve thousand; Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Muskhogees, sixty-three thousand; Natchez, four thousand; beside the Shoshones and Dakotas.* In the divisions and subdivisions of tribes at this time there were included two hundred and fifty-two different names.

These red men of the new world, wherever situated, in rocky New England, in Southern forests, or on the prairies of the West, were essentially the same, and altogether savage. Their government was tribal and each chief a petty despot; their religion was a superstition—a blind worship of some undefined Great Spirit; they were without learning or any knowledge of the world around them; they possessed no definite ideas of property or of human rights; they knew nothing of architecture, of mechanics, or of manufactures. They lived in cabins and were clothed in skins; their implements and arms were of the rudest sort, made from stone and wood and the bones of the buffalo; they were ruthless and revengeful, narrow-minded and brutal, dissolute, lazy, selfish, gluttonous, polygamous, and lustful; they had no enjoyments except the chase and dance, no music but the rudest sounds, giving forth no melody. Their relaxations were those of the indolent; "their great business in life was to procure food and devour it, to subdue their enemies and scalp them." †

Not the stoics they have been represented to be, but rather epicures, who preferred to enjoy themselves at the expense of duty, avoiding all hardship and peril. Hence their feeble, capricious, and ineffective military operations. Yet they were not without great leaders, men of quick perceptions and resolute will, possessing remarkable powers of oratory, and capable of acts of daring courage and heroic fortitude; while in not a few instances, these untrained, unreasoning children of nature, knowing no guide but instinct, displayed a fidelity to treaty obligations which might well put to shame the civilized, Christianized Caucasian.

Their mode of living was as follows: in the spring the tribe

* Bancroft's "United States," III., p. 253.

† McKinney's "Indian Tribes."

assembled at its village or favorite camping-ground, and there remained until the time came for hunting. Here crops were raised—the women and old men doing the work—skins were dressed, and preparations made for hunting and trapping in the fall, when the tribe, separating into different bands, departed from their villages to occupy their winter-quarters.

They were unacquainted with the use of iron or copper, and had formed but the crudest notions of trade. If left to themselves, they would doubtless have continued as they were found, ignorant, savage, and untamable. Three hundred years of opportunity, afforded by contact with the white race, have left them unbenefited and unimproved by the connection. By adopting the vices of the white man they have become enfeebled, and by learning the use of firearms they have been the better enabled to carry out their savage propensities. It is only when the blood of the white race has been infused into the veins of the red, and in that proportion, that the civilization of the former has been understood, appreciated, or adopted by the latter.

During the period of the early explorations of the West, from 1673 to 1720, that portion of it called "the country of the Illinois" was found to be inhabited by seven different tribes of Indians, namely: the Illinois, Miamis, Kickapoos—including the Mascoutins, Pottawatomies, Sacs and Foxes, Winnebagoes, and Shawnees. These all belonged to the Algonquin family, except the Winnebagoes who were classed with the Dakotas.

The names by which different tribes were known and designated were not generally of their own selection, but such as were bestowed upon them by some other tribe, or by the French, to denote some supposed peculiarity. Thus the principal tribe, denominated the Illinois, called themselves L-in-ni-wek. This collective name, as applied to a nation or confederacy, included five separate tribes, called the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Tamaroas, Peorias, and Mitchigamies—the latter, from whom Lake Michigan was named and near whose borders they for a time encamped, having been adopted from the Quapaws living west of the Mississippi.

The Illinois had their possessions along the river of that name, beginning on the Desplaines and Kankakee, and claimed the country adjacent thereto and on the west of these streams

to and even beyond the Mississippi, and as far south as its confluence with the Ohio. Their favorite and principal locations, however, were in the central and northern portions of what afterward became the State, where they had seventeen villages. The largest of these, their metropolis, was situated on the Illinois River in LaSalle County, one mile south of the celebrated rock subsequently fortified as Fort St. Louis, and adjoining the present town of Utica. This village was called La Vantum, and, according to Father Membre, in 1680 contained a population of seven or eight thousand, not including the Kaskaskias. The chief village of the Peorias was on the lake of that name, while that of the Tamaroas and Cahokias was below the mouth of the Illinois River and nearly opposite St. Louis.

The character generally given to the Illinois Indians by the French missionaries does not differ from that of other tribes, and shows that they were not entitled to the distinction of superiority which their name implied. While they were "tall of stature, strong and robust, the swiftest runners in the world, and good archers, proud, yet affable," they were "idle, revengeful, jealous, cunning, dissolute, and thievish." * They lived on Indian corn, beans, and other vegetables, including fourteen kinds of roots, fruits and nuts, and fish and game.

It is not surprising that a country so beautiful and productive, and so full of the finest game, as that inhabited by the Illinois Indians should be coveted by the surrounding tribes. The Dakotas (Sioux) had made hostile incursions upon it from the west, the Sacs and Foxes from the north, and also the Kickapoos and Pottawatomies from the northeast. Its fame, indeed, had spread to the farther east, where the warlike Iroquois, having heard of this splendid hunting-ground, determined to dispossess its occupants and hold it for themselves. They had made frequent raids upon it prior to 1673, in most of which they had been successful, claiming, indeed, to have conquered the country.

In one of these warlike expeditions, however, through the heroism of an Indian woman, they had to acknowledge a defeat. They had attacked an Illinois village on the banks of a river,

* Father Membre.

and had succeeded in driving out the inhabitants with great carnage. A young, courageous, and patriotic woman of the tribe, called Watch-e-kee—the orthography of which has been changed to Watseka—having ascertained that their enemies were then exulting over their victory and rioting on the spoils secured in the village, urged her countrymen to take advantage of the situation and attack them in return. But the warriors, smarting under the sense of recent humiliation, refused to respond to her urgent call. She pointed to the darkness of the night, and the almost certain chances of a successful surprise. The "braves" still refusing, she called for volunteers from among the squaws, urging upon them that death in battle was preferable to torture and captivity, which might be their fate on the morrow. The women came forward in great numbers and offered to follow their brave leader. Seeing the determined courage of their wives and daughters, the men became ashamed of their cowardice, and, inspired with a valor they had not lately exhibited, rushed to arms. A plan of attack was speedily arranged, and the Iroquois, being taken unawares, in turn suffered an overwhelming defeat. The stream near which this engagement took place was called the Iroquois, as has been the county through which it flows, while to the county-seat of the latter has been given the name of the heroic Indian girl who compassed the overthrow of her enemies.

When the French came to the Illinois country they were received not only without opposition, but with decided manifestations of friendliness. With their superior arms and equipments of war, the Illinois had the sagacity to see that they might prove most valuable allies and defenders. They welcomed their priests and listened apparently with great favor to the scheme of religion presented by them with so much zeal and fervor; and the friendship thus begun was never afterward interrupted. The two peoples, so different in birth and civilization, had yet so many characteristics in common that their mutual attachment was not unnatural. They hunted and traded together, fought together, and eventually many of them intermarried and lived together. It was an alliance which, although at first beneficial to the French, in the end proved fatal to both parties.

Having heard that the Illinois were again assembled in large numbers at their village of La Vantum, and of the presence among them of some Frenchmen, who might divert the valuable trade in furs from their British and Dutch allies to the French, the Iroquois, in September, 1680, with six hundred picked warriors, made an attack upon them, killing twelve hundred and driving the rest beyond the Mississippi, with a loss of only thirty men. Further particulars of this foray will be given hereafter.

The French having established themselves at the Rock, which they had fortified and garrisoned, the Illinois, under their favor and protection, again occupied their villages in that vicinity, with other tribes invited by LaSalle. On March 20, 1684, the Iroquois again came in great force and laid siege to this fort for seven days, but were finally repulsed and compelled to retreat with great loss. This was their last invasion of the Illinois country, and from this time until 1702, when the post of Fort St. Louis was disbanded as a military establishment, the Illinois remained at peace with their neighbors, and were prospered in their hunting and trading with their new-found friends.

About the year 1700, the Kaskaskias, learning that the French were establishing a military post and colony near the mouth of the Mississippi, as Father Gravier remarks, decided to remove thither prematurely. That a portion of the tribe had already commenced the emigration is probable, as appears from the journal of M. Penicaut.* He describes the Kaskaskias as having "already departed and established themselves within two leagues of this river [meaning the Kaskaskia] in the interior." Father Gravier deplored this step, and through personal influence induced the ultimate modification of the plan; and those of the tribe who, at the time of his arrival, still remained in their old hunting-grounds were induced by him to join their brethren in the southern portion of the Illinois country, where they continued to reside.

The remaining Illinois at Peoria and Fort St. Louis were attacked by the Foxes in 1722, but the latter were defeated and driven off with a loss of over one hundred and twenty men.

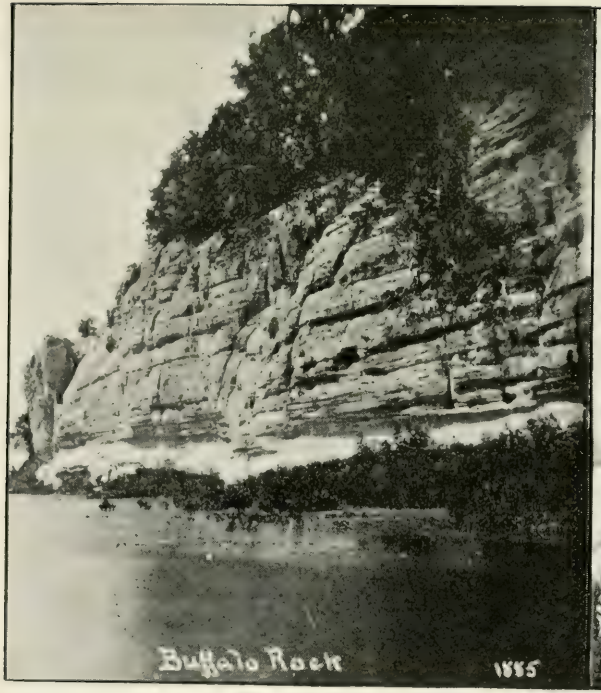
* "Journal of Leseur's Expedition to Falls of St. Anthony in 1700."

After this, however, their situation was so exposed and they were so subject to "constant alarm" that they decided, says Charlevoix, to unite with their brethren who had settled upon the Mississippi. How many of them thus changed their location can not be stated, but it seems certain that a portion, together with some confederate bands, continued at times to occupy their old villages.

The French at this period found their dusky dependants not only useful in their settlements and beneficial to their trade, but also valuable allies, rendering important services in their wars. The chief Chicagou, who had been sent by them to France in 1725, where he received the attentions due to a foreign prince, was afterward honored with a command in their expedition against the Cherokees. In 1736, the number and location of warriors in that portion of the confederacy which had been incorporated under the French government in 1718, was as follows: Mitchigamies, near Fort Chartres, two hundred and fifty; Kaskaskias, six leagues below, one hundred; Peorias, fifty; Cahokias and Tamaroas, two hundred; making a total of six hundred. They took part in the French and Indian war of 1755, but are not mentioned in any of the accounts extant of the war of Pontiac, in 1763.

From this period their decline into a subordinate position among other tribes, and their inability to defend themselves, rendered them an easy prey to their fellow savages. They were hemmed in by relentless foes on all sides. On the southeast were the Shawnees, who, in a bloody engagement with the Tamaroas, nearly exterminated that tribe; to the northeast were the Kickapoos and Pottawatomies, against whose attacks they were able to oppose but a feeble resistance.

In 1769, having been charged with the assassination of Pontiac, some tribes with whom that great chief was connected attacked them from the north. Fugitive bands of the Illinois, fleeing from these warriors, sought to defend themselves in their ancient village of LaVantum, which they rudely fortified. Here a sanguinary engagement took place which lasted two days. Seeing that they were likely to be overcome, during a stormy night they sought refuge on the projecting bluff near by which had been the site of Fort St. Louis. Here


Buffalo Rock
1855


Starved
Rock
1874

they were again assaulted and besieged for twelve days. When at length their provisions were exhausted and they were unable to obtain water, hunger and thirst accomplished what their relentless foes had been powerless to effect. Determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, those who were able made a last desperate sortie, but fell easy victims to their watchful enemies below, who, gaining access to the top of the cliff, satiated their vengeance in true savage fashion by the unsparing use of the tomahawk upon their now defenceless foes who had been too feeble to join in the last desperate encounter. Only one, a half-breed, escaped to tell the tale. Their tragic fate and whitening bones, which were to be seen for years afterward upon its summit, gave to this noted location the name of the Starved Rock, which it has ever since borne.* Such, at least, is the traditional account handed down from Indian sources.

Following their history to a later period, in 1773, the number of Kaskaskias in their village is estimated by the geographer, Thomas Hutchins, at two hundred and ten and of Peorias and Mitchigamies at two hundred and forty warriors. Col. George Rogers Clark, in his report of the conferences he had with the various tribes of Indians at Cahokia in 1778, especially mentions the Illinois, Kaskaskias, Peorias, and Cahokias as having been present, with whom and other tribes he concluded treaties.

The French villages in the Illinois country having been in possession of the British at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the first predilections of the neighboring Indians were to ally themselves with the cause of Great Britain. But when they came to understand the true situation, as explained by Col. Clark, and learned that their ancient allies, the French, had sent ships of war and armies to aid the Americans—"the long knives," as they called them—in their struggle for inde-

* N. Matson, in his "Pioneers of Illinois," says that the Indians whose fate is here narrated constituted "the remnants of the different bands of the Illinois—in fact all that was left of them," and concludes his romantic account by stating that "thus perished the large tribe of Illinois Indians which, with the exception of a solitary warrior, became extinct." A statement in which Judge J. D. Caton, in his "Last of the Illinois," concurs, although the latter fixes the number who escaped at eleven. Neither of these statements are at all consistent with other well-known and established facts mentioned in the text.

pendence, they were easily persuaded to cease their hostility and transfer their friendship to the Americans.* But later they joined the Miami confederacy, and, the Kaskaskias certainly, were recognized at the making of the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, as having participated in the war, the issues of which that treaty adjusted; and were in that document placed on the same footing, as to payments for lands ceded by them, as the Kickapoos, Piankashaws, and Weas.

Coming down to the year 1800, Gov. Reynolds remarks, in his "Pioneer History," that at that time the entire Illinois confederacy numbered about one hundred and fifty. Their chief, DuCoign or DuQuoin, "a cunning man of considerable talents," had formerly paid a visit to President Washington, and, as a token of his favor, wore a medal received from him. It was in this year that, according to an historical sketch by the Rev. J. M. Peck, they encountered their hereditary enemies, the Kickapoos, Sacs and Foxes, and Pottawatomies, for the last time at Battle Creek, about twenty-five miles from Kaskaskia, where the Illinois were overwhelmingly defeated.

By the treaty of 1803, which recites the fact of their waning condition, in consideration of the increase of their annuity from $500, under the treaty of Greenville, to $1000, of $300 toward building a church, and the annual payment of $100 to a Catholic priest for seven years, they ceded all their lands, excepting a reservation of seven hundred acres, to the United States, and were thenceforward taken under the protection of the government.†

By this time drunkenness had completed their deterioration, physical as well as moral, and, from a race of hardy, valiant warriors, they had degenerated into a mere handful of idle, worthless hangers-on about the frontier settlements. Having disposed of their possessions in Illinois, the remnant of the tribe finally removed to their reservation in the Indian Terri-

* Their numbers, as reported by Capt. G. Imlay in his description of the West in 1791, were as follows: Kaskaskias, two hundred and fifty; Cahokias, two hundred and sixty; and Peorias, four hundred.

† All these facts are in conflict with the statement attributed to Gen. Harrison, made undoubtedly upon erroneous information, that the Illinois confederacy was reduced to thirty persons in 1800.

tory, where they are now, under the name of Peorias, and numbered, in 1885, one hundred and forty-nine. They are reported, by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to be "for the most part an active, well-to-do race of farmers, who live in comfortable frame-houses." Evidently they now possess but few traits of the original native—the blood has been changed.

The Miamis, having had tribal relations with the Illinois, from whom they separated prior to 1673, were called by the Iroquois and early colonists Twigh-twees. They were divided into four principal tribes, known as the Miamis proper, the Eel Rivers, the Weas, and the Piankashaws. Having, as is alleged, emigrated from west of the Mississippi, through Wisconsin, about 1672 they were found around the southern bend of Lake Michigan. In 1684, they had villages near the Starved Rock, and numbered there two thousand warriors. Later, the Weas had a village near Chicago, but left it in 1718, and, passing around the head of Lake Michigan, settled farther east near other kindred bands. The Piankashaws remained in Illinois and subsequently fixed their villages on the Vermilion and Wabash rivers, their territory extending westward to the watershed between the latter and the Illinois.

The superiority in numbers and bravery of the Miamis, and their enterprise in procuring fire-arms, enabled them to maintain their tribal independence much longer than many other confederacies. They were opposed to the French, British, and Americans by turns, and retarded the early settlement of the country by the bold and sagacious defence of their possessions. Gen. Harrison said of them that they composed the finest body of light troops in the world. They were classed with the Shawnees and Delawares as superior to other tribes in moral and intellectual qualities.

The labors of the missionaries among them were not successful. They became the enemies of the French in 1694, because of their furnishing arms to the Sacs and Foxes, and, excepting the Piankashaw division, were never afterward on good terms with them. This band, however, having their headquarters in the vicinity of Vincennes, had formed a closer intimacy with the French, even to the extent of intermarriage. On account of their friendly relations, Col. Clark easily succeeded in trans-

ferring their allegiance from the British to the Americans, and this feeling of amity was continued during the Indian wars against the whites subsequent to the Revolution, although they often innocently suffered from avenging blows, which should have fallen upon others. And, in answer to their appeal, President Washington issued his proclamation especially forbidding attacks upon them by the whites.*

The Piankashaws ceded their lands in Illinois by treaties in 1805 and 1809, and removed first to Kansas and subsequently to the Indian Territory, where they have since remained.

The Pottawatomies, formerly a subdivision of the Chippewas and Ottawas, are first mentioned in history as dwelling beyond the river St. Lawrence, and to the north of Lake Huron. In 1670, they were established at Green Bay. Their next migration was toward the south. A portion of the tribe located in Northern Michigan, another division settled in Northern Ohio, while still a third section established themselves in that part of Illinois lying north of the Kankakee and Illinois rivers and west of the territory of the Winnebagoes and Sacs and Foxes. The name signifies "we are making a fire," hence they were called by other tribes "fire-makers."

They were described as being "tall, fierce, and haughty—a warlike people, fond of hunting and fishing." They early became attached to the French, and continued on friendly relations with them in all their efforts to colonize the Northwest, during all of which period, including the French and Indian war, they were hostile to the British. They were among the most active supporters of Pontiac in his great conspiracy, and although, in the beginning of the Revolution, they joined in the border wars against the Americans, those of them in Illinois yielded to the persuasions of Col. Clark to lay down their arms. They were, however, prominent members of the Miami-Shawnee confederacy, and became parties to the treaty of Greenville. While they did not look with favor on the attempt of the Americans to settle the country, they were not so demonstrative in their hostility as some other tribes. On account of their habit of frequently roaming from one belt of timber to another, and never remaining long at one place, they were called "squatters."

* Beckwith's "Illinois and Indiana Indians."

In 1763, of the nineteen hundred and thirty warriors of the Algonquin confederacy who met Sir Wm. Johnson at Niagara, to form a treaty of peace, four hundred and fifty were Pottawatomies. This would seem to indicate that they were at this time the first in numbers, if not the most powerful, of western tribes. However this may be, as will hereafter appear, they were always "the first to be present at a treaty where lands were to be ceded, and claimed the lion's share." They united with Tecumseh, and were won over to the British cause in the war of 1812.

The Kickapoos and Mascoutins, nominally the same, were found by Father Allouez, in 1670, near the mouth of Fox River in Wisconsin. They subsequently worked their way, in opposition to the Piankashaws and Illinois, southward to the river of the latter name, thence south of the Kankakee, and still later, fighting their way, to the Vermilion, Sangamon, and Mackinaw rivers, where they remained for over a hundred years. Their villages were on the Vermilion, the Embarras, the headwaters of the Okaw, and on Sugar Creek; and their principal village at Old Mackinaw, in McLean County. They were called Prairie Indians, and although comparatively few in numbers, they were extremely fierce and strongly disposed to war. They were tall, sinewy, and active; industrious and cleanly in their habits, remarks Gov. Reynolds, and were better armed and clothed than other Indians. They were inferior to the Miamis, Delawares, and Shawnees in the management of large bodies of men, but excelled all other tribes in predatory warfare. Small parties of from five to twenty, with unequaled celerity, would swoop down upon an unprotected settlement a hundred miles distant, and, capturing the women and children, would burn the cabins, kill the cattle, and make off with the the horses, before an alarm could be given.

The French were unable to influence, much less to tame, them. Superior to surrounding tribes in energy and intelligence, they were the persistent and uncompromising enemies of the whites in the very centre of the Illinois country. The early settlers on, and adjacent to, the American Bottom were for years kept in continual alarm by their midnight attacks and menacing presence. With the close of the war of 1812, to the

great relief of the pioneers, the Kickapoos ceased their hostilities. But when they finally ceded their lands, a portion of them manifested their continued dislike to the whites by refusing to settle within the limits of the United States, preferring to go to Texas. Some of them went to Mexico, while others removed first to Kansas and then to the Indian Territory, where they now reside. In 1875, the quasi-civilized portion numbered three hundred and eighty-five, and the wild Mexican band four hundred and twenty.

The Sacs or Osaukies, and Foxes, called by the French Outagamies, were two allied tribes, whose principal village was near Green Bay, where they were found in 1666, to the number of four hundred warriors. Their names were familiar as household words to the inhabitants of Illinois during the century of their menacing contiguity. Father Allouez, who first discovered them, says: "They were very much disparaged, and reputed by other natives as penurious, avaricious, thievish, and quarrelsome." Or, as Judge Hall describes them at a later period: "They were always the restless and discontented Ishmaelites of the lakes, their hand against every man and every man's hand against them." He further speaks of them, however, as "remarkable for the symmetry of their form and fine personal appearance. Few tribes resemble them in this particular; still fewer equal their intrepidity. They are physically and morally the most striking of their race. Their history abounds in tales of daring adventures and romantic incidents."

Of all the Algonquin tribes with whom the French came in contact, they alone—with their kindred, the Kickapoos—proved not only deaf to the blandishments of flattery, but unalterably obdurate to all overtures of friendship, and, indeed, utterly implacable. Except on one occasion, when a few of them joined the French in their attack upon forts George and Henry, they continued to be their irreconcilable enemies, encroaching upon their territory, dispersing their forces, and attacking their allies whenever the opportunity offered.

After numerous successful forays into the country of the Illinois, which the French at that time claimed to own, the Sacs and Foxes finally, about the year 1718, established themselves permanently on Rock River. Continuing their attacks upon the

Illinois, in conjunction with the Kickapoos, a few years later they drove them as a body south from their ancient villages. Being engaged at the time in a war with the Iowas, whom they conquered and incorporated with themselves, they took no part in the contest which ended with the treaty of Greenville. But in the war of 1812, a large portion of them, under the leadership of Black-Hawk, engaged on the side of the British. Their history thereafter will be taken up in its order.

The Winnebagoes, calling themselves "fish eaters," were of the Dakota stock. They came from the West, and for many years were engaged in war with the Illinois for the possession of the northern part of their country; but were unsuccessful, the latter claiming to have driven them back, in 1640, to the head of Green Bay, where they located and were first encountered by the French missionaries in 1647. They had the reputation of being good-natured, manly, and uncouth; they distinguished themselves for bravery in the battles with Gov. St. Clair and Gen. Wayne, and in the later wars against the whites they bore themselves with remarkable valor, being specially mentioned by Gen. Harrison in his report of the battle of Tippecanoe. They ranged themselves on the side of the British in the war of 1812.

Their territorial limits in Illinois, which had long been a subject of dispute, were settled by the Prairie-du-Chien treaty of 1825, as follows: "Southeasterly by Rock River, from its source near the Winnebago Lake [in Central Wisconsin] to the Winnebago village about forty miles above its mouth," near the mouth of the Pecatonica, in Jo Daviess County. Further mention of them will be made hereafter.

The Shawnees came from Florida and Georgia, but did not obtain a footing in Illinois until about 1750, when they located in the vicinity of that ancient town on the Ohio River which was named after them. They were a bold, roving, adventurous nation, whose leadership by Tecumseh and his brother—the Prophet, a few years later, marks a striking period in the annals of the West. They remained in Illinois only a few years, when they joined the remainder of the tribe on the Scioto River.

Between the policy of the European nations in their treatment of the American aborigines and that pursued by the United States, there exists a wide difference. The former

boldly claimed the ownership of the country with accompanying right of sovereignty. They occupied and used what land they saw fit, and paid therefor what they pleased, by way of gratuity. Of all the Europeans, there can be no doubt that the French were most successful in checking the nomadic, predatory disposition of the Indians, and establishing with them at least quasi-friendly relations. On the other hand, the Americans, under the policy marked out by the first administration under the Constitution, proceeded upon the theory of conceding the possessionary right of the natives to the public domain, of which they could be deprived only by treaty and purchase. But the red man soon perceived that he was regarded as an interloper, an inharmonious and distasteful presence which must be got rid of at any cost.

To meet the wishes, if not the imperative requirements, of the white settlers, treaties were negotiated with the Indians, whereby the latter formally ceded territory desired by the whites in consideration of money and habitations provided elsewhere. That such changes of location were not in accordance with the wishes of these "children of the forest" is indisputable. But they submitted, more or less reluctantly, to the inevitable, and a paternal government was instituted over them, by which schools were provided and other means taken to hasten their civilization. Whether this course was best for the welfare of the Indian, can not now with certainty be determined; but that it was for the interest of his white supplanter, there can be no doubt.

It must be admitted that hitherto the Nation's enforced guardianship of its two hundred and seventy thousand red men, and their attempted civilization, have not been successful. Verbose treaties have been solemnly executed with these savages, with formalities similar to those observed in entering into compacts with foreign nations, and yet these same tribes have parted with every attribute of national sovereignty. The government has loudly and repeatedly declared its intention of teaching them self-reliance, and at the same time persists in treating them as though they were children. To give them wagon-loads of toys and trinkets can not supply the place of moral example. As Judge James Hall says, "the march of mind will never penetrate into our forests by the beat of the

drum, nor civilization be transmitted in bales of scarlet cloth and glass beads."

The sums annually expended in maintaining a policy so indefensible are vast in amount. If such expenditure resulted in the moral or material advancement of those for whom it is appropriated, no voice would be raised in opposition. But so far from the disbursement resulting in the elevation of the red men, it tends to sink them lower in the depths of degradation. The governmental machinery for the outlay and distribution of these sums is complex and cumbersome, and its administration has in not a few instances given rise to grave national scandals.

The asperities of the Indian character can not be softened, nor his morals improved, by pampering his indolence and fostering his egotism. We hold these dependants "in pupilage." Neither common-sense nor reflection approves of the conduct of the parent who supports his son in idleness, while his discipline is of the most capricious character; who encourages the indulgence of his vicious propensities without instructing him how to secure an honest livelihood; or attempting to instil into his mind, by both precept and example, the duty of industry and the principles of sound morality.

But while these grave objections may be urged against the policy of our government in its dealings with the Indian question, the "Nation's wards," notwithstanding the opportunities offered them, have shown very little willingness for or capability of self-government; and in view of the fact that after half a century's experience and intercourse with civilization, the unmixed red man yet cherishes what would seem to be an ineradicable preference for the wild woods to cultivated fields, the migratory wigwam to the permanent home, and the skins of animals and blankets to the garments of civilization, the question still arises whether he possesses either the physical or intellectual organization which might enable him to reach any higher place in the scale of being than that of his aboriginal condition.*

* The following authorities have been consulted in writing the foregoing chapter: McKinney's "Indian Tribes"; Schoolcraft; Reynolds; Brown, Peck, and Beck's "Western Gazetteers"; Beckwith's "Illinois and Indiana Indians"; French's "Louisiana"; "Annals of the West"; American State Papers; Thomas Hutchins' "Topographical Descriptions"; Bancroft's "United States"; Hall's "Ill. Monthly Magazine."

Period I.—Under the French, 1682-1781.

CHAPTER III.

Early Explorations and Discoveries, 1673-1700.

THE discovery of America marked a new era in the world's progress. Colonies composed of the hardy and adventurous of the old world were transferred to and established in the new. Unaccustomed channels of trade opened up the way for an ever-expanding commerce; while the poor and oppressed found a home and a refuge where man could work and think for himself. Not only the struggle for wealth, but for empire also, was transferred from the well-contested fields of the eastern to the virgin forests and untrodden prairies of the western continent.

The Spaniards planted their colonies amid the ruins of the decayed civilization of the Aztecs, and among the orange groves of Florida, where, in 1565, they founded St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States. The French sought the less genial, though less enervating, banks of the St. Lawrence; while the British, with a keener eye to prospective commercial advantages, confined themselves at first to the broken outlines of the Atlantic coast.

While that mighty artery of commerce, the Mississippi River, which drains one-seventh of the continent of North America, and passes through or forms the boundary of ten states of the American Union, was first seen and explored below the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude by Hernando de Soto, in 1541, Illinois owes its first settlement by white men, over a century later, to the adventurous courage of French explorers, a brief outline of whose tireless and rugged perseverance is essential to a thorough comprehension of its early history.

Jacques Cartier, the sturdy sailor of Breton, was the pioneer French discoverer in America. He was the first to sail up the river St. Lawrence and gave to that stream its name. He reached the site of the future city of Montreal in 1535. Al-

though other explorers soon followed, it was not until July 3, 1608, that a permanent European settlement was made upon Canadian soil, at Quebec, where a French colony was planted by that most illustrious of French mariners, Samuel de Champlain. To him may be ascribed the honor of the discovery of lakes Huron and Ontario, as well as the beautiful sheet of water which bears his name. To his efforts was also due the establishment of new settlements and posts along the St. Lawrence River and around the chain of great lakes to the West. Reaching out beyond these inland seas, the mighty rivers and boundless prairies of the West were also added to the conquests of his master and patron, Louis XIV., "the grand monarch."

Among those who followed Champlain, and whose names have been honored as the most enterprising and successful of the early French inland explorers on account of the importance of their discoveries relating to Illinois, the following are deserving of especial mention:

1. Jean Nicolet. He came from Cherbourg in 1618, having previously sailed under Champlain. He lived with the Algonquin Indians many years, and, having learned their language, was much esteemed as an interpreter. To him belongs the honor of discovering Lake Michigan, then generally called the "Lac des Illinois," on July 4, 1634. He also visited the Chippewas at Green Bay, the Menominees and the Winnebagoes at the lake of the latter name, where a large number of these natives gathered to see and hear him. He made a favorable impression, and was invited to a feast at which one hundred and twenty beavers were served. From this point he journeyed six days to the home of the Mascoutins on Fox River. Having heard of a large tribe of Indians called the Illinois, he proceeded southward to visit them, and had friendly interviews with them in some of their northern villages. After his return to Quebec, he was continued in the office of commissary and interpreter, in which position he gave great satisfaction, until his death by drowning, in October, 1642. He unlocked the doors to the Far West, and opened up the way for the fur-trader, the *voyageur*, and the missionary.*

On the meagre accounts from which the history of those early

* C. W. Butterfield's "Jean Nicolet."

days is made up, many of them based upon mere hearsay, and upon vague and conflicting statements, in which Indian names with French pronunciations are often calculated to mislead as to localities, it is hardly possible to predicate positive statements of fact without provoking controversy. Still it may be asserted with tolerable certainty that Nicolet was the first white man to tread the soil of Wisconsin and Illinois.

2. In 1658–9, Pierre Esprit Radisson, a noted traveler and trader, on his third voyage reached, it is claimed, the upper Mississippi. He made careful notes, from which he prepared full accounts of his explorations from 1652 to 1684, which have lately been published.* Although a native of France, he was a subject alternately of either France or Great Britain, as facilities for explorations were afforded by the respective countries. He was accompanied in his voyages by his brother-in-law, Médard Chouart, known also as Sieur des Groseilliers. They originated the forming of a settlement at Hudson Bay, out of which grew the celebrated company of that name.

In consequence of the favorable reports of these explorers, an expedition was sent out from Montreal in August, 1660, to trade with the newly-found natives west of Lake Superior. Among those who accompanied this party were Father René Ménard and his servant, Jean Guerin. Having wintered at Keweenaw Bay, on the southern shore of the lake, in June, 1661, they resumed their journey to find the Hurons. Being soon after forsaken by their guides, they lost their way, and became separated from each other. Ménard was either killed or died from exposure. Perrot states that in the course of these wanderings "the father followed the Ottawas to the lake of the Illinois [Michigan], and in their flight westward as far as the upper part of Black River." If this statement be true, Ménard and Guerin† saw the Mississippi twelve years before Joliet and Marquette.

3. Nicholas Perrot. The results of the labors of this explorer are not only important in themselves, but because of the intelligent and interesting account of them which he committed to writing; and which, although it remained in man-

* "Radisson's Voyages." By the Prince Society, Boston, 1885.

† "Winsor's America," Vol. IV., p. 171.

uscript until 1864, was frequently referred to and proved to be a valuable contribution to the literature of that period. His explorations from the year 1670 to 1690 extended to the valley of the Fox River and around the great lakes.

On June 14, 1671, the first conference was held between the natives and the French at Sault Ste. Marie, under the direction of the Sieur St. Lusson. It was a notable gathering, and there were present, by invitation, representatives from seventeen different tribes, from the head-waters of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the lakes, and as far south as Red River. The object of the council was to arrange what by courtesy was called a treaty, by which the French government was to take possession of the country. Fifteen Frenchmen were present, including Fathers Allouez, Druilletes, and Dablon, and also Joliet, Moreau called La Taupine, and Perrot who acted as the principal guide and interpreter of the occasion. The arms of France were marked upon a cedar post, a cross was raised, and the ceremonies concluded by St. Lusson making the formal announcement that he did then and there take possession of lakes Huron and Superior, and all the countries contiguous and adjacent thereto and "southward to the sea," which had been or might thereafter be discovered, in the name of the King of France.

It was during this period that the bold and expansive policy of King Louis and his able minister, Jean Baptiste Colbert, was placed in striking contrast with the dilatory course of England's licentious king, Charles the Second. While France was animating the colonists in America to extraordinary exertions in extending its empire, England's sovereign was content to use the subsidies of France to minister to his own selfish enjoyments. Perrot discovered the first lead-mines in the West. In 1685 he was placed in command of the Green-Bay country; and in 1688 added the upper Mississippi, the rivers St. Croix and St. Pierre, and adjacent regions to the dominions of the French crown.

4. Louis Joliet, the next in order of date, although among the foremost in order of meritorious service, was the only one of these early explorers who was, with the possible exception of Perrot, born on American soil, having first seen the light at

Quebec in 1645. He was the son of a wagon-maker. His parents placed his education in care of the Jesuits, under whose tutelage he passed four years. The young novitiate discovered that he had no vocation to the priesthood. His adventurous spirit could not longer endure the restraints of academic shades. To him the hunter's garb was more attractive than the cassock of the ecclesiastic, and the canoe more congenial than the cloister. He therefore bade farewell to the seminary, and entered upon a life better adapted to his active temperament.

He entered upon his new career in 1669, when he was despatched by the intendant to explore the copper-mines of Lake Superior. From this expedition he returned by Lake Erie, and was probably the first white navigator who sailed upon its waters. Having justly earned the reputation of a successful *voyageur*, and "as a man of great experience in these sort of discoveries," by this and other expeditions, he was selected by "Jean Talon, Intendant of Justice, Police, and Finance of Canada"—an office of which the latter was the first incumbent, to command an expedition having for its object the discovery of the Mississippi. The appointment was confirmed by the governor, Frontenac, from whom he received instructions. These were, "to discover the south sea by the Mascoutins' country and the great river Mississippi." It was not then known that the river of which they had heard from the Indians was the same as that which had already been discovered by de Soto and others, and whose course had been traced upon Spanish maps over a hundred years before that time. It was supposed that it emptied into the Gulf of California or the "South Sea," the great highway to China and Japan.

Joliet left Quebec in the fall of 1672, and arrived at Mackinac, December 8th. Here he remained during the winter and spring, gathering information and making preparations for the continuance of his journey. At the missionary station of St. Ignace —the location of which it is difficult to determine, having been variously described as being on the north shore of the Straits of Mackinac, at Old Mackinaw, and on the Island of Mackinac*— he met Father Jacques Marquette, the missionary in charge.

Among other arrangements made, and perhaps the most im-

* Shea, H. H. Hurlbut, and others.

portant, was the securing of the services of this missionary to accompany him. Marquette had no official connection with the expedition, his name not appearing either in the commission by which it was constituted nor in the governor's report of its results. He was simply Joliet's priestly *compagnon du voyage*, for which position he was well qualified by reason of his frontier experience, his devotion to his calling, and his acquaintance with Indian dialects, six of which he was able to speak. He had long desired to make such a trip, and gladly availed himself of the opportunity which Joliet's invitation afforded.

The account of this celebrated expedition, prepared by its leader, together with a map of the country traversed, and other valuable mementoes, was unfortunately lost on his return, by the capsizing of his canoe near Montreal, while about to land, as he says, "in sight of the first French settlements which I had left almost two years before." This proved to be a serious loss. However, he prepared the best report possible without the data which had cost so many months of arduous labor to obtain, and this, together with a map, rude in design and more or less imperfect, was forwarded to France by Frontenac, in November, 1674. The governor reported that "he has discovered some very fine countries, and a navigation so easy that a person can go from Lake Ontario in a bark to the Gulf of Mexico, there being only one carrying-place half a league in length. He has been within ten days' journey of the Gulf of Mexico."

The loss of Joliet's original memoranda was to some extent repaired by the narrative of his companion, Father Marquette, which assumes to be circumstantial regarding dates, localities, and events. The final outfit of the expedition consisted of "two birch-bark canoes, five men, a bag of corn-meal, some dried beef, and a blanket apiece"; besides beads, crosses, and other religious articles. Starting on May 17, 1673, from St. Ignace, they reached the Mascoutins on Fox River, June 7. Having remained here three days, and secured guides, they resumed their journey, making a portage to the Wisconsin River, down which they floated until they reached the far-famed Mississippi, on June 17. Proceeding down this river, on June 25, they landed at a point near to which were situated three

Indian villages. These they visited, and, being kindly received, remained until the end of the month, when they again proceeded on their journey.

The next circumstance deemed by Father Marquette of sufficient importance to deserve special mention was the sight of the picture on the rocky bluff above Alton of the Piasa bird, which excited as much apprehension as if it had been alive. He describes it as being "as large as a calf, having horns on the head like a deer, with a frightful look, bearded like a tiger, face somewhat like a man's, body covered with scales, and a tail going twice around the body, with green, red, and kind of black colors."

He next describes the entrance into the Mississippi of a river which he called the Pekitanoui, supposed to be the Missouri, than "the noise of the rapids into which we were about to fall," he declared, he "had seen nothing more frightful." Soon after this another river, which he names the Ouaboukigou, was passed, below which they saw and entered the village of some Indians armed with guns, and having axes, hoes, knives, and beads, which they said they had bought of some Europeans "on the eastern side." They next came to a village of the Mitchigamies, where they spent the night, and the next day arrived at the village of the Akamseas, which he locates at the latitude of about 31° 40′.

Being convinced from information received from the Indians that the Mississippi "had its mouth in Florida or the Gulf of Mexico," and that they were in danger of being arrested by the Spaniards if they proceeded farther, they decided to terminate their journey southward at this point. On July 17, after a day's rest, they commenced their return trip, to which Father Marquette devotes but one page of his journal. The first incident which he notes is their arrival at the mouth of the Illinois. Having been assured by the Indians that this river afforded the most direct route to Mackinac, they followed it north instead of the Mississippi. Their first-recorded stop, of three days' duration, was at the village of the Peorias. They spent some little time also at the "Illinois town called Kaskaskias," where they were well received, and to which the father promised to return. Escorted by one of the chiefs and his young men across

the portage to Lake Michigan, they returned to the mission of Green Bay, where they arrived "in the close of September."

This narrative of Marquette was not printed by the French government, as were other similar accounts, but a copy was obtained, in some unexplained way, by Thevenot, a well-known Paris publisher, who issued it in 1681. When it appeared, its authenticity was at once disputed by LaSalle and other explorers, and by contemporary but rival ecclesiastics. The former reported to the king that he was assured by all the nations through which he passed on his way to the mouth of the Mississippi, in 1682, that he was the first European who had descended or ascended that river. But the subsequent discovery, in 1844, of the original manuscript of Marquette's journal in the care of the nuns of the Hotel Dieu, to whose custody it had been transferred from the Jesuit college of Quebec, has settled the question of its genuineness beyond doubt.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that its credibility is open to discussion. It is to be regretted that the eminent father reached Green Bay too enfeebled by the exposures and labors of his journey to complete his narrative until the lapse of twelve months after his arrival.* His notes, necessarily imperfect, had to be supplemented by recollections, which were naturally far less vivid, if not somewhat distorted, after so long an interval. Under such circumstances it would not be strange if he had fallen into grave errors relating to incidents, distances, and dates. That his narrative on its face contains erroneous estimates of latitude is not denied, while the coincidence of dates ascribed to events happening during successive months is, to say the least, singular. To illustrate: Joliet set out from Mackinac on May 17, arrived at the mouth of the Wisconsin on June 17, and started on the return trip July 17. If these dates are correctly stated, it is difficult to believe that the explorers could have proceeded as far south—the mouth of the Arkansas River—as has been contended.

They were thirty-one days, including stoppages, going from Mackinac to the mouth of the Wisconsin, a distance of five hundred and seventy-three miles, proceeding at the rate of nearly

* Shea.

twenty miles per day. From the mouth of the Wisconsin to that of the Arkansas the distance is eleven hundred and seventy miles, which is stated to have been traversed in the same time, a rate of speed equal to nearly forty miles per day. This was unprecedented for that period and mode of traveling. LaSalle, with greater experience and superior facilities, occupied fifty-three days in going from the mouth of the Illinois to the sea, a distance of fourteen hundred and thirty miles. Tonty, in search of LaSalle, well equipped for the journey, left Fort St. Louis, February 16, 1686, and arrived at the Gulf of Mexico, sixteen hundred and ninety miles, "in holy week," which began April 7, as Easter Sunday that year fell on the 14th. Conceding that he made the trip in fifty days, this was only at the rate of thirty-three and a half miles per day. He was seventy days in returning over the same route. St. Cosme, in 1699, and Father Gravier, with five canoes well supplied, the year following, each occupied about the same time—twenty-two days—in making the journey from the village of Tamaroa to the mouth of the Arkansas, a distance of about six hundred miles.

These facts, taken in connection with the statement of Father Gravier that the Ohio River, so designated by the Iroquois, was called by the Illinois and other Indians the Akansea, and that the tribe of Indians by that name—Akanseas—"formerly dwelt upon it,"* would warrant the conclusion that the village of that name, referred to as having been last visited by Joliet, was not very far below the mouth of the Ohio. And as corroborative evidence of such a conclusion, the first map made by Joliet on his return shows the Mississippi only a little below the Ohio River.†

As confirmatory of the doubt here suggested, Father Anastase Douay, a priest of the Recollects, in his account of LaSalle's last expedition, declares positively that Joliet did not descend the Mississippi farther than Cape St. Anthony, where he was arrested by the Mausopela Indians and turned back. He also states that he had with him "the printed book [Thevenot's "Marquette"] of this pretended discovery, and remarked all along the route that there was not a word of truth in it," an assertion now known to be entirely too broad.

* Shea's "Early Voyages," 120. † Winsor's "America," IV., 212.

But while these criticisms may reflect upon the credibility of some of the statements made in the only journal of Joliet's expedition which has been preserved, they do not detract from the credit due to him as the discoverer of one portion of the upper Mississippi, whose course he followed down to, if not below, the junction of the Ohio, and whose waters he ascertained emptied into the Gulf of Mexico.

Joliet returned to Quebec in August, 1674. In April, 1677, he applied to Minister Colbert for permission to settle with a colony in "the Illinois country," which was refused him on the ground that Canada ought first to be built up, strengthened, and improved.* In 1680, he was appointed hydrographer to the king, and afterward made a voyage to Honduras Bay, and, as a reward for his services, was given the island of Anticosti. In 1697, he was granted the seigniory of Joliet on the river Etchemins, south of Quebec. He died in 1700, and among his descendants, who yet reside in Canada, are the Archbishops of Taschereau and Taché, and the Hon. Bartholomew Joliet. His name will be forever connected with that of Illinois, and has been given to one of its most enterprising young cities.

In this connection it may be stated that, while from the published accounts of these early explorations in the Northwest the honor of "first discoveries" of particular localities is apportioned according to the statements and claims therein made, it is far from certain that such claims are correct or just. There can be no doubt of the fact that the *first* explorers were the fur-traders, trappers, and *voyageurs*, who never took the trouble, had they been competent of doing so, to leave any record of what they saw and did. Nor were the facts of prior explorations by others mentioned, if known, except incidentally, but rather suppressed, possibly through a latent fear that they might detract from other claims. Thus when Marquette returned to Illinois, in 1675, it is stated in the narrative of his second visit that he found a French surgeon and two other Frenchmen already on the ground at one Illinois village. And it further appears that one of these, Pierre Moreau called LaTaupine, who was at the St. Lusson congress, was in the Illinois country trading, when Joliet was there.† It is therefore more than

* Margry, I., 330.

† Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," IV., 181.

probable that not only Moreau, but many other French traders, had traveled over the Illinois country and other portions of the Northwest during the thirty years which had elapsed since its discovery by Nicolet, long before either Joliet or LaSalle.

5. Robert Cavelier, Sieur de LaSalle, was the greatest of those early explorers whose efforts were made available by the French government. To him may fairly be attributed the credit of securing the possession of the Mississippi Valley to that nation. He received his name from his ancestral estate, near Rouen in France, where he was born in November, 1643. He belonged to a family of merchants, and was "capable and learned in every branch, especially mathematics."* If he entered the Society of the Jesuits, as is stated upon the unsupported and doubtful authority of Father Hennepin, he soon wearied of ecclesiastical control, and at the age of twenty-three years decided to begin active life in Canada, whither an elder brother, the able Jean Cavelier, a priest of St. Sulpice, had preceded him. Having received a large grant of land at Lachine, near Montreal, he began to gather settlers about him and to engage in trade.

On coming in contact with the Indians here, he heard from them the story of other portions of the country, including great rivers and lakes, and even seas, hitherto unknown. His active, teeming brain at once formed the design of visiting this *terra incognita* himself. Enlisting the governor, Courcelle, and the intendant, Talon, in his behalf, he organized a force and set out on his first expedition. This was in 1669. Having had a disagreement with the priests who accompanied him, he separated from them at an Indian village, near Grand River, and proceeded on his journey by himself. He was gone for over two years, and it is said, though the point appears not definitely settled, that during this time and on this trip he discovered the river Ohio. It is further claimed† that he descended that stream to the Mississippi; and that, in 1671, returning to Lake Michigan, he crossed the Chicago portage to the Illinois, by which he again reached the Mississippi, and descended to the thirty-sixth parallel of north latitude. From that point, having neither men nor means to prosecute his journey, he returned.

* Father LeClerq. † Margry, I., 378.

The authorities given to support this claim are a "Historie," cited by P. Margry, his biographer, purporting to have been written prior to 1678, from conversations with LaSalle; and a letter from his niece, in 1753. But the affirmative evidence of these papers is hardly of sufficient weight to justify a satisfactory conclusion in favor of this claim, in the light of known and admitted facts. These are, that in his memorials to the king, in 1674 and 1676, he made no pretense of having made any special discoveries around Lake Michigan, or of the Illinois or the Mississippi rivers. There was no apparent reason to justify the suppression of the facts of other discoveries, if made by him, which did not equally apply to those he claimed.

To these considerations may also be added the further fact that Gov. Frontenac, his patron and friend, who was conversant with his plans and achievements, in submitting his report of Joliet's expedition in 1674, long after LaSalle's return, expressly states that it was believed that "water communications could be found leading to the Vermilion and California seas by means of the river that flows from the west [the Missouri] into the grand river [the Mississippi] that *he* [Joliet] *discovered*, which runs from north to south, and is as large as the St. Lawrence opposite Quebec." It is not reasonable to suppose that Frontenac would have made such a report if LaSalle had made the same discoveries prior to Joliet, nor is it likely that LaSalle would have failed to assert his claim had it been valid. There were no motives of modesty or diplomacy requiring him to suppress it.*

While the report of this expedition is defective in point of completeness, and the actual results of the voyage yet remain somewhat in dispute, there can be no doubt that the journey was fruitful of knowledge and experience to guide LaSalle in his further operations. He had certainly traveled over a large portion of new country and obtained important information regarding its lakes and rivers, which was of great value in future explorations. Having satisfied himself, either from his own knowledge or from the reports of others, that the Mis-

* Parkman thinks that LaSalle, on his first expedition, did discover the Illinois, but not the Mississippi. Shea thinks he entered the St. Joseph River. Butterfield admits the claim of Margry in favor of LaSalle in full.

sissippi River emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, he conceived the plan of organizing a great establishment in the Mississippi Valley, to control its trade and direct its permanent occupancy.

As a part of his plan to fortify the road from Canada to the West, in the summer of 1674, with the aid of the government, he erected Fort Frontenac at the foot of Lake Ontario, where Kingston now stands. Of this fort he obtained a grant in seigniory, in consideration of which he agreed to plant a colony around it, to build a church, and to form a settlement of domesticated Indians. He visited France in the fall of 1677, and, having made his plans known to the king, was given authority "to labor at the discovery of the western parts of our aforesaid country of New France," to build forts and enjoy the possession thereof, and was also granted "the sole right of trade in buffalo hides;" the reason being, as stated in the letters-patent, "because there is nothing we have more at heart than the discovery of this country, through which, to all appearance, a way may be found to Mexico." This charter was dated May 12, 1678.

The policy of the French government, ably seconded by its official representatives in Canada, was to prevent and anticipate Spanish and possibly British encroachments on the southern coast of the new domain, and to secure that country permanently to the French. LaSalle the more willingly yielded himself as the instrument for accomplishing this purpose, since its realization would naturally tend to the furthering of his own schemes for intercolonial settlement and trade.

Returning to Montreal, after surmounting obstacles which would have proved insuperable to a weaker spirit, he succeeded in fitting out his second expedition. With the aid of Henry de Tonty, and his lieutenant, La Forest, he constructed a vessel which he called the *Griffon*, of forty-five tons burthen, upon which he embarked on Lake Erie, August 7, 1679. He proceeded, by way of Detroit, through lakes St. Clair and Huron, to the mission of St. Ignace, near Mackinac. Leaving here early in September, he sailed for Green Bay. There he loaded his vessel with furs, and started it on its return, September 18. On the same day, with seventeen men and two missionaries, in four canoes, he resumed his journey, skirting the west shore of Lake Michigan and coasting around its southern border,

until he reached the river St. Joseph, November 1. At this point he had appointed a rendezvous for twenty Frenchmen of his party, whom he had directed to come by the opposite shore under Tonty, and who arrived some three weeks thereafter. Erecting a fort here, afterward known as Fort Miami, and leaving four men as its guard, he, with his party, now numbering thirty-three, on December 3, resumed his journey by the way of the St. Joseph and Kankakee rivers to the Illinois. Passing down that stream, he found the great Indian town at the Rock deserted.

On January 4, 1680, he passed through Peoria Lake, and on the next morning arrived at the Indian village of the same name, where he had a conference with the head men. Here, as a precautionary measure, six of his men having deserted and the attitude of the Indians toward him being uncertain, he resolved for the protection of his party to build a fort. Selecting a site about four miles south of the village and two hundred yards from the eastern bank of the river, he erected a rude fort, which he called Crévecœur, the first structure erected by white men in Illinois. As all remains of this fort have long since disappeared, its precise location can not now be determined.

Not having heard from his vessel on the lake with its expected supplies, and needing iron, ropes, and sails for the new one he was building with which to continue his expedition, he resolved to return to Fort Frontenac. Before starting, however, in order that no time might be lost in consequence of his absence, he directed Michel Accault, as commander, with whom were associated Picard du Gay, representing trade, and Father Louis Hennepin the cross, to proceed to the mouth of the Illinois River, and thence up the Mississippi to the country of the Sioux.*

On March 1, 1680, LaSalle, accompanied by four Frenchmen and one Indian, began his journey east. Pushing on across the country, amid snow and ice, making rafts or canoes as the emergency required, he reached the St. Joseph River, March 24, and Fort Frontenac, May 6, traveling a thousand miles under

* See Father Hennepin's "Description of Louisiana," translated by J. G. Shea; it is not material to this history.

such disadvantages in sixty-five days. Proceeding to Montreal, from which point he returned to his fort in eight days, he completed his preparations "to go on with his discoveries." But he soon received important and very unwelcome news from his party in Illinois, which changed his plans and delayed his departure.*

Tonty, who had been left in command at Fort Crévecœur, had been ordered by LaSalle after his departure to proceed and fortify "le Rocher" or the Rock, a site which had attracted his attention *en route*, and which he thought was a more desirable situation for defensive operations than the other. After Tonty had set out, in obedience to this command, taking with him Fathers Membré and Ribourde and three other Frenchmen, those left behind mutinied, and, having taken possession of the ammunition, supplies, and other property, destroyed and deserted the fort.

Tonty remained at the Indian village near the Rock during the summer, and was there when the attack was made by the Iroquois, September 10, as heretofore mentioned. In his efforts to make peace between the belligerents, he was suspected by both parties, and was pretty roughly handled by the Iroquois, narrowly escaping with his life. Having determined to exterminate the Illinois, the Iroquois prepared to break the treaty which Tonty had been instrumental in making, and ordered him to leave. This he was compelled to do, and after many hardships and wanderings, and the loss of Father Ribourde, who was killed by a Kickapoo Indian, he finally reached a village of the Pottawatomies, where he spent the winter.

The fact of the desertion of a portion of his force was conveyed to LaSalle by two men, Messer and Laurent, sent to him by Tonty. Having also learned that the deserters had committed like depredations at Fort Miami, and had stolen his furs stored at Mackinac, and that they were making their way back to Montreal, he determined to give them such a reception as their treachery deserved. Being informed that they had divided into two parties, he laid his plans and captured both—the first without resistance, and the other after killing two of them. The prisoners confessed their treason and were placed in irons, to be disposed of by the governor.†

* Margry, I., 496. † Margry, I., 500.

Having satisfactorily passed through this critical episode in his history, on August 10, 1680, with twenty-five men, he set out on his second expedition to the country of the Illinois. By this time he had become exceedingly anxious regarding the fate of Tonty, upon whose strong arm he greatly relied for success, and from whom he had not heard since soon after his departure from Fort Crévecœur. He arrived at the mouth of the St. Joseph River, November 4. At a village of the Miamis near by he was told of the defeat of the Illinois by the Iroquois, which increased his anxiety in regard to the fate of Tonty. Proceeding on his journey, he arrived at the Illinois village near "the Rock," where he saw the fearful evidences of the Iroquois raid. A great many dead bodies yet unburied and partly eaten by the wolves were seen; but, upon a careful examination, he saw nothing to indicate the death of any Frenchmen.

Arriving at Fort Crévecœur, he found it "almost entirely demolished." The Iroquois had been there, and had taken the nails out of his vessel, but had not otherwise damaged it. At the mouth of the Illinois he attached to a tree a letter for Tonty, advising him of his whereabouts, and leaving near by a canoe, hatchet, and some skins, for his use. Returning, he arrived at Fort St. Joseph the last of January, 1681, where he spent the remainder of the winter. He had repeated conferences with various tribes of savages, chiefly the Illinois and Miamis. He enlarged upon the benefits which would accrue to them from a union with the French, whom he portrayed as their natural friends and defenders. His arguments proved so convincing that he was enabled to form important alliances with all the tribes represented.

The following spring he received his first authentic news from Tonty, being informed by some Pottawatomies that the latter had passed the winter among them. On May 25, he left St. Joseph for Mackinac, where—after so long a separation and a succession of so many important events—his eyes were gladdened by the sight of his ever-faithful second in command, as well as of Father Membré. Here he learned that the machinations of his enemies at Montreal rendered it necessary for him to return once more to Frontenac, whither he and Tonty at once proceeded.

Reaching Montreal, he found that clamorous creditors had threatened to seize upon his property to satisfy debts contracted in the furtherance of his schemes of exploration. But his indomitable will and fertility in resource enabled him not only to appease their importunities but even to secure further advances. With the funds thus obtained he procured fresh supplies, and forthwith started on his third voyage, arriving at Fort Miami in November. Here reorganizing his force, which consisted of twenty-three Frenchmen, eighteen Indians, ten squaws, and three children, on December 23, 1681, he again set out on his long journey, this time going by what he called the Chicago River, where his faithful lieutenant, Tonty, had preceded him, and thence by the Desplaines River to the Illinois. Passing down that river, the Indian villages being found depopulated, they arrived at its confluence with the Mississippi, February 6, 1682. Being detained by the ice, his journey was not resumed until the 13th. Landing at the third Chickasaw Bluffs on February 26, he built a small fort, calling it Fort Prudhomme, after one of his party supposed to have been lost there, but who was afterward recovered.

He arrived at the mouth of the Arkansas, March 12, passing at that point, as at several others *en route*, Indian villages, where he had interviews with the braves of different tribes. At length, on April 7, 1682, he was rewarded for his many years of toil, danger, and suffering by beholding the long-sought Gulf of Mexico. Two days thereafter he erected a column bearing the arms of France, and after chanting the *Te Deum*, amid volleys of musketry and shouts of *Vive le Roi*, he took possession of the country, which, in honor of the king, had already been called Louisiana,* "and all the nations, peoples, provinces and cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams and rivers within the extent of the said Louisiana, and from the mouth of the Ohio, and also along the Mississippi River and the rivers which discharge themselves thereinto, from its source as far as its mouth at the sea, being the first Europeans who have descended and ascended said river;"† claiming to have acquired this right "by consent of the natives dwelling herein."

* It is claimed that the name "Louisiana" originated with Father Hennepin.

† LaSalle's "Procés Verbal."

On his return trip, begun on April 9, he was taken sick at Fort Prudhomme. Tonty was sent forward to Mackinac to make known the success of the expedition, and LaSalle, having recovered, joined him there in September. He now proceeded to carry out his plan of establishing a colony at the Rock, just above the Indian town of Lavantum, which "was to answer the double purpose of a bulwark against the Iroquois and as a place of storage for the furs of all the western tribes." Tonty was sent on in advance to begin the work of fortification.

This Rock is an isolated cliff, an offset from the adjoining bluffs, almost round, one hundred and thirty-five feet high, and its top, containing nearly three-fourths of an acre, can be reached only by a steep, rocky ascent on the eastern side. Its other three sides are nearly perpendicular and its northern base is washed by the Illinois River. It was then, and is now, a natural fortress, and properly provisioned could defy any attacking force. Situated eight miles from Ottawa, it is a striking landmark, from the top of which an extensive, varied, and beautiful view of hills, river, prairie, forest, villages, and farm-houses is obtained. Stunted trees and brush grow on its top, as they do from the crevices of the superincumbent layers of stone on its sides. These being cleared away, a block, store, and dwelling-house was erected, outworks thrown up, the remains of which are still to be seen, and palisades built around it. Water was drawn from the river by a windlass, and two small cannon were mounted on the wooden rampart, from which a salute was fired as the French flag was displayed to view when the fort was completed. Father Zenobe Membré offered a dedicatory prayer, and the fort was named St. Louis of the Rock.

At this fort and in its vicinity, in accordance with the arrangement made by LaSalle and in pursuance of his invitation, his Indian allies began to assemble, in the summer of 1682, in large numbers. The ancient village near by soon presented a picture of life and animation, in striking contrast to its deserted appearance after the invasion of the Iroquois. Every cabin or lodge of bark and rushes was filled with the families of contented natives, who now felt that their safety and protection were assured.

LaSalle arrived in December, and from his elevated fortress beheld, with a pride and satisfaction new to him, the evidence that his hopes and ambitions were about to be crowned with success. The camps and villages of his allies were on every side. To the south were the Illinois, to the number of six or seven thousand; the Miamis, numbering thirteen hundred warriors, occupied Buffalo Rock, a high cliff on the north side of the river, two miles off; to the east were the Shawnees, two hundred strong; and near by, the Piankashaws and Weas, six hundred and fifty, and other Miamis, five hundred and thirty strong; in all thirty-eight hundred and eighty warriors, and, including women and children, a population of over twenty thousand.* He beheld not only his allies, but his own countrymen, who had come in large numbers to assist in building up the colony. They built houses, of a better class than the Indians had known, and planted large fields with corn and other vegetables; and the new colony was thus begun with every prospect of success.

The securing and carrying on of the fur-trade was the great bone of contention among all the early white settlers of North America. It was chiefly in the hands of the natives, and was the price of the friendship and support of their foreign visitors. Although attended with great difficulties and dangers, the large profits derived from it very soon enlisted a class of immigrants, principally a lower order of French, mostly boatmen, called *coureurs des bois* or rangers of the wood. They became active participants in the trade. Their experience in the new world had made them hardy, reckless, and improvident, preferring a roaming life in the wild woods to the comforts of a settled home. Their dress, consisting of leggins, moccasins, and a blanket girdled by a red sash, so closely resembled that of the natives that it was difficult to distinguish the one from the other. Thus arrayed, and armed with a fusee, a scalping-knife, and hatchet, they were eager for any adventure, provided it led them away from the restraints of civilized life.

The articles of trade with the Indians consisted of cotton cloth, blankets, calicos, guns, hatchets, and other implements of

* Parkman.

hardware, and cheap ornaments. No standard of values existed, but there came to be adopted a system of equivalents upon which trades were negotiated; that is, an iron hoe and an ax, a knife and a file, a pocket looking-glass and pair of scissors, were reckoned of equal value.

The terms of the alliance between LaSalle and the Indians, upon which the colony at Fort St. Louis was established, were intended to be reciprocally advantageous. On the part of LaSalle, he undertook to assist his dusky allies in their wars with the Iroquois and other enemies; in return for which the Indians agreed to dispose of their furs to him only, in exchange for such articles of merchandise as they might need or desire; that is to say, the conditions of the compact were mutual protection and trade. It was confidently expected that this agreement, consummated under such favorable circumstances, could scarcely fail to result in the establishment of a permanent, prosperous settlement, the betterment of the condition of the savages, and last, but perhaps not least, in immense pecuniary profit to LaSalle. But, unfortunately for the latter, such was not to be the case.

The great explorer spent the summer at Fort St. Louis, amid the most encouraging prospects. But in the meantime, Frontenac had been succeeded as governor of New France by Antoine Joseph le Febvre de la Barre. The latter soon discovered that the plans and operations of LaSalle had blocked the way for the realization of his own schemes, and that, if permitted to continue, he would soon monopolize the fur-trade, with its enormous profits and political possibilities. He therefore took prompt measures to render impossible the further successful prosecution of the great enterprise which LaSalle had at heart. He cut off his supplies, detained his agents, and encouraged the hostility of the Iroquois. Fort Frontenac, the property of LaSalle, was seized, against the protest of his creditors, under the pretext that the conditions of its grant had not been fulfilled. The new governor commissioned Chevalier de Baugis to take possession of Fort St. Louis, although Tonty was permitted to remain as the representative of the colonial interests.

Had the French governor and LaSalle "pooled their issues," and, instead of endeavoring to break each other down,

worked together, there was nothing to prevent their building up a colony at Fort St. Louis which would have been of great advantage to the interests of each, and exerted a controlling influence upon the destiny of New France. Had agriculture and permanent settlements been encouraged, in connection with the traffic with the Indians, a prosperous and powerful community might have been established, which, growing and extending to other equally favorable locations in the Illinois country, might in fifty years have constituted a community which would have proved an insuperable barrier against any foreign encroachment, in consequence of its ability to maintain its own integrity. But the rapacity of the one and the ambition of the other prevented the accomplishment of such a result. The time had not yet arrived, nor the people, to settle Illinois.

To meet and overcome the opposition which his enemies had set on foot against him, LaSalle determined once more to make his appeal directly to the French minister in Paris. He took what proved to be his final leave of Fort St. Louis in September, 1683, and proceeded to France, where he arrived in the spring of 1684. Here he was again successful beyond his anticipations. He was re-instated in favor at court, and secured means for a much larger expedition than he had yet commanded. It consisted of four vessels and a hundred soldiers, besides mechanics and laborers, and thirty volunteers, "including gentlemen and burghers of condition." The immediate object of this expedition was the establishment of a fort near the mouth of the Mississippi, where he could coöperate with and assist his colony on the Illinois River, free from the molestation of the authorities at Quebec. The particulars of this voyage, how he sailed to the west of the mouth of the Mississippi, as far as Matagorda Bay in Texas, his disastrous failure, and assassination by two of his men on March 19, 1687, not being facts of history especially relating to Illinois, need not be here detailed.

LaSalle was a man of wonderful energy and indomitable perseverance; but he possessed neither the financial ability nor those natural endowments of leadership essential to the accomplishment of his great designs. Impracticability was stamped upon his character and written upon all his works, from first to

last. He planned better than he performed; he was morose distrustful, and unpopular; he quarrelled with his equals and was haughty and overbearing to his inferiors. Visionary, courageous, as reckless in daring as he was lavish in expenditure, unscrupulous in the observance of obligations as he was profuse in promises, he was always in debt. His life had been frequently threatened; desertions from his command were a common occurrence; yet he persevered till the last, and finally fell a victim to the hatred of some of his own followers. Notwithstanding the tragic close of his career, while the plans which he conceived were as yet inchoate, it was through his efforts that Louisiana and the Illinois country were secured to the French, and their permanent settlement indirectly effected.

6. Henry de Tonty, next to LaSalle, was the most conspicuous figure in the early history of what is now the State of Illinois. He carried a hand made of copper, in lieu of one lost in battle, and this he used against his foes with great effect as occasion might require. He was called "the iron-handed;" he was also strong-hearted, faithful, and brave. He was a soldier of fortune from Italy, and the son of a merchant who was the originator of a plan for raising money, now well known as the Tontine.

Having met LaSalle on one of his visits to France, and, by his accounts, being incited with the prospect of adventures in a new country, Tonty very gladly accepted his invitation to become a member of his company, and sailed with him from Rochelle in 1678. How he proved to be his most trusty lieutenant, accompanying him in his expeditions with great fidelity and courage, has already been shown. After the departure of LaSalle for France, in 1683, Tonty and Baugis remained in charge at the fort, representing different interests and having but little sympathy with each other's plans. In the following March, however, the approach of their common enemy, the Iroquois, compelled them to unite in a common defence of their post. They were besieged for six days by their determined foes, who numbered two thousand warriors; but such was the strength of their position, and so adequate their means of defence, that the hitherto victorious Iroquois were repulsed with loss, and compelled to abandon the siege. This was the

last invasion of the savages from the East. Henceforth, for many years, the Illinois and allied tribes resumed their yearly residence in the vicinity of the fort without molestation. The protecting guns of the French and the presence of Tonty, who made the fort his headquarters for eighteen years, rendered their safety secure. It was also the abode of many French traders and merchants, with their families.

From this point, Tonty ranged the western world over, trading, fighting, and exploring. In 1686, being anxious as to the fate of his great leader LaSalle, from whom he had not heard, at his own expense he fitted out an expedition to the Gulf of Mexico in search of him. And when, after his return, he learned of LaSalle's violent death, he fitted out another in search of the survivors of his command. He made at least six trips down and up the Mississippi. Besides this, he visited Montreal, Mackinac, and points on Lake Michigan, including Fort Chicago, which he says was in command of Oliver Morrell, Sieur de la Durantaye.

In 1687, with a force of two hundred Indians and fifty French, he proceeded to Canada and took part in a victorious campaign with the Marquis de Denonville against the Iroquois, thus aiding in striking them a blow on their own ground. On his return he brought back with him the families of a number of French immigrants, soldiers, and traders. This arrival of the wives, sisters, children, and sweethearts of some of the colonists, after years of separation, was the occasion of great rejoicing, in which it was said that even Father Allouez participated with unwonted freedom and fervor. Life at the fort, henceforth, though at times not without its perilous aspects, was so mingled with feats of adventurous daring, the pleasures of the hunt, the table, and the cup, as fully to satisfy the desires of the gay and light-hearted children of France.

In 1690, the proprietorship of Fort St. Louis was granted to Tonty, jointly with LaForest, while the fur-trade was carried on with greater or less success until his final departure from the country; these two, being excepted from the royal decree against the *coureurs des bois*, were permitted to send out two canoes a year with twelve men, for the maintenance of the fort. In 1698–9, he accompanied Rev. J. F. Buisson St. Cosme on his trip, with a company of priests, from Mackinac down

the Mississippi to Natchez. This missionary speaks of Tonty as follows: "I can not express our obligations to him. He guided us as far as the Akansas and gave us much pleasure on the way. He facilitated our course through several nations, winning us the friendship of some and intimidating those who, from jealousy or a desire to plunder, had wished to oppose our voyage. He has not only done the duty of a brave man, but also discharged the functions of a zealous missionary. He quieted the minds of our employés in the little vagaries that they might have, and supported us by his example in the exercises of devotion, which the voyage permitted us to perform, very often approaching the sacraments. * * He is believed by all the voyagers to be the one who best knows the country. He was loved and feared by all."

In 1702, the governor of Canada, claiming that the charter of the fort had been violated, decided to discontinue it. La-Forest was ordered to reside in Canada, and Tonty on the Mississippi. Although it was thus officially abandoned, it seems that it was occasionally occupied as a trading-post until 1718, when it was raided by the Indians and burned, on account of the alleged licentiousness of the French inhabitants. Deprived of his command and property, Tonty engaged in the service of Pierre LeMoyne d' Iberville, to aid him in his efforts to colonize lower Louisiana. Here he was employed in various successful expeditions until in September, 1704, when, according to one account, he died at Mobile.*

But according to the Indian tradition, which, although of doubtful authenticity, is more in harmony with the romantic and poetic life of the old explorer, at the close of a day in the midsummer of 1718 he once more arrived at Fort St. Louis, in a canoe paddled by two faithful followers. His hair frosted by many years of exposure, enfeebled in body, forsaken by those whom he had befriended, he returned at last to the familiar scene of his former triumphs, where, his last hours consoled by

* Another authority states that after his services under Iberville, he returned to Canada, and was employed at Detroit in 1713, and that he was last heard of on an expedition to some distant Indians in 1717, and probably died in Canada. (French's "Louisiana," III., 31; VI., 61.) But the Tonty here mentioned was evidently another person, a relative of whom Henry speaks in his memoirs.

the ministrations of his church, his valiant spirit passed away. Brave, generous, and true, no man contributed more to the advancement of trade and the occupation of the Illinois country at this early period than the poorly-requited Chevalier Henry de Tonty.

Other explorers, whose names have become familiar to the student of the early history of the Northwest, and whose accounts or memoirs, containing more or less valuable information, have been published, are as follows:

7. Daniel Greysolon du Lhut, called by LaSalle and others du Luth, from whom the city of that name was called. He was from Lyons, France, and was a cousin of Henry de Tonty. His explorations covered a period of over ten years from 1679, and he was the first to reach the Mississippi directly from Lake Superior. His memoirs bear date 1683.

8. Henri Joutel was a fellow townsman of LaSalle and adhered faithfully to his fortunes; he was with him on his last expedition, of which he wrote a full and intelligent account; and on his return, he spent some time at Fort St. Louis with Tonty.

9. Pierre LeSueur was the discoverer of the Minnesota River. An interesting account of one of his voyages up the Mississippi, in 1700, is given by Penicaut, who accompanied him.

10. Baron la Hontan made an extensive tour in the Northwest, passing through Illinois in 1688–9, of which he published a glowing account in 1703. His book was illustrated, but his pictures and maps bear as little resemblance to the objects which they were intended to represent as the drawings of a child do to a painting by Raphael. His statements were often exaggerated, and his imagination fully employed. His observations are frequently shrewd and just, and his descriptions of what he saw mainly correct, but his Indian stories are generally more entertaining than truthful.

Routes.—The question of routes followed by early explorers between Canada and the country of the Illinois is as interesting as it has been provocative of discussion among speculative antiquarians. But as the investigation is not now of much practical value to the ordinary reader, but little space will be given to it in these pages.

Perhaps the most prolific source of doubt and difficulty, in the endeavor positively to trace and identify any particular route, arises from the confounding of newly-discovered streams with those first discovered, the same name being required to do duty for rivers as distinct as the individuality of the explorers who first sailed or paddled a canoe upon them. Thus the name Chicago, in its various orthographies, was applied more or less indifferently to the St. Joseph, the Calumet, the Desplaines, and the Illinois rivers. Both of the latter were also called the "Divine." It was also applied to the country adjacent to the southern portion of Lake Michigan. Such confusion of nomenclature renders it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine precisely what stream or locality was meant when either of these names is used by early writers.

It must be remembered that the fountain-head of information for early explorers was the Indians. To them even the primitive mode of transportation by horses or mules was unknown. They knew of but one way to abridge or vary tedious marches through forests or glades: that single avenue of escape was found in the water-ways, and the shortest practicable portage connecting these was welcomed as the easiest way to avoid the physical labor which they considered as degrading as it was irksome.

There were four possible routes which could be used in going to the Illinois from Eastern Canada, the choice of which depended upon the stage of water and season of the year, and the starting and the objective points.

1. One of these was from Lake Michigan by the Calumet rivers, which connected with Stony Brook, from which, by a short portage, the Desplaines was easily reached. Beck, in his gazetteer of 1823, says, in speaking of this route: "The distance is eighteen miles, and it is nearly on a level with the lake. It is said boats have frequently passed through this channel to the Desplaines, and when such is the case it is impossible in many places to say whether the current sets to the lake or the Desplaines. About half-way between the lake and the Desplaines, a feather will sometimes float one way and sometimes the other."

2. By the Grand Calumet. This stream, rising a few miles

southeast of Lake Michigan, near what is now Laporte, Ind., ran to a point at present called Blue Island, in Cook County, and thence turning flowed back about three miles north of its outward course, and emptied into Lake Michigan at a point formerly called Indiana City. This route connected with the Desplaines, the same as route one.

3. By the St. Joseph River. Ascending this stream about thirty-five miles, the head-waters of the Kankakee River were reached by a portage of about four miles. The distance to the Illinois River by the Kankakee was one hundred and eighty miles, but only eighty across the country.

4. By the Chicago River. The distance by this route from the lake to the Desplaines by the South branch, including a portage of four miles, was twelve miles. The North branch was also doubtless sometimes used, although not so direct.

Now if the wayfarer was on the Illinois River, and desired to reach the mission of St. Francis Xavier, at Green Bay, as did Joliet in 1673, the most direct and feasible of the above-described routes would be either the first or fourth. And whichever way was taken by Joliet and Marquette, in September, 1673, on their return trip, was adopted by Marquette on his second visit in 1675, for he observes in his journal of the latter: "March 31; here we began our portage more than eighteen months ago."

To the mariner desiring to reach the Illinois from Mackinac, it would be nearer to proceed down the east side of Lake Michigan to the Grand Calumet, and up that stream to where it connected with route one. But in 1679, LaSalle, being at Green Bay, appointed the mouth of the St. Joseph as a place of rendezvous for his expedition *en route* for the Illinois, and ordered Tonty to proceed thither on the east side of the lake, while he coasted along its western and southern sides. He may have known of the St. Joseph route, which he then pursued, and not of the others; or, it being in winter, it may have been more a question of good ways for sleighs than of water navigation. At all events, on this occasion he took the Kankakee route. And he doubtless went over the same course on his second trip, when searching for Tonty. On his third trip to the Illinois, which was also in the winter, 1681–2, he mentions the Chicago

River; and as the Grand Calumet is plainly marked with this name on his map, recently discovered in Paris, and published by Margry, and as that would be a nearer and better route in the winter than the Kankakee or that by the Chicago River as now known, it is fair to presume that when he alluded to the "Chicago route" he referred to the passage of the Grand Calumet.

As early as 1698, a mission had been established among the Miamis, called Chicago. It is evident that this mission was on the route usually followed by travelers, wherever that was, along the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan. St. Cosme and party undoubtedly followed this route in 1699, as did Father Gravier the year following. Prior to 1684, the Chicago River, as now known, does not appear upon any map then extant. At least, it is not on those of Marquette and Hennepin; and while there is something resembling it on those of Joliet and LaSalle, the name of Chekagoua is plainly given by the latter to the Calumet, as stated above. Nor does it appear on that of Raffeix, 1688, especially designed as a route map. As the route by the Little Calumet afforded a higher stage of water for navigation in the dry season, and was a better location for a mission-house, the supposition is authorized that it was the one usually taken by those going to or coming from the east side of Lake Michigan to or from the Illinois River. A careful examination of the detailed route described by Marquette and St. Cosme, and of the landmarks and streams which they mention, fully justifies such a conclusion.*

After the abandonment of the French settlements on the Illinois River, and the emigration of the greater portion of the friendly Illinois Indians to the Mississippi, in 1722, neither of the foregoing routes were any longer used by the French while they held the country, nor indeed by any whites until the time of the Revolution.

There was also another route from Canada to the Ohio and Mississippi which came to be used; that by the Maumee and Wabash rivers. It was first mentioned by LaSalle, in 1683,

* An interesting paper sustaining this view, by Albert D. Hager, late secretary of the Chicago Historical Society, is published in Vol. I. of Andreas' "History of Chicago."

but was not much traveled prior to 1699. In this year a colony of Canadians was conducted from Quebec to Louisiana by this route. These were followed by other families, under the leadership of M. du Tessenet. The Maumee River was originally known to the French as the Miami, or the Oumiami. It was the use of this route that served to give to Vincennes and to Fort Sackville, there situated, the military and strategic importance which they afterward enjoyed. Communication with Detroit was rendered easy by its adoption, and it gradually came to occupy a prominent position in the estimation of travelers.*

* Authorities: "Historical Collections of Louisiana," by B. F. French, Vols. I. to VI.; Margry's "Voyages des Français"; Histories of Louisiana, by Gayarre, Du Pratz, Stoddard, and Martin; C. W. Butterfield's "John Nicolet"; Parkman's "LaSalle" and other works; "Narrative and Critical History of America," by Justin Winsor, Vol. IV., and papers therein by Edmund F. Slafter, Edward D. Neill, J. G. Shea, and the Editor; LaHontan's, Hennepin's, and Joutel's Voyages; Smith's "History of Wisconsin"; Reports and Collections of the Historical Societies of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Chicago; Warburton's "Conquest of Canada"; "Radisson's Voyages"; "Magazine of American History"; "Magazine of Western History"; Shea's "Down and Up the Mississippi"; the "Jesuit Relations"; Bancroft's "United States"; Andreas' "History of Chicago"; Beckwith's "Vermilion County."

CHAPTER IV.

Catholic Missionaries—First Permanent Settlements.

IT has been a question whether the extension of French settlements to the valley of the Mississippi was owing more to the demands of trade and the greed for gain, or to the religious zeal of the Catholic missionaries. They moved along together—the explorer and voyager giving protection to the missionary, and the latter in return aiding them to conciliate and make friends with the natives. The administrations of the cross went hand in hand with those of the government and trade. But alas for the peaceful spread of religion, those who had its advancement especially in charge in America, as in Europe, were divided and warring among themselves. To the Recollect monks of St. Francis was first assigned the care of the American missions, but subsequently Cardinal Richelieu superseded this order, and confided the spiritual welfare of the people and natives of Canada to the priests of the Society of Jesus, the disciples of Loyola. The former felt very keenly their exclusion from a field which they had been first to cultivate, and left no means untried to regain their supremacy.

They enlisted the sympathies of Gov. Frontenac and LaSalle, through whose influence and efforts they were permitted to return to Canada, where the bitter controversies between the two orders, and between the Jesuits and the civil authorities, were renewed and continued with aggravating circumstances. The last-named order not only claimed the right to regulate the sale and use of intoxicating liquors, but also, as was directly charged by Gov. Frontenac, intermeddled with private relations, "setting husbands against wives, and parents against children." It also resolutely antagonized the policy of the government in regard to the domestication and civilization of the Indians.*

The acrimonious quarrels between these two rival religious orders, intensified as they were by the participation therein of

* Winsor's "America," Vol. IV.

the civil authorities, continued until the suppression of the Jesuits in the dominions of France, in 1764.

The data for the early history of Illinois is mainly derived from letters, memoirs, and narratives prepared by the priests of one or the other of these orders. But few of the earliest traders or explorers, as has been already remarked, were capable of writing any intelligent account of their discoveries. The reverend fathers, however, were facile with the pen, and used it, it must be confessed, two hundred years ago very much as do the partisan writers of today. The adherents of either side strove to make the best possible showing for their own faction, and threw discredit and contempt upon the labors of the other.

Of the missionaries connected with the Illinois, Fathers Marquette, Allouez, Gravier, Rasle, Pinet, Limoges, Marest, and Binneteau were Jesuits; Fathers Bergier and Montigny were secular priests; and Fathers Membré, Douay, LeClercq, Hennepin, and Ribourde belonged to the Recollects.

Father Marquette, already mentioned, was, it is said, a native of Laon, France, where he was born in 1637. Having been partially restored to health after his return from his trip down the Mississippi, he had been appointed to the mission of the Illinois, and on October 25, 1674, set out for that country. Being again seized with his malady in November, upon arriving at the portage of the Illinois River in December and being unable to proceed farther, he spent the winter there. Having sufficiently recovered, on March 29 he proceeded on his journey, reaching the Kaskaskia village April 8.

His constitution, however, had been thoroughly undermined. It was only with great pain and difficulty that he could attempt to discharge the duties of his sacred office, and he remained there but a short time. Realizing that the end was approaching, he was anxious to close his days at his old mission of St. Ignace, surrounded by his brethren of the order of which he had been so distinguished a member. He set out, accordingly, on his return by way of the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, where, at the mouth of a small river afterward bearing his name, he died, May 18, 1675.

The memory of this excellent father has long been held in veneration. If his character was not free from the imperfec-

tions incident to his times, he was gentle, zealous, courageous, and devoted. It is true, nevertheless, that for nearly two hundred years he who was merely the chaplain of the expedition received credit equal with, if not superior to, that accorded Joliet as the discoverer of the Mississippi River, while he who was its commander was left to occupy a subordinate place.

Father Claude Jean Allouez, who has been justly termed the great apostle of the West, was the most distinguished of the early missionaries. Arriving at Quebec from France in 1658, he spent the years from 1665 to 1675 in establishing missions at Chegoimegon, on Lake Superior; that of St. Francis Xavier—he being the first Jesuit to visit this point; and, in connection with Fathers Dablon and Marquette, that of St. Ignace, on the Straits of Mackinac. During this period he made extensive explorations of the country around and adjacent to lakes Superior and Michigan. While in counsel with the Indians at Green Bay, he was informed of the existence and direction of the upper Mississippi, which information he was among the first to communicate to the authorities at Montreal; and upon which, confirmatory as it was of reports from other directions and sources previously received, it was resolved by Talon to commission the expedition of Joliet to explore that river.

At the great congress of St. Lusson, at Sault de Ste. Marie, Father Allouez was put forth as the orator of the occasion; and in his speech pronounced a glowing panegyric on the king, calling him "the chief of chiefs," and eulogized his native France; contrasting very sharply the advantages in favor of an alliance between the Indians and that government over one with Great Britain.

Upon the demise of Father Marquette, he was appointed to complete the establishment of the mission of the "Immaculate Conception," at the Kaskaskia village of the Illinois. He arrived there April 27, 1677, and erected a cross twenty-five feet high, and preached to eight tribes there congregated. He remained here, with some brief absences, until the approach of LaSalle, when he retired on account of the supposed unfriendliness of that leader to his order. He returned in 1684, and remained until 1687, when he departed for Wiscon-

sin.* He died at Fort St. Joseph in 1690. He was the ablest of all the Jesuit missionaries sent to the Illinois, and against him no charge of unfairness, jealousy, mistrust, or abuse of others has ever been justly preferred.

Father Jacques Gravier succeeded to this mission in 1688, and remained until 1692, when he was followed by Father Sebastian Rasle, who continued in charge two years. The latter was a learned and most devoted missionary, who left behind him an interesting account of the Illinois Indians and his labors with them. He was subsequently transferred to his former mission in Maine, where he was killed, bravely standing by his Indian converts in an attack upon them by the British.

Father Gravier returned in 1694, and continued there during the years 1694–5, laboring also among the Peorias until 1699, when he was recalled to Mackinac. He was succeeded by Fathers Binneteau and Pinet. In 1700–1, he made a voyage down the Mississippi to Biloxi, an interesting account of which has been published.† It was while on this trip that, arriving at the Illinois mission, September 8, 1700, then in charge of Father Marest, he found that the Kaskaskias, separating from the Peorias, had determined on their removal south; a portion of them, as has been previously stated, having already departed.

Father Gravier was much concerned at this grave step, and would have prevented it had he arrived in time. He marched with them four days, and then went ahead with Father Marest, whom he left sick at the village of Tamaroa. The Kaskaskias undoubtedly joined those of their tribe who had already preceded them on the peninsula bounded by the Kaskaskia and Mississippi rivers.

After remaining at Biloxi a year, Father Gravier returned to the Peorias, among whom he resumed his labors. Here, in an assault upon him incited by the medicine men of the tribe, he received a severe wound which finally resulted in his death, at Mobile, in 1706.‡ He was an earnest and faithful missionary,

* Shea's "Catholic Missions."

† "Down and Up the Mississippi," Shea.

‡ French's "Louisiana," VI., 420.

who had great influence with the Illinois Indians, as also with the other missionaries. But the credit given him by Father Marest, as having been the founder of the mission of the Illinois, can not now, with justice to the labors of others, be conceded. It was certainly initiated by Father Marquette, and more completely established by Father Allouez, who labored with the Illinois most of the time for ten years before Father Gravier's appearance among them.

The Peoria station, after the final enforced departure of Father Gravier, was left vacant as a punishment for their cruel treatment of that good father. But being cut off from French trade in consequence, they became clamorous for the presence of another missionary, and promising better behavior, Father Deville was at length sent to them, but how long he or his successors remained does not appear.

The credit of establishing the mission of Cahokia, at first called Tamaroa—after the Indian tribe of that name, belongs to Rev. Jacques Pinet; but at what date has been a matter of dispute. Up to the time of St. Cosme's visit to the Tamaroas, in 1699, it appears that no "black gown" had been seen there, except Father Gravier for a few days. The following year, however, when LeSueur had reached this village, where he remained seventeen days, he found there three French missionaries: Rev. J. Bergier and Fathers Pinet and Joseph de Lamoges, and also a number of Canadian traders, who were purchasing furs and skins. In October of the same year (1700), Father Gravier mentions the fact in his journal, that on his way down the Mississippi he stopped at the village of the Tamaroas, and found Father Pinet there, "peaceably discharging the functions of a missionary," and Rev. Mr. Bergier, also, "who had care only of the French." Father Bergier remained at Cahokia until his death, July 16, 1710.

The Tamaroas were not at their village at this time, but had taken up their winter-quarters two leagues below, on a "beautiful bay," while the Cahokias were located four leagues above. But the village itself, called Sainte Famille de Caoquias and the mission St. Sulpice, was from this time on continuously occupied, and is undoubtedly the oldest permanent settlement in Illinois. Fathers François Joliet de Montigny

and probably A. Damon had charge of this mission for awhile, as also did Dominic Mary Varlet, who succeeded Bergier in 1712. He remained there, zealous and devoted to his calling, for six years. Having returned to Europe, he professed Jansenism, and became an heretical bishop. Revs. Dominic Anthony Thaumer de la Source and François le Mercier succeeded him.

Father Gabriel Marest, when he had recovered his health, proceeded to join the Kaskaskias at their new location. He was one of the most faithful as well as intelligent of the French missionaries in Illinois. He was longer in service with that tribe than any of his predecessors, having remained at Kaskaskia until his death, September 17, 1715.*

Father Jean Mermet, it is claimed by local historians, was the first missionary sent to Vincennes, but was later an assistant of Marest at Kaskaskia. He was called by Marest "the soul of that mission," in 1707. He also died at Kaskaskia, in 1718. When the parish of Kaskaskia was substituted for the mission, in July, 1720, Father Nicholas Ignatius de Beaubois was appointed the first *curé* and administered its affairs for some years.†

The Rev. Philip Boucher was said to have labored at Fort St. Louis for some time, and died there in 1719.

In 1750, Fathers Guyenne, Vivier, Watrin, and Meurin were in charge of the several Illinois missions.‡

The Recollects confined their ministrations generally to the tribes whom they met while in company with LaSalle and other explorers, and wherever they stopped on their way, and especially at Fort St. Louis. Here Fathers Membré and Ribourde labored in 1680, and Fathers Douay and LeClercq in 1687–8.

Father Hennepin, after leaving LaSalle in 1680, was the first to explore the upper Mississippi as far as St. Anthony's Falls. He was captured by the Sioux, and rescued by Du Lhut, and soon after returning to Quebec, departed for France. He was one of the leading Recollect missionaries, and left behind him many interesting works relating to the early explorations of

* Carayon's List. † Old parish records.

‡ Shea's "Church in Colonial Days," 585.

this country. His first account of the exploration of the upper Mississippi was admitted to be truthful and satisfactory. His good faith and veracity, however, in regard to later publications have been often the subject of serious question, as was the case with many of these early chroniclers.

The feeling of hostility to the Jesuits in Europe, which had been growing in intensity, first found authoritative sanction in 1741, when Pope Benedict XIV, in a papal brief, characterized them as "disobedient, contumacious, captious, and reprobate."* In 1764, the order was suppressed in France, the decree being the culmination of a long series of condemnatory measures adopted by local French *parlements*. Before this, however, in 1763, the Superior Council of Louisiana, following the example of the provincial legislative bodies of France, had declared the perpetuation of the Society in that province to be a menace to the royal authority and fraught with danger to the peace and safety of society. Having settled these questions to their own satisfaction, the council decreed the confiscation of the personal property of the order in Louisiana—including plate and vestments, the razing of their churches to the ground, and the banishment of the members from the country.†

Not content with this, the council, disregarding the fact that the country of the Illinois had been ceded to Great Britain, and that the exercise therein by that body of any authority other than ecclesiastical was at least questionable, assumed to enforce the same policy throughout the latter territory. The vessels and vestments of the Jesuit chapels were ruthlessly seized by the "king's attorney," who made so-called sales of the realty of the order, inserting in these conveyances a covenant that the grantee should level the chapels to the earth.

As to the extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction vested in the superior council, there may or may not be a question. How far it possessed a legal right to direct the disposition of the property, real or personal, of the Jesuit order in Illinois, in view of the fact that the proprietorship of the country had been ceded to Great Britain, is a question as grave as it is

* "Encyclopedia Britannica."

† Winsor's "America," Vol. IV., 289; Shea's "Catholic Church in Colonial Days," 587.

interesting. It is, however, a source of surprise that, notwithstanding the fact that French courts still exercised *de facto* jurisdiction in the district, the parties against whom the order was directed, and who were most deeply interested in having it declared to be an excess of authority, do not seem—so far as appears from any evidence extant—to have taken any steps to have its legality judicially determined.

The decree of banishment was read to the priests by the attorney, and they were one and all incontinently shipped to New Orleans, from whence they were sent to France. Only one, Sebastian Louis Meurin, was allowed to return to Illinois, and he not until he had signed a paper obligating himself to recognize no ecclesiastical superior other than the superior of the Capuchins at New Orleans, and to carry on no communication with either Quebec or Rome.*

The inherent injustice of the decree, the bitter animosity which prompted it, and the ruthless method in which it was executed can not be reconciled with any known principles of common fairness and honesty, to say nothing of the precepts of Christian charity. Had the orders been literally and completely carried out, both whites and Indians would have been left without any place for the public worship of God; the unoffending people would have been deprived alike of priests and altars. In a word, the profanation would have been as monstrous as it was unjustifiable. Happily, however, the parties deriving titles through sales made under the decree absolutely refused to demolish the chapels.

The arduous services of the greater portion of these early French missionaries in a new country, under circumstances of the greatest hardship, deprived as they were of the comforts of civilization, journeying by night and day through trackless swamps and forests, camping on the ground and sheltered only by trees, and depending mostly on wild fruits and game for subsistence, certainly entitle them to a high place on the roll of those who have sought to benefit mankind. Their zeal knew no bounds, their energy was as tireless as the ebb and flow of the tide; their devotion to the interests of their respective orders knew neither limits nor modera-

* Shea's "Catholic Church in Colonial Days," 587, 589.

tion, and they attested sincerity of their faith by the willing sacrifice of their lives, either at the hand of violence or through the no less certain agency of exposure and deprivation. While neither primarily explorers nor colonists, they preserved, by their pen, the discoveries and achievements of others. They made known the existence of the salt-springs in New York, the copper-mines of Lake Superior, and contributed to the spread of geographical knowledge the world over. It was through their efforts that the first wheat was sown in Illinois and the first sugar-cane introduced into Louisiana.*

Not the least valuable of their labors was the reduction of the language and even dialects of Indian tribes to grammatical rules, the preservation of the traditional history of the aborigines and their national customs, and the instruction of these rude savages in the rudiments of music. Of such records, fifty-one volumes by the Jesuits alone were published in Paris.

The estimate of the measure of success which attended the religious labors of these missionaries must necessarily vary according to the various conceptions of their aims and the different stand-points from which they are viewed. It can hardly be questioned that at each mission some adults endeavored to lead lives in accordance with the teachings of Christianity, as explained to them by their spiritual guides. The latter believed strongly in the saving efficacy of infant baptism, and considered it an "admirable providence," as expressed by Father Marquette, if they were permitted to administer the sacrament to a dying child "for the salvation of its innocent soul." But so far as the conversion or evangelization of the nomadic tribes is concerned, or the successful inculcation of those Christian precepts which exercise restraining influences upon the cruelties of predatory warfare, their work was a lamentable failure, as is shown by the testimony of the fathers themselves. Father Gabriel Marest, whose faithful services as a missionary of fifteen years among the Illinois Indians qualify him to speak intelligently on the subject, records his experience in these words: "Our life is passed in roaming through thick forests, in clambering over the mountains, in

* Shea.

paddling the canoe across lakes and rivers, to catch a single poor savage who flies from us, and whom we can tame neither by teachings nor caresses." In another place he says, "nothing is more difficult than the conversion of these Indians. It is a miracle of the Lord's mercy." The same authority, in speaking of the mission of St. Joseph among the Miamis, in 1712, says, "religion among them does not take deep root, as should be desired, and there are but few souls who from time to time give themselves truly to God."

Father Membré says:* "With regard to conversions, I can not rely on any. There is in these savages such an alienation from the faith, so brutal and narrow a mind, such corrupt and anti-Christian morals, that great time would be needed to hope for any fruit. We baptised some dying children, and two or three dying persons who manifested proper dispositions."

Father Louis Vivier, a Jesuit, in 1750, thus sums up the results of fifty years of missionary effort among the Illinois: "That all the Indian families had been baptized there but five or six, but that the fire-water had ruined the mission, causing the greater portion to abandon religion." He further says, "the greatest good they [the missionaries] can do them is the administration of baptism to children who are at the point of death." And the testimony of Father P. F. Watrin, himself a Jesuit missionary, in 1765, is still more conclusive. In a report to the "Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda," he remarks: "Since the year 1680, religion had begun to be disseminated among the Illinois. The Peorias alone have been perseveringly obstinate in rejecting it. Next to them the Cahokias were the most difficult to be won over, and they at length abandoned the faith, as did the Mitchigamies. The Kaskaskias for the most part have persevered in the Christian religion, despite the causes of seduction that perverted the other villages."†

While it is doubtless true that better results apparently were obtained in other localities, it is also true that the converts among the Illinois Indians that were the most highly commended, as did those in the most successful missions, soon fell

* "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," by J. G. Shea, 153.

† "Magazine of Western History," I., 269.

away from the faith, and that their descendants were not in the slightest degree distinguished for morality above other savages who had never yielded to the gospel call.

The failure of the French missionaries to Christianize the aborigines may be chiefly assigned to two operative causes. The first of these relates to the missionaries themselves. Their methods were fundamentally erroneous. Believing that religion was "the chief end of man," and especially that its benefits could be conferred and enjoyed only through the ministrations of their own church, by which they aimed to control the state as well as the individual, and attain a power which would be supreme civilly as well as spiritually, they sought to withdraw the savage tribes from the contaminations or interference of the civil authorities, preferring to share with them the hardships of their lot rather than to open their eyes to the dangerous means of its amelioration. The state sought to gain controlling influence by localizing and civilizing the Indians, by teaching them agriculture and the arts of peace; the priests, by isolating them from all other influences outside of themselves. Man is first an animal, then a social being, then a subject of civil government. In all of these stages of progress, intelligence and growth are necessarily implied. To make a mere savage who knows no home and recognizes no authority, a religious being, is an impossibility. He may become, to a certain extent, a machine to be worked upon by despotic power, but is rarely able to comprehend Christianity.

But a second cause of failure was found in the Indians themselves. The difficulty of the task of their christianization, humanly speaking, was insurmountable. An Indian, says Father Le Clercq, would be baptized ten times a day for a pint of brandy or a pound of tobacco. The soil in which the missionary dropped his seed was fallow and sterile. To have expected it to take deep root would have been to look for the impossible. The Indians could grasp the idea of the Christian religion neither intellectually nor spiritually. The natural, if not inevitable, result followed. Without enlightenment, roaming at will from place to place, although in some instances it was claimed that the ameliorating influences of religion

were manifested, the wild native was neither humanized, christianized, nor civilized, through the efforts of the French missionaries.

But even had all other conditions been favorable, yet another cause might be mentioned for this failure. The lust for pelf brought to the Indian villages hosts of traders; men of dissolute life, who knew no god but gain, no morality but avarice, and who found in the deadly "fire-water" the best medium of exchange. In vain did the priests seek to instruct ignorant savages, whose brains were muddled and whose consciences were blunted with drink, and whose native moral instincts had been perverted through familiarity and intercourse with such depraved debauchees.

Nor were the Protestant ministers of New England, although adopting different methods, any more successful in their efforts to Christianize the Indians. Neither was their assumption of ecclesiastical superiority any less pronounced than that of the followers of Loyola or St. Francis. And while the suppression of the Jesuits was the harbinger of the civil and religious freedom in Europe which preceded and foreshadowed the great French revolution, it was not until the people, fighting for freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press, through their colleges and schools, threw off the yoke of clerical domination, that New England became the cradle and the abiding-place of American liberty.

It is true, however, that the erection of the cross and the presence of the priest at an Indian village formed a nucleus for the comparatively permanent abiding-place of traders and *voyageurs*. While they generally departed with the tribe on the annual hunt in the fall, and returned in the spring, it sometimes happened that the priest, on account of ill-health or for some other reason, would remain at the village with a few squaws and old men and children. The uncouth chapel, reminding the itinerant white trader of a better state of society in the far-off home of his boyhood, drew his wandering steps most frequently to the place where the priest was found. Facilities for trade also improved there, and gradually his sojournings came to be of longer duration, until not infrequently he took a willing dusky maiden to wife. The building of a house and

the cultivation of a small piece of ground naturally followed; and thus was given to these primitive settlements the elements of growth and stability.

Cahokia and Kaskaskia were very favorable locations for settlements of this kind. Situated near the great Father of Waters, whose overflows were not at that time so frequent or well known as they afterward became, and not far from the mouth of the Missouri, they were directly on the great highways of the trader and hunter. The climate was mild, the soil extremely productive, and the vast forests around full of game, of nut and fruit-bearing trees, and of vines.

While LaSalle became the owner by purchase of the entire Illinois country, no permanent settlement grew out of its occupancy either by himself or his immediate followers. Fort Crévecœur, erected by him, was never occupied after its abandonment a short time thereafter, and even its site is not now known. His colony established in the vicinity of Fort St. Louis and Buffalo Rock, under such favorable auspices, continued but a few years after his death, and after the military had been withdrawn it languished and entirely disappeared. And although the settlements at Cahokia and Kaskaskia proved to be permanent, but for the establishment of the civil and military authority at Fort Chartres it is more than probable that they too would have been abandoned in time for presumably more desirable locations. Protection of the law, backed up by forts and men with guns in their hands, is essential to the safety no less than to the permanence of organized society.*

* Authorities: "Catholic Missions," by Shea and Kip; "Early French Voyages," by St. Cosmé, Gravier, and others; Charlevoix's "New France"; Warburton's "Canada"; Winsor's "America"; French's "Louisiana"; "Encyclopedia Britannica"; "Magazine of American History" and "Magazine of Western History," and articles in the latter, and manuscripts, by Oscar W. Collet, secretary of the Missouri Historical Society; Manuscripts and Records in the Chicago Historical Society; "Jesuit Relations"; Shea's "Catholic Church in Colonial Days."

CHAPTER V.

A District of Louisiana—Crozat's Grant—The East-Indies Company—Civil Government—Indian Forays—State of Society, 1718-1756.

IN the preceding chapters, the Illinois country, as it came to be called, has been considered from the direction of Canada. The point of view will now be changed to that of Louisiana, of which province it became a part. The tragic death of LaSalle and the consequent failure of his great scheme to connect his colony on the Illinois with a proposed post about sixty leagues above the mouth of the Mississippi, was a blow from which that settlement was never able to recover. Fort St. Louis ceased to exist as a French post in 1702. It continued to be occupied by a few irresponsible traders and merchants, until it was partially destroyed, as hereinbefore stated, soon after which the colony dispersed.

The war in Europe, in which Great Britain and France were engaged, during the nine years following 1688, had so exhausted each in respect of both men and means as very seriously to impede the growth and prosperity of their colonies in North America. But no sooner had the peace of Ryswick afforded Louis XIV leisure and opportunity to turn his attention toward his possessions in New France, than that monarch began to consider how best to utilize the important discoveries of LaSalle, which had opened up to French colonization and control a territory no less magnificent in extent than it was grand in possibilities.

In 1698, Pierre LeMoyne, Sieur d'Iberville,* an eminent Canadian officer of the French navy, was appointed commander of and successfully conducted an expedition to the Bay of Biloxi, where he founded a settlement and constructed a fort. His brother, LeMoyne de Bienville, as the "king's lieutenant," was placed in charge of this colony. Upon the

* Charles LeMoyne was the father of six sons, born at Montreal, of whom Iberville was the third, and Bienville, his successor as governor of Louisiana, the sixth, and second son with that title.

renewal of hostilities between Great Britain and France, however, in 1701, this post shared the fate of other colonial settlements, which, through neglect and want for some years, were forced to drag out a precarious existence. In 1708, to add to their other calamities the yellow fever broke out among the inhabitants at Biloxi, and spared in its fatal ravages only fourteen officers, seventy-six soldiers, and thirteen sailors.* In this year, the growing dissatisfaction over the administration of the affairs of this colony induced the French court to establish a new form of government for Louisiana. The province was detached from Canada, and Nicholas de Muy appointed its first governor, who, however, died on his passage to Biloxi.

But, in 1712, the condition of the settlers had greatly improved, and glowing accounts of the opportunities for trade and mining in the new, had reached the parent, country. It was represented to be the richest part of the world; "pearls could be fished there in abundance, and the streams rolled on sands of gold."

Believing that the resources of the new territory could be rendered more productive to the royal exchequer through private enterprise than under the direction of officers of the crown, the king, on September 14, 1712, issued royal letters-patent to Antoine Crozat, Marquis de Chatel, in which were granted a monopoly of the commerce of the country, over which, through him, the "laws and customs of Paris" were to be administered. This patent was a lengthy and formidable document, granting, among other things, the right to "search for, open, and dig all sorts of mines, veins, and minerals throughout said country, and also to search for precious stones and pearls, reserving a fifth part of the gold and silver for the king."

A question has been raised whether or not the Illinois country was included in this grant. The language describing the territory over which it was to be exercised, general and somewhat indefinite, was as follows: "Solely to carry on a trade in all the lands possessed by us, and bounded by New Mexico and by the lands of the English of Carolina, all the establishments, ports, havens, rivers, and principally the port and

* French's "Louisiana."

haven of the Isle Dauphine, heretofore called Massacre; the river of St. Louis, heretofore called Mississippi, from the edge of the sea *as far as the Illinois;* together with the river St. Philip, heretofore called the Missouris, and of St. Jerome, heretofore called Ouabache, with all the countries, territories, lakes within land, and the rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that part of the river of St. Louis."

Another, equally indefinite, reference to the same territory in the document is as follows: "And further, that all the lands which we possess *from the Illinois* [or, rather, on this side of the Illinois country]* be united, so far as occasion requires, to the general government of New France."† It does not appear, indeed, that Crozat attempted to exercise any particular control over the Illinois country, although Gov. Cadilac sent traders there in 1713.‡ In the subsequent grant to the Western Company, the territory conveyed was "the lands, coasts, ports, havens, and islands which form our province of Louisiana, as well and with the same extent, as we had granted to Mr. Crozat." Under which later grant and under the decree hereinafter mentioned, jurisdiction and control was exercised by the company for the first time in all the Illinois country. Antoine Laumet de la Mothe Cadilac was appointed governor, and given a share in the grantee's profits.

Mons. Crozat was a counsellor and secretary of the king's household, and this grant was intended to confer a special boon on his majesty's favorite, to which Louis remarks he was the more readily inclined because of the zeal manifested and the singular knowledge acquired by the secretary in former enterprises which had resulted in procuring to "our kingdom great quantities of gold and silver." It is clearly apparent that the object primarily in view in granting these privileges was to augment his majesty's revenues, by the royalties to be derived from mining gold and silver. Other commercial results were regarded as subsidiary considerations. While in its terms the grant was limited on the south by New Mexico, it is more than probable that the mines of old Mexico were also kept in view. However this may have been, Crozat

* "Boundaries of Ontario," by David Mills.

† Dillon's "Historical Notes," 35. ‡ French's "Louisiana," VI, 114.

signally failed to realize the magnificent expectations of his imperial patron, in the direction of either money or commerce. In 1717, after the death of Louis XIV, he surrendered his grant to the crown.

In the meantime, shrewd operators had not been slow to discover not only the vast resources and natural advantages of the country, but also its contingent value as a centre of commerce. Soon after the retirement of Crozat, therefore, in August of the same year, an organization was formed, called the "Company of the West," to which were conveyed powers even more extraordinary than those conferred on Crozat. At the head of this company was the celebrated John Law. To him and his associates were granted the control of the trade and commerce within the limits of the territory named. Governmental powers, also, were conferred upon them. They were given a monopoly of the tobacco and slave trades, and the exclusive right to refine gold and silver. Subsequently, the sole privilege of trading with the East Indies, China, and the "South Sea" was also conceded, and the name of the company changed to that of the East Indies.

It is worthy of remark in this connection that in all the royal grants of these early days, especial reference is made to the supposed presence of gold and silver, as well as precious stones. The question arises, how did the idea that gold and silver were to be found in the Mississippi Valley obtain so deep a lodgment in the early European brain? It seems most probable that the belief originated either from the sensational stories told by Spanish adventurers in Mexico and South America, or from statements made to the early discoverers by the Indians. The argument from analogy was easily made. From what source the Indians learned of the presence of the coveted metals, it is difficult to say; probably from tradition, possibly from actual discovery. It is, nevertheless, an interesting subject for conjecture whether the early French explorers, restlessly seeking for the precious yellow dust, might not have found it on the shores of the Pacific centuries ago, had they been successful in reaching what was undoubtedly their objective point.

On September 27, 1717, the country of the Illinois, which

had up to that time been a dependency of Canada, by a decree of the royal council, was united to and incorporated with the government of Louisiana.*

Under the enterprising efforts of Law's company, the colonies of Louisiana and the Illinois country rapidly increased, as many as eight hundred immigrants arriving in one year. In 1717, succeeding Cadilac, the new-appointed Gov. l' Epinay arrived. Following him the Sieur Jean Baptiste LeMoyne de Bienville, who had in previous years served in the capacity of commandant, and as lieutenant-governor under Cadilac, was appointed governor of Louisiana, and, in 1718, selected the site of New Orleans for the founding of a metropolis. Pierre Duqué de Boisbriant was named by the directors of the company as the first commandant of Illinois, and, under their instructions, proceeded to Kaskaskia with a small force to erect a fort. Why he selected as the site of this fortification, an isolated spot on the Mississippi Bottom, liable to overflow, and many miles distant from either of the villages then existing, it is difficult to comprehend. It is probable, however, that it was in the interest of the new settlements then projected in that vicinity. A poorer location, as the event proved, could not have been chosen. But the fort was constructed, and named Fort Chartres after the Duc de Chartres, son of the regent of France, and it was made the seat of government for the Illinois country while the French held it. Large warehouses for the reception of goods and also factories were erected, and around the fort there soon sprang up a thriving village called New Chartres, which soon became the centre of "fashion," as well as of power.

In 1720, the Spaniards at Santa Fé, alarmed at the encroachments upon their territory by the French, under Bernard de la Harpe, who had erected forts along the Red River and at other points, organized an expedition against the Missouri Indians, allies of the French. While the primary object of the movement was the extermination of the Missouris and the conquest of their country, the objective point was undoubtedly the Illinois. The invading force has been variously estimated at from seventy to fifteen hundred. The design was to form

* Margry, V, 589.

an alliance with the Osages, neighbors and deadly enemies of the tribe to be attacked. Losing their way, the Spaniards arrived at a Missouri village, supposing it to belong to their proposed allies, and made known to the chief their plans for destroying his nation. The cunning warrior, leaving them undeceived, promised ready coöperation. Falling upon their unsuspecting guests in the night, the savages massacred the entire party, with the exception of the chaplain, who afterward escaped. The affair was reported to Boisbriant by the Missouris, and has been considered as of importance as tending to show the designs of the Spaniards against the French in those early days.*

In 1721, Philip F. Renault brought with him to the country five hundred slaves and two hundred artisans, mechanics, and laborers, and having, on June 14, 1723, received a large grant of land, he shortly afterward founded the village of St. Philip, a few miles north of the fort. He held the office of director-general of the mines of Louisiana. In 1733, Prairie du Rocher, four miles east of Fort Chartres under the bluff, was laid out on land which the commandant had caused to be conveyed to himself, and which was by him in turn granted to his nephew, St. Therese Langlois, who conveyed it in lots to settlers, reserving his seignorial rights. Subsequently, a grant of land was made to the village for commons, from which it yet derives a revenue.

Similar grants of commons were made to other French villages for the benefit of the inhabitants. The impetus derived from the energy of the Indies Company was communicated to Cahokia and Kaskaskia, which increased in size and numbers. In 1722, a parish church and stone residence for the Jesuits were erected at the latter place, and new mills and storehouses at each of these villages. Agriculture was encouraged, and grants of land were made to permanent settlers. These grants, although inchoate in their character, were permitted to become allodial titles without farther concessions. The first of these conveyances of record, bearing date May 10, 1722, was to Charles Danie.† Another in this locality, covering several

* "Voyages aux Indes Occidentales," Bossu, Part I, 132.

† It reads as follows: "Pierre Duque Boisbriant, knight of the Military Order

leagues in extent, and one also near Peoria, were made to Renault for the labor of his slaves. He left the country in 1743, but some of this land is yet designated on the map of Monroe County as belonging to his heirs; while the title to other portions is now being litigated in the courts.

These grants on the American Bottom commenced at the Mississippi River and extended to the Kaskaskia or to the bluffs, with no intervening or unsold tracts. They were so many arpents—11 and 67/100 rods—in width and length, the lines of which ran the same course. Some of them, as at Cahokia, were only two arpents wide and extended five miles to the bluffs.* Thus large fields were within a common enclosure, each owner contributing his share toward keeping up the fence. In this way nearly all of the land in the American Bottom, in the vicinity of the settlements, was conveyed.

In September, 1721, such progress had been made in the settlement of the new country and in building up separate communities, that it was deemed advisable by the commissioners of the council for the government of the Indies Company to divide the province of Louisiana into nine civil and military districts. And it was provided that over each of these should be appointed a commandant and a judge, from whose decisions appeals might be taken to the superior council at New Orleans.†

Of these districts, Illinois, the largest and next to New Orleans the most populous, was the seventh. It embraced over one-half of the territory of the present State and all

of St. Louis and first King's lieutenant of the Province of Louisiana, commanding at the Illinois, and Marc Antoine de la Loire des Ursins, principal secretary for the Royal Indies Company;—

On the demand of Charles Danie, to grant him a piece of land five arpents in front, on the side of the Mitchiagamia River, running north and south, joining to Michel Philip on one side and on the other to Meleque, and in depth east and west to the Mississippi. In consequence they do grant to the said Charles Danie (in soc age) the said land; whereon he may from this date commence working, clearing, and sowing in expectation of a formal concession, which shall be sent from France by Messieurs the Directors of the Royal Indies Company. And the said land shall revert to the domain of the said company if the said Charles Danie do not work thereon within a year and a day. BOISBRIANT.

DES URSINS."

* See "American State Papers," Vol. II.

† Dillon, 43.

that country between the Arkansas and the forty-third parallel of North latitude, from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains. It included the present states of Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, and parts of Arkansas and Colorado.* In 1723, the Wabash region was cut off from the Illinois, and made a district by itself. The commandant, with his Secretary des Ursins, and Michael Chassin, the company's commissary, formed the council of the district, and administered its affairs according to the civil law.

Other events affecting the Illinois territory at this early day, in their order, were as follows: In 1722, upon request of the Peoria Indians living on the Illinois River, who represented that they were being hard pressed by the Sacs and Foxes, a force was sent from Fort Chartres to their relief; but before its arrival they had themselves defeated their foes, as heretofore related. In 1725, Boisbriant having been summoned to New Orleans to succeed Gov. de Bienville, who had been recalled to France, he was followed in the command of the Illinois district, at least temporarily, by Capt. du Tisné, who was in turn succeeded by Capt. de Liette† of the royal army.‡

Communication with the outer world was now mostly carried on by way of New Orleans. The old route from Canada by the Chicago portages having fallen into disuse, the French settlements on the Mississippi River were peculiarly open to forays from the savages—especially since the departure of the Peorias, in 1722, from the Illinois River. These hostile incursions were of frequent occurrence and determined the French to strike the Foxes an effective blow. An expedition was accordingly directed against them by the Marquis de Beauharnais—grandfather of the first husband of the Empress Josephine—governor of Canada, in which the French and the Illinois Indians, commanded by Liette, took a prominent part.§ The Sacs and Foxes were met and defeated near Green Bay. Other collisions occurred between the belligerents in which the combined French and Indians were victorious under the brave St. Ange, upon whom the duties of comman-

* "Magazine of Western History."

† Judge Breese spells this name de Lielte, and others de Siette, and Charlevoix Delietto. ‡ Oscar W. Collet. § E. G. Mason.

dant, after Liette, had devolved. He was the father of Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, and died about 1742.*

In 1734, Gov. Bienville, who had been recalled in 1725 and was then succeeded by Gov. Périer, was reappointed and continued to act as governor of Louisiana until 1743, when he was again recalled and succeeded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

In 1732, the charter of the Indies Company was surrendered, and Louisiana, including the district of the Illinois, was governed by officers appointed directly by the French crown under a code of laws known as the "Common Law of Paris." These laws, however, not being adapted to the exigencies of civil or social relations in a new country, were not generally enforced; the commandant exercising an arbitrary but mild authority, which was acquiesced in without complaint.† The majority of colonists who had come to this country, influenced by inducements held out by the Indies Company, being indigent and illiterate, when the company failed, for the most part betook themselves to the pursuits of hunting and boating. A few men of talent and enterprise remained, who became merchants and traders on a large scale with the Indians.

In 1734, Pierre d'Artaguiette, a young officer who had greatly distinguished himself in a war with the Natchez, was promoted to the majority of his regiment and appointed, by the governor of Louisiana, commandant of the Illinois district; and his administration proved popular and successful. In 1736, however, he conducted a disastrous expedition against the Chickasaws, who had long opposed the advancement of the French settlements on the Mississippi. His force was composed of a part of the garrison of Fort Chartres, a company of volunteers from the French villages, and a large portion of the warriors of the Kaskaskias, making an army of two hundred French and four hundred Indians.‡ The Illinois and Miami Indians were under command of Chief Chicagou. At the mouth of the Ohio, the Chevalier Jean Baptiste Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes§ joined the expedition with his quota from the Wabash.

* O. W. Collet. † Dillon's "Historical Notes," 60.

‡ Holmes' "Annals," II, 83.

§ Vincennes was born in 1668, and was a brother-in-law of Louis Joliet. Dillon and others say that his name was Francis Morgan Vincennes. Shea, in his note

Marching out from Fort Chartres on a morning in February, his command, when mustered on board his bateaux and canoes, presented an imposing appearance as it floated down the Mississippi. A coöperating force from New Orleans was expected to effect a junction at an agreed point near the Chickasaw village. Bienville failed to carry out his part of the plan. Disappointed at this unexpected failure, to fight was the only alternative left the brave, young commander; but he was severely wounded early in the engagement, as were many other officers; his Indian allies fled, and the Chickasaws soon remained masters of the bloody field. Artaguiette, Vincennes, Father Senat, Tisné, and young Pierre St. Ange—brother of Louis,* were taken prisoners and burned at the stake.

The successor of the lamented Artaguiette was Alphonse de la Buissoniére, who, in 1736, also led an expedition against the warlike Chickasaws. The opposing forces came in sight of each other, but, upon a careful survey of the situation, concluded to make peace. However, this was soon broken by the implacable redskins, who attacked a boat at the mouth of the Ohio, going to the Illinois, and killed all on board except one young girl, who had recently arrived from France and was on her way to join her sister at Fort Chartres. Reaching the shore, she wandered through the woods for days, living on herbs and roots; but finally saw the flag floating from Fort Chartres, and, struggling on, reached the haven of her hopes.

From this time on, for a period of over twelve years, the French settlements in the Illinois district were at peace with all the world, and prosperous. The war between Great Britain and France during the four years preceding the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, involved the colonists on the Atlantic coast, but did not materially affect the remote and comparatively isolated settlers in the valley of the Mississippi.

During this period, the commandants general, as they were called in official documents, succeeded each other in the following order: In 1740, Capt. Benoist de St. Claire was appointed

to Charlevoix, IV, 122, gives the name as in the text. Collet says that the name Vincennes was one that he assumed. W. A. Brice, in his "History of Ft. Wayne," says that an officer by the name of M. de Vincennes was reported to have died at the Miami village in 1719. * O. W. Collet.

to succeed Buissoniére; two years thereafter came the Chevalier de Bertel or Berthet, who held the position until 1748-9, when he in turn yielded the command to St. Claire, who was reinstated therein.

The early history of the French settlements in southern Illinois reads, in these days of higher civilization and broader culture, like a romance of Arcadia. The wants of these primitive denizens of a new territory were as simple as they were few. Subsequent historians have called these the "halcyon days of Illinois," and allude to this period as the date at which was established the fact that "an honest, virtuous people need no government."*

The growth and prosperity of the five French villages in the district had been uniform and substantial. Extending along the American Bottom from Kaskaskia to Cahokia, frequent and friendly communication was maintained among their inhabitants along a line sixty miles in length. At peace with each other, they established and cultivated amicable relations with their Indian neighbors. Religious dissensions were unknown. The settlers recognized but one church, and to dispute her will in matters of faith never entered their minds. In each hamlet was a rude chapel, with its attendant priest, who was, not only in matters of religion but in all the affairs of every-day life, the "guide, philosopher, and friend" of his illiterate parishioners. The architecture of their houses partook of the simplicity of those who dwelt within them—a single story, surmounted by a thatch of prairie-grass, rested upon four posts, whose roughly-hewn sides were concealed by horizontal cross-ties, and whose interstices were filled in with clay and straw, in lieu of mortar. The main entrance was protected by a primitive porch or shed. The floors were made of puncheons. The substantial furnishing of these plain homes was designed with an eye to utility rather than ornament; articles of mere luxury were unkown, and she was a proud dame who could adorn her dwelling with a silver heirloom brought from her native land, to which she had bid a long farewell.

The demands of dress were not at all exacting. Coarse,

* See Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," and Breese's "Early History of Illinois."

blue cotton sufficed for summer wear, which was sometimes covered by a capot made of a Mackinac blanket. In winter, cotton was replaced by bear skin. Blue handkerchiefs formed the head-gear of men and women alike, while both sexes were content to cover their feet with loosely-fitting deer-skin moccasins. Their agricultural implements were of the most primitive kind—wooden plows without a colter, and carts without iron. They usually plowed with oxen, which were yoked by the horns rather than by the neck. The horses were driven tandem, with harness made of raw-hide, which was strong and neat. With such implements and outfits thousands of acres were cultivated on the American Bottom, yielding large and remunerative crops.

They raised chiefly wheat, oats, hops, and tobacco—Indian corn only for hogs and hominy; against its use for bread they were prejudiced. Their bags were made of dried elk-skins. They had neither spinning-wheels, looms, nor churns —butter being made by shaking the cream in a bottle, or by breaking it in a bowl with a spoon, and very little used. Their commerce was chiefly with New Orleans, the people of which port depended mainly on Illinois for supplies of various kinds. Regular cargoes of flour—as many as four thousand sacks in 1745*—bacon, pork, hides, tallow, leather, lumber, wine, lead, and peltries were annually, and sometimes more frequently, transported in keel-boats and barges, or batteaux as they were called, to New Orleans, where was found an excellent market. For cargo on their homeward voyage, the little vessels brought to the Northern settlements sugar, rice, manufactured tobacco, indigo, cotton, and such other goods as the simple wants of the inhabitants required.

The Frenchmen in Illinois were excellent boatmen, and although the work of ascending the river was difficult and at some places perilous, they so mingled their amusements with the excitements of the voyage as to make this kind of life not only tolerable but enjoyable. The manner of navigating the Mississippi, as conducted then and for over half a century thereafter, was by towing, sailing, and, as it was called, cordelling, which consisted in pulling the boat up stream by a long rope,

* Reynolds.

one end of which was fastened to a tree, the other being in the hands of the men on board. When creeks or rivers impeded their progress, they swam them or were ferried over in canoes. The crews numbered, according to the size of the vessel, from ten to fifty hands, and with large boats heavily laden, four or five months' time was consumed in making the round trip from Kaskaskia to New Orleans. Besides coin, good peltries were an acknowledged measure of value, and passed freely in commercial transactions.

The government of the commandant, as before stated, was mild and conservative, interfering but little with the every-day pursuits of the people, excepting in matters of commerce, over which he maintained absolute control. Having extensive patronage and unlimited power over trade, as well as over all contracts for supplies, repairs, and stores for his majesty's magazines, ample opportunities were afforded him not only to secure the good-will of the inhabitants, but also to add very largely to his legitimate income.

"The Court of the Audience of the royal jurisdiction of the Illinois," as Judge Breese calls it, which came to be established, had but little difficulty in settling the few matters of dispute which arose, or in enforcing its judgments and decrees, through the provost marshal.* Each village had its own local commandant, who was usually the captain of the militia.†

The burdens of the people were light; and there being but few social distinctions, there were no rivalries. Care was a stranger, and amusements always in order. Paying strict attention to the public duties of religion, they regarded the close of the mass on Sunday as the signal for the commencement of festivities on this gala day of the week. Games, visiting, and gossip were the order of the day; but their chief delight was in dancing, in which old and young engaged alike.‡

Ignorant of the expensive demands of fashion, their artificial wants were few and easily satisfied. All it cost for a year's board and lodging was two months' work—one plowing and one harvesting.§ Thus lived in their border villages this

* See interesting address before Illinois State Bar Association, on the "Beginning of Law in Illinois," by Edward G. Mason, 1887.

† Breese, 217. ‡ Monette, Stoddard. § Capt. Pittman.

primitive, detached people, apparently contented with their situation, their government, and religion.

But there is a reverse side to this picture. The highest product of any country—the outgrowth which surpasses in value all the combined harvests of the soil and the aggregate yield from its mines, however great—consists of the men and women who not only acknowledge that soil as their mother, but who owe their character and its development to the circumstances and institutions surrounding their birth and among which they are reared.

> "Ill fares the land, to gathering ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

In vain do fertile fields respond to labor, when those who cultivate them are themselves the stunted product of a warped, incomplete, or degenerate civilization.

These early colonists, in a very considerable proportion, were the product of the lower, while not a few of them had belonged to or descended from the criminal, classes. The higher qualities of mind and heart which often distinguish the national character, and which were repeatedly displayed by the enterprising and loyal French who came to this country after 1780, they apparently either left behind them or never possessed.

Having no educational system, they were ignorant alike of their rights, duties, and responsibilities as citizens. It was not for the interest of their rulers that they should learn either, and they were as destitute of ambition as the animals with which they plowed. Like children, they cheerfully performed the tasks assigned them, stimulated by the hope of the promised play-time which was sure to follow. In return for the permission to indulge in their chosen pastimes without restraint, they willingly confided their government to others. While they were light-hearted, they were light-headed as well, and thriftless; the poorer portion laboring only long enough to gain a bare subsistence each passing day, the rest of the time being spent in sporting, hunting, and wine drinking. Those who had slaves compelled them to labor to support their drunken masters in idleness and debauchery.* They are represented as hard masters, and overreaching and profligate in their intercourse with the Indians.

* Lieut. Frazier.

Their connection with the latter, indeed, was a source of injury and degradation to both races. It was found that it was easier for the French to descend to the lower plane of savage life than it was for the native to improve by the specimen of civilization presented him by the French, while the bad qualities of the latter were adopted naturally and without an effort. The result was the demoralization and decay of both, so that in the end one was exterminated and the other compelled to give way to the sterner and more elevating civilization of the Anglo-Saxon.

As remarked by a close observer of these early times, we look in vain for the monuments of this ancient population. Their memorials may be counted upon less than the fingers of one hand. With not one single important work of education, art, science, culture, benevolence, or religion are they associated.*

* O. W. Collet, "Magazine of Western History," 1, 95.

Authorities: Gov. Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois"; Dillon's Historical Notes; "Illinois in the Eighteenth Century," by Edward G. Mason, president of Chicago Historical Society; Gayarre's "Louisiana"; French's "Louisiana"; American State Papers; Papers and Manuscripts by O. W. Collet; "Early History of Illinois," by Judge Sidney Breese; Holmes' "Annals"; "Western Annals," by J. H. Perkins and J. M. Peck; Papers and Manuscripts in Chicago Historical Society; "Magazine of Western History"; Monette's "Valley of the Mississippi"; "Charlevoix, New France," by Shea; Works of Judge James Hall; Martin's "Louisiana"; DuPratz' "Louisiana"; Stoddard's "Louisiana"; Bossu's "Voyages"; "Decouvetes et Establissements," etc., P. Margry; "Boundaries of Ontario," by David Mills.

CHAPTER VI.

The French-and-Indian War—British Claims—Washington's Mission—Position of Illinois—How affected—Why the French Lost the Country, 1755-1763.

THE claim of the British to the rich country of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys was now to be submitted to the adjudication of the sword. It was contended, indeed, that this right rested not only upon grants from the crown and treaties with the original owners, but upon the right of prior discovery by Col. Wood, in 1654, and by Capt. Bolt, in 1670.*

In 1698, attention had been directed by Dr. d' Avenant, in a report on the trade and revenues of England, to the importance of securing possession of the mouth of the Mississippi River, and the danger to English commercial interests if the settlement of that valuable territory by the French was not checked.† To carry out this recommendation, an expedition was promptly fitted out by the English government this same year, consisting of a small frigate, commanded by Capt. Barr, and another vessel commanded by Capt. Clements, with instructions to take possession of Louisiana and establish a colony on the banks of the Mississippi.‡ The surprise of the French governor, Bienville, when returning to Biloxi from his first exploration of the Mississippi, September 16, 1699, at meeting Capt. Barr on his way up may be imagined.

An interesting conference followed. Bienville demanded of Capt. Barr what he was doing in the Mississippi Valley, and whether he was not aware that the French had already established themselves in that country; to which the captain, equally surprised at the encounter, replied that he was ignorant of the fact, but that the English had discovered the country fifty years before and therefore had a prior and better right to it than the French. However, without making any demonstration, he re-

* Thomas Hutchins in Gilbert Imlay's "Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America"; Coxe's "Carolina," 120; "State of British and French Colonies in North America," (1755), 107.

† Dillon's "Historical Notes," 29.

‡ French's "Louisiana," VI., 60.

versed the course of his vessel and set sail in the direction of the gulf; but intimated to the astonished representative of the House of Bourbon that the latter would hear from him again.*

At about the same time it was ascertained by Iberville that English traders from Carolina were among the Chickasaws, buying furs and slaves, and that a party of Englishmen had left New York for the Illinois country.† To fortify the claim to the country, based upon right of discovery, treaties were negotiated by Great Britain with the Iroquois in 1701, and subsequently confirmed in 1724–6. By these instruments, that powerful nation conveyed their territorial rights to the British, retaining only the privilege of hunting. But as the Iroquois had never really acquired any title to the Northwest, never having resided in that locality, the conveyance was certainly not of much value.‡ Further, to strengthen their claim, the British, in 1748, concluded a treaty of alliance and friendship with the Twightwees, their first connection with the Miami confederacy.§

During the thirteen years which followed, both Great Britain and France were too much absorbed in the war of the Spanish succession, in which they participated on opposite sides, to devote much attention to the affairs of their respective colonies in the new world. The peace which followed the formation of the triple alliance in Europe, in 1717, remained unbroken for nearly a quarter of a century, and the relations of the two countries continued on a friendly footing. At the outbreak of the war of the Austrian succession, in 1740, these hereditary foes found themselves once more arrayed on opposing sides. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, brought this war to a close so far as the peace of Europe was concerned, but the question of the respective rights of the two powers in North America was left unsettled by that rather unsatisfactory compact. The ownership of the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi remained still in dispute—a *casus belli* destined to bring about a conflict which was to end in the transfer of a continent.

* Penicaut's "Journal," French's "Louisiana," Part VI., 60; Sauvol's "Journal," French's "Louisiana," Part III., 229–38. † French's "Louisiana," Part VI., 126.

‡ Beckwith's "Vermilion County," 224. § Dillon's "Historical Notes," 63.

The formation of the Ohio Land Company, in 1748–9, and the grant to it by the British government of half a million acres of land along the Ohio River, with the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indian tribes, precipitated the impending conflict. Surveys and explorations by Christopher Gist, the agent of the company, followed in 1750–2, and a trading-post was established on Loramie Creek, forty-seven miles north of Dayton.

The French had, in the meantime, erected a fort at Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, and soon after advanced their posts to the Alleghany River. These hostile demonstrations were viewed with no little alarm by the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Gov. Dinwiddie, who was a stockholder therein,* was a ready listener to complaints by the Ohio Company of these belligerent acts, and appointed Capt. William Trent as a commissioner to expostulate with the French commander on the Ohio concerning his aggressions on the territory of his Britannic majesty; but his mission proved a failure. Dinwiddie, however, was not discouraged, and at once began to look about for a person better fitted to represent the government in so delicate a mission. It was apparent that for such a task keen sagacity was as essential a qualification as high physical and moral courage.

One in whom these qualities were happily united was found in the person of Maj. George Washington, then adjutant-general of the Virginia militia, and assigned to the northern division. Thus the history of the "father of his country" becomes distinctly connected with that of our own State, which, although at that time in hostile possession, eventually became a part of the State of the illustrious Washington. His commission bore date October 30, 1753. By its terms he was directed to proceed to Logstown, where, after presenting his credentials to the French commander, he was to ascertain what had given occasion to the French invasion of British territory, what were the pretensions of the aggressors, and how they were likely to be supported. He was also directed diligently to inquire into the numbers of the French on the Ohio and in the adjacent country; and correctly to inform himself as to the number and loca-

* Irving's "Washington," I., 67.

tion of the enemy's forts, and how the latter were garrisoned and appointed.

He began the same day what proved to be a perilous and difficult journey. Often sleeping on the ground without a tent, passing through the storms and snows of winter, in danger from treacherous foes in a wilderness country, he developed a resolution, prudence, sagacity, and hardihood which distinguished him as one eminently qualified to discharge important trusts involving civil as well as military responsibilities. He was courteously received by the French officer, Jacques Repentigny le Gardeur de St. Pierre, who replied to the governor's communication that he would transmit the same to his general, the Marquis Duquesne, by whose answer his conduct would be governed.

On returning, the weather becoming more unfavorable and the roads deep with snow, the horses of the major and his companion gave out. They therefore determined to prosecute their journey by the nearest way, through the woods, on foot. This Washington found to be a difficult and dangerous expedient, as the following extract from his journal shows:

"I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a watch-coat. Then with gun in hand and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist. The day following, just after we passed a place called 'Murdering Town,' we fell in with a party of French-Indians, who had lain in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took the fellow in custody and kept him until nine o'clock at night, then let him go, walking all the remaining part of the night, without making any stops, that we might get the start so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day. The next day we continued traveling until quite dark, and got to the river, which we expected to find frozen, but it was not—only about fifty yards from each shore. There was no way of getting over but on a raft, which we set about with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sunsetting. This was a whole day's work. We next got it launched, then went on board of it, and set off; but before we were half-way over we were jammed in the ice in such manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink and ourselves to perish. I put out my

setting pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole that it jerked me out into ten feet of water, but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it. The cold was so extremely severe that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning, and went on to Mr. Frazier's." They arrived at Williamsburg, Jan. 16, 1754.

The information brought by Washington having convinced the governor that the French were preparing to take military possession of the Ohio Valley, preparations were immediately made to counteract such a step. The Ohio Company having begun a fort at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, Maj. Washington was ordered, in the spring of 1754, to proceed thither and superintend its completion. He set out from Alexandria with a force of one hundred and fifty men, but was so delayed by unforeseen difficulties of transportation that he found on his arrival that the French were already there in advance of him. A force of about one thousand men, under Capt. Antoine Pécody, Sieur de Contrecœur, with a small park of light artillery, had suddenly appeared before the fort, and, after driving off the few militiamen and workmen who formed its garrison, had taken possession. The French completed the fort and named it Fort Duquesne, after the governor of Canada. And this was the first blow struck in the French-and-Indian war, the formal declaration of which was not made until after the capture of Fort Necessity. Although the war thus commenced in the Ohio Valley extended over North America, only those events will be referred to here which relate to the Northwest and are directly connected with the Illinois country.

Washington, perceiving the situation, determined to proceed with his small command to the Ohio Company's storehouses, at the mouth of Redstone Creek. On his way he encountered a small party of French, under the Sieur de Jumonville de Villiers, who, it is alleged, had been despatched with a formal summons to Washington, requiring him to withdraw from the French ter-

ritory. This party was successfully attacked by Washington, May 28, at a place called Little Meadows. It was his first battle, and resulted in the killing of ten of the French, including the commander, and the capture of twenty-one prisoners, while his own loss was but one killed and three wounded. From a letter found on the person of Jumonville, as well as from his conduct in waiting for reinforcements before delivering the message with which he had been charged, it would seem that the summons was in fact a mere pretext to cover his real design, which was to assume the initiative and attack Washington as soon as he felt himself numerically able to do so.

On learning of the defeat and death of Jumonville, his brother, Coulon de Villiers, who had been despatched for this purpose from Montreal, set out from Fort Duquesne with an army of five hundred French and seven hundred Indians to avenge his death. In view of his inferiority in numbers—his force being but about three hundred all told, Washington retreated to the Great Meadows, where a temporary fortification was thrown up, known as Fort Necessity. Here, on July 3, he was attacked by Villiers. His defense against great odds was most ably conducted, but in the end he was compelled to surrender to the French.*

This affair was directly connected with the history of the Illinois country. Fort Chartres had been reinforced under the commandant, the Chevalier Macarty Mactique, who had succeeded Maj. St. Claire, in view of the threatening aspect of the situation in the Ohio Valley, with a sufficient number of companies to form a regiment of grenadiers. Macarty was instructed to rebuild the fort, employing stone instead of wood in its construction.

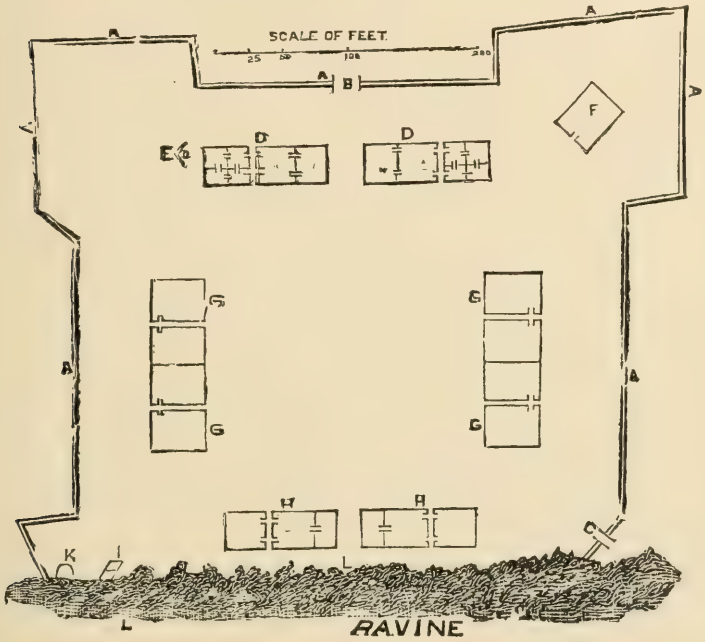
Besides being more substantially built, the new fortification was to be erected on a larger scale, and was to be equipped with what were then known as the "latest" appliances of civilized warfare. The work was completed in 1754 at a cost of a million crowns—a sum equivalent to about $1,000,000 in U.-S. money, and pronounced by Capt. Philip Pittman, who inspected it in 1766, the "most convenient and best-built fort in North America." The new Fort Chartres was in the form of an

* Dillon's "Historical Notes," 71. Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolf," I., 153.

PLAN OF FORT CHARTRES

ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

Drawn from a survey made in 1820 by Nicholas Hansen of Illinois, and Lewis C. Beck.



A A A The exterior wall—1447 feet.

B The gate or entrance to the fort.

C A small gate.

D D The two houses formerly occupied by the commandant and commissary, each 96 feet in length and 30 in breadth.

E The well.

F The magazine.

G G G G Houses formerly occupied as barracks, 135 feet in length, 36 in breadth.

H H Formerly occupied as a storehouse and guard-house, 90 feet by 24.

I The remains of small magazine.

K The remains of a furnace.

I. L L A ravine, which in the spring is filled with water. Between this and the river, which is about half-a-mile, is a thick growth of cotton-wood.

The area of the fort is about four square acres.

irregular quadrilateral. The total length of its four sides, by interior measurement, was four hundred and ninety feet. The entrance was an arched gate-way, fifteen feet high, while its walls, two feet two inches in thickness, rose to a height of eighteen feet, and contained four bastions, each having eight embrasures and a sentry-box. Within these walls were a store-house, ninety by thirty feet, two stories high, gable roofed; the government house, eighty-four by thirty-two feet, with iron gates and stone porch; the guard-house, with two rooms above for a chapel; two rows of barracks, each one hundred and twenty-eight feet long; and a magazine, thirty-eight by thirty-five feet, fifteen feet high; besides a prison with four dungeons and a guard-house.

Upon learning of the defeat and death of Jumonville, Capt. Neyon de Villiers of Fort Chartres, was dispatched with a company to join the force of his brother Coulon, from Fort Duquesne, and aid in overcoming "Monsieur de Wachenston," as he was called in the French despatches. The favorable result of this campaign gave the gallant captain and his post on the Mississippi a well-earned distinction.

The Illinois country was largely depended upon for supplies, which were transported in boats down the Mississippi and up the Ohio to Fort Duquesne, in which service Neyon de Villiers rendered valuable aid.

Upon hearing of the capture of the place afterward known as Fort Duquesne, and the surrender of Fort Necessity, the British government determined upon a more vigorous prosecution of the war, the issue of which was fraught with such stupendous consequences. The contest was altogether unequal, so far as the colonies were concerned. The British white population in 1749 was estimated at one million and fifty-one thousand, while that of the French—exclusive of their Indian allies—was computed at only fifty-two thousand.*

The advantages of the British in all the resources of war and in holding the interior and lesser line of defence were even greater than was their superiority in numbers. But at first, success was with the French. The disastrous defeat of Gen. Edward Braddock, near Fort Duquesne, occurred July 9, 1755, in which his

* Dillon's "Historical Notes," 66, and authorities there quoted.

loss in killed and wounded, out of a force of twelve hundred, amounted to seven hundred and fourteen, while that of the French and Indians was only sixty-seven. By this victory, the French were confirmed in the possession of Fort Duquesne, and left masters of the Ohio Valley for more than three years.

But a change of ministry in Great Britain had placed at the head of the foreign office the great Earl of Chatham, whose splendid genius, displayed in marshalling the resources of Great Britain and in directing its armies, was soon rewarded with a succession of brilliant victories which changed the aspect of affairs in North America. By 1758, the British forces having been largely reinforced from Europe, active operations were once more resumed in the Ohio Valley.

Early in September, Maj. Grant, with a force of eight hundred Highlanders and a company of Virginians, was ordered to attack Fort Duquesne. That fortress had just been reinforced by four hundred French grenadiers from the Illinois district, under command of the Chevalier Aubrey. Grant, dividing his troops, intending to draw the enemy into an ambuscade, was gallantly attacked in detail by Aubrey, who obtained a complete victory over him, inflicting a loss of three hundred.* A few days afterward, this intrepid commander made another sortie from the fort and surprised a British camp forty-five miles away, capturing enough horses to bring his command back mounted.†

On November 25, 1758, Gen. Washington, commanding the advance of a British army seven thousand strong, appeared before the fort. The French, who by this time numbered only four hundred, the most of whom had come from Fort Chartres, decided to destroy the fort and retreat by the light of its burning stockades. The greater portion of the garrison successfully retired to Fort Machault, some miles up the river, while the remainder, with the artillery—some of which was doubtless used at Fort Massac—made their escape by the Ohio River to the Illinois.‡

The reduction of Fort Duquesne, which the British repaired

* Bancroft, IV., 312.

† E. G. Mason's "Illinois in the Eighteenth Century."

‡ Paris Doc., 956; Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," II., 159.

and rechristened Fort Pitt, terminated French domination in the Ohio Valley. The various tribes of Indians between the Ohio River and the lakes, who had hitherto been the allies of the French, upon seeing their discomfiture were ready to make terms with the conquerors.* Yet, when it was determined to attempt to raise the siege of Fort Niagara, all the Indian villages in Illinois, with characteristic inconsistency, furnished volunteers to join the forces from Detroit and Mackinac, who were again gallantly led by the brave Aubrey in this desperate enterprise.

Upon reaching the scene, on July 24, 1759, they made a gallant charge upon the investing force, commanded by Sir William Johnson; but after a sharp conflict were repulsed with great loss. Of the Illinois volunteers a large number were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, among the latter being their commander.† The defeat was a disastrous one to the French authorities at Fort Chartres. Commandant Macarty reported that the expedition had cost him "the flower of his men, and that his garrison was weaker than ever."

But the final and fatal blow which broke the power of the French in North America was given at Quebec, at the battle of the Heights of Abraham, September 13, 1759. Here the French met their entire overthrow at the hands of the British, under the noble Wolfe. The lives of the commanders of both armies were lost on the sanguinary field. The glorious result of this day's conflict was celebrated by the proclamation of a day of thanksgiving and rejoicing throughout the dominions of Great Britain.

The surrender of Montreal, Detroit, Mackinac, and other posts the following year practically ended the war. But Illinois remained loyal to France. Succeeding Macarty, Neyon de Villiers, who had proved himself so brave and efficient, was promoted to the command in 1761. It was hoped that although Canada was lost, Louisiana and Illinois, at least, might be saved to the French. But this was not to be. For the loss of Florida, France, on the same day, indemnified Spain, by ceding to that power New Orleans and all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi.‡

* Irving's "Washington," I., 263. † Irving and Mason. ‡ Bancroft, IV., 452.

This treaty sounded the death-knell of French hopes and ambitions in Illinois. The beautiful country which had been the birthplace of many and in which nearly all had so long resided, which had been first discovered and secured to them by French enterprise, and for the retention of which so many of their race and kindred had offered their lives on well-contested fields of battle, was theirs no longer. Its control had passed into the hands of a hated and hereditary foe, and its surrender was regarded by them with much the same feelings of profound personal loss as those of the French inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine when their beautiful province was surrendered to the Germans a century later. Of the seven brothers who bore the family name of Villiers, six had been slain in defence of Canada.* The gallant Commandant Neyon was the only survivor. Despondent, yet still devoted and hoping that Lower Louisiana had been saved to his country, with a few followers he departed for New Orleans. The last French commandant of the Illinois district was the veteran St. Ange, who under orders proceeded from Vincennes, and, with a force of forty men, held Fort Chartres for the new owners until they demanded possession. It was the last place on the continent of North America to fly the French flag.

It has been often said that the French sought the new world to advance the cause of religion, the Spaniards to seek for treasure, and the British to secure greater freedom of thought and action. Although this statement has too often served to emphasize a rhetorical period, it can not be said to be destitute of foundation in fact.

While it must be conceded that the French showed a capacity for undertaking large problems in political geography, a genius for exploration, and a talent for guiding their way to dominion in decidedly favorable contrast with the slower and "blundering processes of their British rivals,"† they failed to utilize the results which they had accomplished, or to take advantage of what they had acquired. They saw and claimed more than they had the ability to hold or possess. Their line of dominion extended from the St. Lawrence around the great lakes and through the valley of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, a distance

* "Bossu's Voyages," Part I., 161. † Winsor's "America," IV., 23.

of over three thousand miles. Throughout this splendid domain they established missionary stations and erected forts; but such were the inherent imperfections of their system that, although they occupied the country for over eighty years, they had not succeeded in gathering a permanent population of over four thousand white inhabitants from Lake Michigan to New Orleans. Agriculture was confined to small holdings. Instead of offering inducements to tillers of the soil to become owners of their farms, their grants were generally held under seigniorial rights. And although rents were moderate, transfers and sales of lands were burdened with restrictions and heavy fines.* But another, and indeed the crowning, cause of the failure of the French settlements is found in the fact that their energies were paralyzed by the vice-like grip of commercial monopolies, under whose autocratic sway the inhabitants were forced to buy and sell in such quantities and at such times and prices as an oligarchy of favorites might see fit to establish, thus stamping out all mercantile competition and even ambition.

In addition to the defects in their systems of land titles and of commerce, the French authorities never sought to introduce any scheme of education. They apparently preferred that the people should remain in ignorance, lest greater knowledge might awaken discontent and possibly lead to revolt. That they did not care for an intelligent population is evidenced by the fact that during the entire period of French domination in Canada not a printing-press was to be found throughout the province.

The British policy was radically different. They stuck to the soil, which they were encouraged to cultivate; they built homes, which they had every interest to protect and defend. While they brought with them from the mother country their love of freedom and of what they termed "English privileges," they left behind their respect for class distinction. They organized themselves into bodies of freeholders, in which every citizen had a voice and a vote. They encouraged learning and established schools and colleges, while the printing-press furnished them the newspaper, books, and pamphlets. They also encouraged the practice of industrial arts, in order that each community might become self-sustaining. These settlements, mostly

* Bancroft, IV., 459.

in rocky New England, where was required a constant struggle for existence, continued to grow and increase so that, although planted at about the same time as those of the French, when the war broke out which resulted in the transfer of an empire from the one power to the other, the former numbered twenty to one of the latter.

The French loved to roam in the trackless woods or on the wild prairies with the natives. Their traders were after furs, their explorers intent upon discoveries, while their missionaries sought for souls. On the other hand, the British settler was most happy when seated by his own fireside in the home which his own hands had made. While more or less engaged in commercial pursuits, his chief interest was in the soil. For him the affairs of government exercised a peculiar charm; he was as punctual at the "town meeting" as at the house of divine worship, and the fervor with which he discharged his round of religious duties was only equalled by the zeal with which he participated in elections. The christianizing of the Indians he was entirely willing to relegate to the clergy. The only interest which the average layman felt in either the temporal or spiritual welfare of his dusky, aboriginal brother was a possibly latent but certainly fervid desire to get him out of the way.

That the sturdy independence of the British induced a civilization far more hardy than the exterior polish of their French antagonists has been abundantly demonstrated at Crécy and Waterloo, in the old world, and at Niagara and Quebec in the new. And it is to the difference in the two civilizations that may be attributed the loss, by the French, of their magnificent domain in North America.

In France, an influential party, so far from deploring this loss as a national calamity, regarded the event as presaging the downfall of a corrupt dynasty, enervated by licentiousness and brutalized by power. Thoughtful minds recognized in the humiliation of the House of Bourbon the triumph of constitutional freedom over despotism. In their intense desire for a radical reform of the organization of government and of society, they were willing to endure even national humiliation, provided it tended toward national liberation from a galling

yoke.* They fixed the responsibility for the downfall of French power in America where it belonged. They recognized the patriotism and fidelity with which Montcalm's veterans, practically deserted by the home government, had loyally battled for their king. They paid ungrudging homage to their devotion, their endurance, and their chivalry; but this very appreciation of the gallant services of the men who had offered their lives on the altar of patriotism intensified their bitterness toward the despot who had necessitated the sacrifice, and accepted it without recognition. They foresaw the ultimate enfranchisement of the Anglo-American colonies, and between the lines of the Treaty of Paris they read the promise of the liberation of France through the coming revolution.

* Voltaire, at Ferney, emphasizing these sentiments, celebrated the triumph of the British at Quebec by a banquet, the performance of the drama of the "Island Patriot," and a brilliant pyrotechnic display, accompanied by martial music.—Garneau's "History of Canada."

Authorities: Dillon's "Early Settlement of the Northwest Territory"; E. G. Mason's "Illinois in the Eighteenth Century"; Geo. Imlay's "Western Territory"; French's "Historical Collection of Louisiana"; Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe"; "Annals of the West"; "Magazine of Western History"; Winsor's "America"; Bancroft's "United States"; "History of Canada," by F. X. Garneau; "Conquest of Canada," E. Warburton; "The Old French War," Rossiter Johnson; "History of Canada," John MacMullen; "Cours d'Histoire du Canada," par J. B. A. Ferland.

Period II.—Under the British, 1761-1778.

CHAPTER VII.

Pontiac's War—His Failure and Death.

ALTHOUGH the British had been able to rescue from their French rivals the coveted and long-disputed ownership of the Mississippi Valley, a lion, rampant, relentless, and revengeful, stood in the path of the peaceful occupancy of the territory by its conquerors. The spirit of the Indians remained yet unsubdued. Neither their wishes nor their interests had been consulted by the parties to the treaty of Paris, a fact of which the British were soon reminded by the unlooked-for and sanguinary sequel to the French-and-Indian War, known as the Pontiac War—the revolt of the Indians under Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas. The object of the insurrection was to wrest from the hated British the domain which French valor, even with the aid of their Indian allies, had failed to hold. In this great chief were united all the best and worst traits of Indian character, and both were clearly displayed in the war of which he was the master-spirit. That such an outbreak could end in but one way was to have been expected, yet such was the bravery and cunning of the Indians that for over two years they successfully hindered the British government from reducing to possession the country of the Illinois.

The Indians had observed with no friendly eye the surrender of Detroit, Mackinac, and other French posts in the Northwest in 1761. The first open manifestation of their discontent occurred when the British troops, under Maj. Robert Rogers, were marching to take possession of the fort first named. The watchful and wily Pontiac placed himself in his path, and inquired why an invading force had entered upon his territory. The British officer assured his aboriginal majesty that the troops of King George did not contemplate any interference with the rights of the children of the forest; that it was their intention simply to take peaceable possession of the military posts which

had been vacated by the French under treaty stipulations. This explanation was apparently satisfactory to the savage chieftain. The pipe of peace was smoked, and Pontiac assured Maj. Rogers that not only should his command pass unmolested through the land of the Ottawas, but that it should receive the protection of the warriors of that nation.

This friendly understanding, however, was not destined to be of long duration. Pontiac had been the constant friend and active ally of the French, whose fortunes he had shared upon many a sanguinary field, from the defeat of Braddock to the capitulation of Fort Niagara. To witness the expulsion of his ancient friends, and to see their places filled by the foe whom he hated in every fibre of his untutored nature, and whom he had so long opposed with all the bravery and cruelty of an untamed savage, could hardly fail to excite in his breast feelings of deadly animosity. This feeling was intensified by the pointed contrast in the demeanor, toward himself and his people, of his former friends and his would-be masters. The French had been affable and easy-going; the British were haughty and contemptuous. The former had treated their uncivilized allies as friends and equals; the latter regarded them as inferiors and dependents. French missionaries had been among his people; they had baptized their children; they had buried their dead; they had won from a portion of his people at least an external observance of the same religion which they professed. The association of the traders and settlers with the natives had been agreeable and satisfactory. The French had not offensively asserted their superiority; they had been willing to learn many things from their savage friends, and not a few Indian women had been wooed and won by their foreign admirers.

It can not, therefore, be wondered at that Pontiac, brooding in his wigwam over the loss of the friendship for which he would have sacrificed his all, nursing his sense of wrongs—even if fancied rather than real—should have meditated plans for revenge. In such feelings he was not alone. Other chiefs also deplored the change which they feared they were powerless to counteract. The French settlers who remained in the Illinois district after its cession to the British crown were quick to perceive this sentiment, and no less ready to fan the smoulder-

ing embers of discontent into the flames of war. Timely discovery alone prevented the successful execution of a plot to capture Detroit in 1762, and other hostile demonstrations were frustrated only by the vigilance of the British garrison.

Pontiac's influence over the Indians—not only of his own tribe, but also of others, by whom he was regarded as an "uncrowned king"—was practically unbounded. It was an easy task for so popular a chief to visit the tribes in the Illinois country and adjacent territory and to impart to them his own distrust of the "British invaders." It was not difficult for him to convince his willing listeners that the ultimate designs of their former foes embraced not only a plan to occupy the surrendered French forts, but also a scheme, regardless of the original proprietorship of the country, to take their lands and extirpate the entire Indian race. In consequence of his representations and personal solicitations, a powerful Indian confederacy was secretly formed, embracing the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Sacs, Foxes, Menominees, Miamis, Shawnees, and Wyandotts, besides the scattered remnants of other tribes, to make war upon the British. So strong a confederation of aborigines for the accomplishment of a common end had never before been formed in North America.

At a conference of chiefs, it was determined to make an attack—as nearly simultaneous as possible—upon the British posts in the succeeding May (1763). So well laid were the plans of the crafty leader that the forts of Mackinac, Sandusky, Green Bay, St. Joseph, Presque Isle, and Venango fell an easy prey into his hands. The capture of Detroit, Pontiac reserved to himself, and his tactics showed the native treachery of the savage. Pretending that he desired a friendly interview with the commandant, Maj. Henry Gladwin, he encamped, with the women and children of the tribe, within a convenient distance of the fort, the garrison of which numbered but one hundred and seventy-four men, while the Ottawa braves were about four hundred in number. His request for a powwow was readily granted by the officer in command, who appeared to be devoid of suspicion, and Pontiac, with a number of his chosen warriors, were admitted within the fort. The arms of the Indians were concealed by the drapery of their blankets.

The plan of the attacking party had been to massacre the British officers at a given signal, after which the gates were to be thrown open for the admission of the remainder of the band, who were to lend their aid in completing the work of destruction. But the gallantry of the major had won the attachment of a girl of the Ojibways, whose devotion to her lover proved to be superior to her fealty to her race. She discovered the plot and disclosed it to the commandant. Pontiac was admitted with his chosen band, and Maj. Gladwin patiently listened to his haughty demands, couched in the grandiloquent language characteristic of Indian oratory. But just as the preconcerted signal was about to be given, the drums of the fort rolled out the call to arms, and the outwitted chief found himself surrounded by troops with loaded muskets, commanded by officers whose drawn swords showed how cheap a price they placed upon the blood of himself and his co-conspirators. The disconcerted chief was quick to realize the failure of his plan and to perceive his own discomfiture. Adopting a tone as humble as it had been arrogant, he sued for favor. After a few stern words of warning from Gladwin, the gates were thrown open and the baffled band permitted to depart.

The next day, an attack was made upon the fort, but after a six-hours' contest the Ottawas were forced sullenly to retire. A three-months' siege followed, during which many desperate assaults were made upon the fort.

At the same time the Shawnees and Delawares were laying siege to Fort Pitt, where frequent skirmishes took place. The successful resistance made by the defenders of both these posts had the effect of raising the already inflamed passions of the savages to fever heat. They wreaked their vengeance on the unprotected settlements along the western frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania, among which they spread desolation and death. The defenceless colonists were first plundered and then wantonly butchered. Homes were reduced to heaps of smoking ruins, and all the revolting excesses known to savage warfare were practised upon their helpless inmates. The atrocities of the confederated tribes equaled in horror those of King Philip's war in New England; nothing like it had ever been witnessed in the valleys of the West. It was, in all its essential elements, a war of extermination.

That the French officers who had been requested by the British to continue in command, owing to the obstacles which the latter found thrown in their way by the Indians, might have exerted a restraining influence over their former allies had they so desired is as certain as is the fact that at first their sympathies were with the savages. The latter also received from them moral support, and material aid as well in the form of provisions and munitions of war. It has even been alleged that not until Gen. Amherst had remonstrated with Villiers, upon conduct which was in as direct violation of the spirit of treaty obligations as it was contrary to the principles of civilization, did the French commander advise the Indians that governmental control of the western territory had been ceded to the British by solemn treaty, whose terms he must not violate. On the other hand, Gayarre contends, upon what seems to be credible authority, that Villiers acted in good faith toward the British.*

Finding that only the adoption of the most determined policy would avail to bring hostilities to a close, it was resolved in 1764 to dispatch a force of three thousand men, under Gen. John Bradstreet, against the tribes in the neighborhood of the great lakes, while Col. Henry Bouquet was placed in command of an expedition against the Delawares and Shawnees. Upon the arrival of Gen. Bradstreet at Detroit in October, 1764, the terms of a treaty of peace were agreed upon with the Ottawas, Sacs, Wyandots, and other western tribes, but its provisions were so repugnant to the views of Gen. Thomas Gage, when informed of them, that they were rejected and subsequently arranged upon a more satisfactory basis.

Col. Bouquet having gallantly defeated the savages at Bushy Run (Westmoreland County, Penn.), they, becoming alarmed at the formidable character of the preparations to subdue them, and having grown weary of prolonging a war hitherto barren of any beneficial results to them, the Delawares and Shawnees sued for a truce, and the terms of peace were finally agreed upon Dec. 5, 1764.

The scenes attending the release of prisoners—a necessary incident to the conclusion of peace—many of whom had been

* Gayarre's "Louisiana," II, 99.

in the hands of the Indians for years, were attended with demonstrations which brought tears to the eyes of grizzled veterans, and even moved Indian stoicism to the betrayal of emotion. Mothers again beheld their long-lost children. Husbands embraced their wives whom they had mourned as either dead or dishonored. But others, alas, who had hoped to meet their loved ones once more found that they had perished either by the tomahawk or through cruel exposure. Some children had forgotten not only their mothers, but their mother-tongue; and there were found young women who were decidedly opposed to being taken from their savage lords, the fathers of their offspring, some of whom sought the earliest opportunity of returning to the wigwam, where they voluntarily reassumed the position of a squaw.

The relentless spirit of the morose Pontiac, however, was still unsubdued. He sullenly refused to take part in any negotiations for peace, and—like Achilles at the siege of Troy—"remained, sulking, in his tent." Loving the French as sincerely as he hated the British, he had risked all in what he believed to be their interest. That he had confidently counted upon their aid and had hoped to see French troops again fighting side by side with his own warriors can not be doubted. Ordinary caution, however, had prevented the crafty Gauls from furnishing Pontiac with men, and the blunt savage declared that he had been deceived. His confederates had made terms—each for themselves—with those whom he considered a common foe, and not a few of his own warriors had deserted him. Despondent, yet revengeful, he returned to the Illinois country. Here he had first received the encouragment from French traders and settlers which determined him to make his desperate attempt to throw off the British yoke, and here, at least, he would find his old friend Villiers, to whom he went, and to that officer he unfolded his plans for a continuance of the war, and sought coöperation. But the Frenchman coldly told him, as he had already sent him word, that France and Great Britain were at peace and that his cherished scheme was impracticable.

Notwithstanding this rebuff, he continued his efforts to form a new league, visiting the Kickapoos, Miamis, and others, and succeeded to some extent in reviving the war-spirit among

them. Feeling once more hopeful, and learning that his friend St. Ange was now in command at Fort Chartres, he repaired to that point and demanded of that officer arms, ammunition, and troops, stating that he loved the French and that he would yet succeed in avenging their wrongs. St. Ange, with equal kindness and firmness, protested his inability to furnish the aid requested. The great chief bitterly declaimed against such lukewarm friendship, and, with his warriors, encamped about the fort in a menacing attitude for some days.

Disappointed here, he next turned to New Orleans. Thither he dispatched an embassy of trusted braves, whose return only added to his chagrin when they told their tale of ill-success. Failing to secure French coöperation and support, and deserted in great measure by his confederates, the great chief at length perceived the folly of attempting to carry on unaided a struggle which could have but one result. Learning therefore of the approach of Col. Croghan, he resolved to go and meet him and to apprise him of his intention to establish friendly relations with those whom he saw no way to defeat. The conference which ensued was entirely satisfactory, and Pontiac soon after followed the colonel to Detroit. At the great powwow which followed—in August, 1765—all the western tribes were represented, and after much speech-making, the terms of peace were finally agreed upon, which were to be thereafter incorporated in a treaty executed on the part of the conquerors by Sir Wm. Johnson.

Thus terminated the great War of Pontiac, and with it all his hopes of the restoration of the empire of France in America. The following spring, according to agreement, he assisted at the making of a treaty with the British, and thenceforth the great chief disappears from the pages of history. Even the manner of his death is a matter of dispute. As related by Francis Parkman on the authority of Pierre Chouteau it was as follows: Pontiac had been paying a visit to his old friends St. Ange and Chouteau at St. Louis, where, learning that a large party of Indians were carousing at Cahokia, he concluded, against the protest of his friends, to join them. Here with the others he drank deeply, and while in this condition, one Williamson, an English trader, hired a strolling Kaskaskia Indian for a barrel

of whisky to take his life. This he did by stealing up behind him and burying a tomahawk in his brains. He lay on the spot where he had fallen until St. Ange, hearing of the catastrophe, claimed the body and buried it in St. Louis. Whether these details are correct or not, the main fact is authenticated by the authority of Father Louis S. Muerin, the parish priest at Cahokia, who positively declares in a letter: "Pontiac was assassinated in this village in the second week after Easter [between April 2 and 8], 1769."*

In person, the great forest chieftain was a singularly fine-looking man. His complexion was nearly white, a circumstance which gave rise to the belief that French blood ran in his veins. His bearing was stern and resolute. Brave, cruel at times, and vindictive, he was shrewd and cunning, and by his great ability exercised almost regal authority over the Northwestern Indians.†

* O. W. Collet.

† Authorities: Dillon's "Historical Notes"; Parkman's "Pontiac"; Cort's "Col. Henry Bouquet and his Campaigns"; W. F. Poole in Winsor's "America," Vol. VI; Gayarré's "History of Louisiana."

CHAPTER VIII.

The British Government,* 1765-1778.

THE obstructions in the path of the British, as narrated in the preceding chapter, rendered nugatory several attempts to assert their ownership by securing complete possession of the Northwest. The first of these was that under command of Maj. Arthur Loftus, who was ordered to proceed to the Illinois country from Pensacola by way of New Orleans, February 27, 1764. With a force of four hundred regulars, he embarked on the Mississippi and proceeding about two hundred miles up the river, was fired on by Indians from ambuscades on either bank. Several of his men being killed and wounded, he decided to abandon the enterprise.

The next attempt was made by Gen. Bradstreet, who despatched Capt. Thomas Morris of the Seventeenth Regiment with a small force, in August, 1764, "to take possession of the Illinois country." It was altogether a premature expedition. The Indians, so far from proving as friendly as the general had so unadvisedly supposed, treated his subordinate with great disrespect. On one occasion he was assaulted, on another threatened, and all sorts of indignities heaped upon him. At Fort Miami he was seized, stripped of his clothing, and tied to a post, and with a mob of howling savages around him, despaired of his life. He was at length driven out of the village, being only too glad to make his escape.

It was then determined to reach Fort Chartres from Fort Pitt, and Col. George Croghan, deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, was sent on in advance as an envoy. Some ap-

* The British governors of Canada from 1760 to 1796 were:—1760–63, Gen. Jeffrey Amherst; 1763–66, Gen. James Murray; 1766 (three months), Col. Paulius Æmelius Irvine, president of Executive Council; 1766–70, Gen. Sir Guy Carleton, lieutenant-governor; 1770–74, Hector T. Cramahé, lieutenant-governor; 1774–78, Gen. Sir Guy Carleton; 1778–84, Gen. Frederick Haldimand, lieutenant-governor; 1784–85, Col. Henry Hamilton, lieutenant-governor; 1785, Col. Henry Hope, president of Council; 1785–92, Gen. Sir Guy Carleton, as Lord Dorchester; 1792–96, Gen. John Graves Simcoe, lieutenant-governor.

prehension being felt lest the savages might commit some fresh outrage, Lieut. Alexander Fraser, who was to accompany Croghan, volunteered to proceed alone. When the lieutenant arrived at Kaskaskia, he met with rather a rough reception. The French traders quarrelled with him, and incited the Indians to take his life. Pontiac was at the settlement and was plied with liquor until he became intoxicated, in the hope that he might be prevailed upon either to make the lieutenant prisoner or offer him personal violence. A drunken debauch ensued, but Fraser fortunately escaped injury. His position, however, was precarious, and he left Kaskaskia in disguise and paddled down the Mississippi to New Orleans.

Meanwhile, Col. Croghan had left Fort Pitt on May 15, 1765, accompanied by a party of friendly Indians. His progress was uneventful until he arrived at a small promontory on the Wabash, where he disembarked. On June 8, six miles below the mouth of that stream, he was suddenly attacked by a band of Kickapoos, eighty in number. In the fight which followed, Croghan lost two white men and three Indians, while most of his party, including himself, were wounded. A surrender was unavoidable, and the victorious Kickapoos plundered the entire party. Subsequently, they assured the British officer that it was "all a mistake," and that they had supposed that the Indians accompanying him were their deadly foes, the Cherokees. They brought their prisoners in safety to Vincennes, where the Indians, many of whom had a friendly acquaintance with Croghan, strongly condemned the Kickapoos, and the latter in turn professed deep sorrow for what they persisted in calling a blunder. At Ouiatanon—now Lafayette, Indiana, other friendly Indians were met. Here he received a message from St. Ange, cordially inviting him to proceed to Fort Chartres.

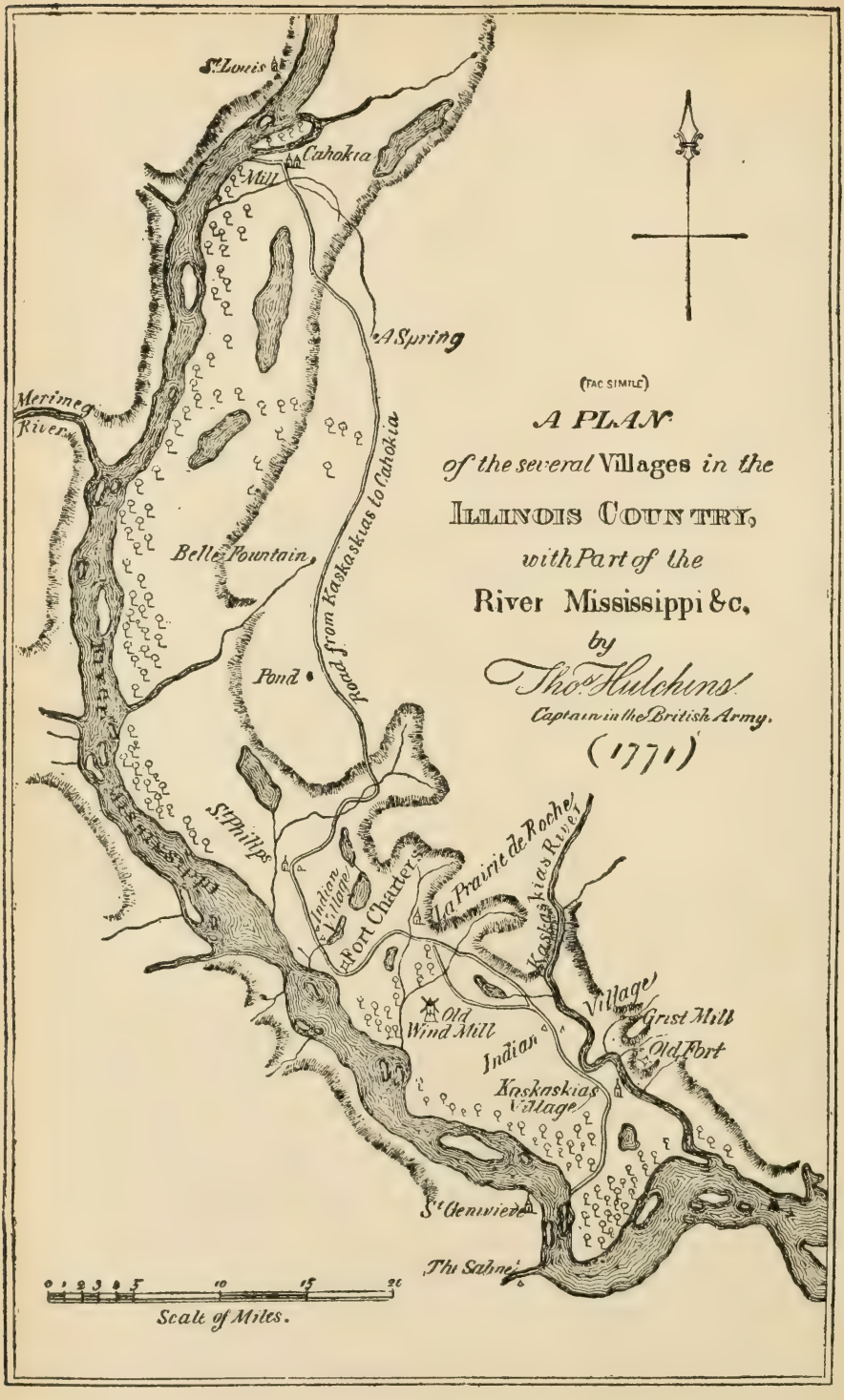
The Indians were now submissive and entirely obsequious; but the most surprising and agreeable feature of what was beginning to resemble a triumphal march yet awaited him. He had proceeded but a short distance on his way to the Illinois country after receiving the message from St. Ange before he was met by a delegation of chiefs representing various tribes, and, on July 18, by the hitherto implacable Pontiac himself

at the head of a large band of Ottawa braves. There being now no necessity for his going to the Illinois, he proceeded to Detroit, as before stated.

The way being no longer contested, the British government, for the first time since the making of the treaty of Paris, found itself in a position to take actual possession of and assume control over the entire country of the Northwest thereby ceded, of which Illinois formed a part.

Capt. Thomas Stirling, in obedience to previous orders, now proceeded from Fort Pitt with a hundred Highlanders of the Forty-second Regiment—the famous "Black Watch"—to Fort Chartres to take military possession. Descending the Ohio, he arrived at his point of destination October 10, 1765. The aged St. Ange formally surrendered the government to this British officer. The lilies of France were replaced by the cross of St. George, and with the disappearance of the national ensign from the ramparts over which it had floated so long, the last vestige of the once colossal empire of the French in North America ceased to exist. St. Ange had grown grey in honorable service. His first military command in the West was the Wabash district, to which he was assigned in 1736, and which he continued to hold until 1764. After the formal surrender of Fort Chartres, the old soldier, with the few civil officers and troops remaining with him, removed to St. Louis, where, at the request of the inhabitants, he continued to act as commandant. In 1766, his authority was confirmed by Gov. Ulloa, and he remained in the Spanish service until his death, on Dec. 27, 1774, aged 73, too soon to witness the commencement of the struggle which resulted in the overthrow of British power in the district which he had so long and so bravely defended.

The situation of the settled portions of the Illinois country at the time it became one of the coveted appendages of the British crown is correctly shown by the map on the following page. The five villages were all on the American Bottom, and at the time of the transfer of proprietorship, or shortly before, contained a white population not exceeding sixteen hundred, distributed as follows: at Kaskaskia, seven hundred; at Prairie du Rocher, one hundred and ten; at St. Philip, one hundred and twenty; at New Chartres, two hundred and twenty; and at Cahokia, four hundred and fifty.


St. Louis
Cahokia
Mill
A Spring
Merimeg River
Road from Kaskaskias to Cahokia
Belle Fountain
Pond
Mississippi River
St. Phillips
Indian Village
Fort Chartres
La Prairie de Rocher
Kaskaskias River
Old Wind Mill
Village
Grist Mill
Old Fort
Indian
Kaskaskias Village
St. Genivieve
The Salines
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 20
Scale of Miles.
(FAC SIMILE)
A PLAN
of the several Villages in the
ILLINOIS COUNTRY,
with Part of the
River Mississippi &c.
by
Tho.s Hutchins
Captain in the British Army.
(1771)

When the proclamation of King George III was issued, Oct. 7, 1763, providing for the government of the country wrested from France—dividing it into four provinces, viz.: Quebec, East and West Florida, and Grenada—no reference was made to the Northwest, the possession of which at that time was stubbornly disputed by the aboriginal tribes. But in regard to all that vast territory the policy of the government was indicated and set forth in the same state paper as follows: His Majesty prohibited his subjects "from making any purchases or settlements whatsoever, or taking possession of any of the lands beyond the sources of any rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest." * While the announcement of this policy was no doubt intended to placate the Indians, and to disabuse their minds of the conviction that the British wanted their lands, it was also clearly intended as an inhibition against all white settlements. All such were discouraged. Instead of offering any inducements for the colonization of this splendid region, at the suggestion of the English Board of Trade, the government preferred to confine all new settlements "within such a distance from the sea-coast as that they might be within easy reach of the trade and commerce of Great Britain."

On Dec. 30, 1764, Gen. Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, in view of the prospective occupation of the country, carefully prepared a proclamation in which the policy and intentions of the government in regard to the French inhabitants were made known. The first official act of Capt. Stirling was to "read, publish, and post" this important document, a synopsis of which is as follows:

Beginning with a recital of the surrender of the country to the British by the French, it proceeded to set forth that his British Majesty, well knowing the religious faith in which the inhabitants had lived, guaranteed to each the free and undisturbed exercise of religious freedom, according to the rites and teachings of the Roman-Catholic church. That the French inhabitants would be unrestrained should they choose to return to France or emigrate to any other country, and that a safe passage to all such would be assured. That they were at liberty to remove their personal effects whither they pleased, and

* Dillon's "Historical Notes," 97–8.

to sell or otherwise dispose of their lands, provided the conveyance was made to British subjects. That those French settlers who preferred to remain upon their land and were willing to become loyal subjects of the British crown should receive and enjoy the same rights and privileges as regarded person, property, and commerce, as native-born subjects of the king, but that in order to avail themselves of this favor they must take an oath of allegiance to Great Britain.

But the French inhabitants beheld the surrender of the country where they had dwelt so long and contentedly to their life-long foes, men of a different race and creed, whose habits, instincts, and tastes were so different from their own, with feelings of distrust and dissatisfaction. In addition to those who had retired the previous year with Villiers to New Orleans, others had removed to Natchez and Baton Rouge; others across the river to Ste. Genevieve, while quite a number took up their residence at St. Louis, a trading-post established the previous year (1764) by Pierre Lacléde, and which was now rapidly growing into a thriving village. They carried with them their property and slaves, and as far as possible their houses. The dwellers about Fort Chartres, numbering some forty families, left almost in a body, less than half a dozen remaining;* while those at St. Philip all departed but one man, the captain of the militia. In this way it was estimated that at least one-third of the French inhabitants left the Illinois country, rather than become the subjects of the Protestant house of Hanover.

The mixed character of the population at this time is well illustrated by the record of a marriage at Prairie du Rocher, in which a French soldier from the Spanish city of St. Louis, was married to an Englishwoman from Salisbury, by a French priest in the British province of the Illinois.†

Capt. Stirling, who had been temporarily detailed to take command of the fort, was, on Dec. 4, 1765, relieved by Maj. Robert Farmer, who brought with him from Mobile a detachment of the Thirty-fourth British Foot. The gallant captain no doubt took his leave of the perplexing questions which confronted him with no small satisfaction. He afterward fought his way up to a brigadier-generalship in the Revolutionary

* Pittman. † E. G. Mason's "Illinois in the Eighteenth Century," p. 42.

War, and finally died in England in 1808, a baronet and general, the highest rank in the army.*

The following year, Maj. Farmer was in turn relieved by Col. Edward Cole, who had commanded a regiment under Gen. Wolfe at Quebec. He remained in command during the years 1766–8, but the position was not at all congenial. He neither admired the country nor appreciated its advantages. His health was poor and the privations of life at a frontier fort increased his discontent. Accordingly, in 1768, he was relieved at his own request.†

Col. John Reed succeeded Col. Cole, but his incumbency was of short duration. The inhabitants complained that he was arbitrary and despotic in his government, and he was recalled the same year. Following him in September, 1768, came "John Wilkins, Esq., lieutenant-colonel of his majesty's Eighteenth or Royal Regiment of Ireland," and "commandant throughout the Illinois country," as he describes himself. With him from Philadelphia came seven companies of his regiment. The experience of these troops was that common to all new comers on the American Bottom in these early days, few of whom escaped malarial diseases. The fatality among them became really alarming. At one time, out of five companies, only a corporal and six men were found fit for duty. From Sept. 29 to Oct. 30 three officers, twenty-five men, and twenty-seven women and children died.†

Apart from the ever-present Indian problem and how best to regulate intercourse and maintain friendly relations with the red men, there does not seem to have been very much to occupy the commandant's attention. Indian affairs were under the general direction of Sir William Johnson, who gave them the closest and most patient consideration. He was greatly annoyed by the efforts of the French who had removed to the west side of the Mississippi, in conjunction with those of the Spanish government, to divert the trade of the Indians from his majesty's subjects. Keen intellect, ready tact, and a firm

* New-York Colonial Docs., VII., 786. Why the historians of Illinois and the Northwest should, without exception, persist in killing off this distinguished officer at Fort Chartres is one of those errors of history for which it is difficult to account.

† "Historical Magazine," Vol. VIII, 260.

hand were required properly to adjust these conflicting interests, and these the experienced and popular Sir William possessed.

For some time the policy of discouraging the settlement of the Northwest commanded the warm support of the British ministry. Overtures looking toward the colonization of the territory, whether proceeding from would-be corporations or from individuals, met with disfavor. The reasons for the adoption of this line of action are briefly outlined in a letter from Gen. Gage to the earl of Hillsborough, written in 1769, in which he says: "As to increasing the settlements [northwest of the Ohio] to respectable provinces, * I conceive it altogether inconsistent with sound policy. * In the course of a few years necessity would force them to provide manufactures of some kind for themselves, and when all connection upheld by commerce with the mother country shall cease, it may be expected that an independency in her government will soon follow." The governor of Georgia in a similar strain wrote to the British lords of trade: "This matter, my lords, of granting large bodies of land in the back parts of any of his majesty's northern colonies appears to me in a very serious and alarming light. If a vast territory be granted to any set of gentlemen who really mean to people it, and actually do so, it must draw and carry out a great number of people from Great Britain, and I apprehend they will soon become a kind of separate and independent people, who will set up for themselves, and they will soon have manufactures of their own, and in process of time they will soon become formidable enough to oppose his majesty's authority."*

And thus early were felt the premonitions of the coming storm, which was destined to sweep away the power of the king in the thirteen colonies of North America.

But such were the demands of the people for more land west of the Alleghanies that the rigorous enforcement of this policy soon began to be relaxed. Col. Wilkins, in 1769 and after, made several grants of land near Fort Chartres, giving as a reason therefor that "the cultivation of lands not then appropriated was essentially necessary and useful toward the better peopling and settlement of the said country, as well as highly

* "Report of the British Board of Trade," 27.

advantageous to his majesty's service in raising, producing, and supplying provisions for his majesty's troops stationed in the country of the Illinois."*

In 1774, the earl of Dunmore (John Murray), the last British governor of Virginia, encouraged colonists to take warrants from him for lands in the Ohio Valley. A number of these "land jobbers," as they were called, having been robbed and killed by the Indians, as was alleged, an attack was made upon the latter by a party of whites under one Greathouse, and several of them killed. The war then followed which is known in history as the Dunmore War with the Shawnees, which lasted from April to December, 1774. Some severe engagements took place between the contending parties, and many lives were lost. It was at the close of this war, when propositions for a treaty of peace were being discussed, that the celebrated Logan, who had been a great sufferer thereby, delivered his eloquent speech. It appears in Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia," p. 105, ed. 1787, as follows:

"I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if he ever came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said: 'Logan is the friend of the white man.' Col. Cresap the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear; Logan never felt fear; he will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."†

On July 5, 1773, the Illinois Land Company, at Kaskaskia,

* Dillon's "Historical Notes," 116.

† Capt. Michael Cresap (his father, Col. Thomas Cresap, was not in that part of the country at the time) was in no way responsible for the killing of Logan's relatives. The subject is fully treated by W. F. Poole in Winsor's "America," VI, p. 712.

obtained from ten chiefs of the Kaskaskia, Peoria, and other tribes a deed for two large tracts of land in the Illinois. In 1775, the Wabash Land Company purchased from the Piankashaws at Vincennes lands amounting to thirty-seven million, four hundred and ninety-seven thousand, six hundred acres. These two companies were afterward consolidated, and after the country passed under the jurisdiction of the United States repeated efforts were made to secure a confirmation of these grants from Congress, but without avail. In this year, Gov. Dunmore, on what authority does not appear, ordered the survey of the vacant land in Virginia, in lots of from one hundred to one thousand acres, and that it be put up for sale.

The French subjects of Great Britain who had remained in the Illinois early exhibited a disposition to become troublesome, and as a panacea for all civil ills, Gen. Gage instructed Col. Wilkins to establish a court of common-law jurisdiction at Fort Chartres, with a bench of seven judges—the first British court west of the Alleghanies. Instead of appeasing, this move increased, the discontent of the French; and it must be confessed that it was an injudicious step to compel a people to settle their disputes by common-law proceedings whose only knowledge of jurisprudence was confined to a limited acquaintance with the civil law. Their opposition, especially to that bulwark of British freedom, trial by jury, was insuperable. It was repugnant to all their ideas of justice that the rights of persons and property should be safer in the hands of a panel of "miscellaneous tailors and shoemakers" than in those of erudite and dispassionate judges. They wanted none of it.

Among their other causes of complaint was a proclamation of Gen. Gage, directing the departure of settlers on the Wabash and at other places who were holding under grants from Jean Baptiste Racine, otherwise known as St. Marie, commandant at Vincennes. The inhabitants claimed under old French concessions, although many new ones, to small tracts around Vincennes and Ouiatanon, had been made.

The government of the Illinois country indeed was a subject of embarrassing consideration in the British cabinet for several years.* Petitions were sent to the king setting forth the griev-

* Canadian Archives.

ances of the inhabitants, and delegations were also despatched to the colonial governor of Canada, praying to be attached to the province of Quebec,* for governmental purposes.

The growing disaffection of the American colonists to the British government, which was by this time becoming apparent, decided parliament, with a view to the conciliation of the French inhabitants of Canada, June 2, 1774, to pass an act enlarging the province of Quebec so as to include the Northwest Territory.† This act also confirmed to the French inhabitants the free exercise of their religion and restored to them their ancient laws in civil cases without trial by jury. The passage of this act by parliament, while it had the desired effect upon the French in attaching them to British interests, exerted a diametrically opposite influence upon the British inhabitants of the old thirteen colonies. They denounced it in their conventions and through their press, characterizing it as "the very extraordinary and alarming act for establishing the Roman-Catholic religion and French laws in Canada." It was cited in the Declaration of Independence as one of the causes of the Revolution—a result foreseen by Lord Chatham, Edmund Burke, and Charles Fox, who opposed the passage of the law.‡

The administration of Lieut.-Col. Wilkins in the Illinois country proved unpopular. Grave charges were preferred against him, including misappropriations of the public funds—of which he demanded investigation, claiming that he was able to justify his conduct. He was superseded in September, 1771, and sailed for Europe in July, 1772.

The data for the details of events in the Illinois country from 1771 to 1778 are locked up in the Haldimand and other papers on file among the archives of Canada, only brief extracts from which have been published.§ From these documents it appears that Capt. Hugh Lord of the Eighteenth Regiment became commandant after Col. Wilkins, and so continued until 1775.

* American Archives, I, 186 *et seq.*

† Perhaps, also, the British ministry, foreseeing the coming storm of the Revolution and its possible results, was influenced by a desire to secure this portion of unoccupied territory for the British crown. See W. F. Poole in Winsor's "America," Vol. VI, 715.

‡ W. F. Poole, in Winsor's "America," Vol. VI., p. 714.

§ A calendar of these papers has been prepared by Douglas Brymner.

In 1772, one of the periodic floods incident to the Mississippi overflowed the American Bottom and swept away two bastions and part of the main walls of Fort Chartres.* The post being thus rendered untenable, the headquarters of the commandant were ordered to be removed to Kaskaskia.

Fort Chartres was never again occupied or used except as a resting-place for wandering traders or predatory bands of savages. Its walls were utilized in other structures in the vicinity, and that portion of its armament which was not at that time removed to Kaskaskia was afterward probably taken to Fort Jefferson, and some of the old British cannon were used against their former owners during the War of 1812. It gradually fell into decay, until today scarcely a foot-path leads to the spot where its ancient foundations may yet be seen. The expense of its construction was enormous; its utility was never demonstrated; as a protection against the incursions of either the Indians or Spaniards, it proved practically valueless.

In a letter of Gov. Haldimand of July 8, 1781, it appears that Capt. Matthew Johnson received £1200 salary for six years' service as "lieutenant-commandant of the Illinois," from May, 1775, to May 1781. But as to where that officer was stationed or what duties he performed, other than to draw his pay, the reader must at present be left in the dark.

In another later letter from the governor, Capt. Sinclair of Mackinac is designated as "lieutenant-governor of the Illinois," and it is probable that that district was for a time attached to his command. It is clear, however, from these papers that Phillip François de Rastel, Chevalier de Rocheblave was in command at Kaskaskia as early as October, 1776, and that his conduct there was approved by Sir Guy Carleton. He had been an officer in the French army, and had resided at Kaskaskia a number of years, having been married there, as appears by the old parish records, April 11, 1763. With the transfer of the country to the British he had transferred his allegiance, and had been promoted as above stated. It appears that in 1766 he was in command at Ste. Genevieve, where he became involved in serious financial difficulties.

He was evidently a faithful and intelligent, although a com-

* Beck's "Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri," 108.

plaining and captious, officer. The few settlers of British birth gave him more trouble than the French. Their leaning toward the American cause was a source of much annoyance. The number of regular troops comprising his garrison had been reduced until, after the withdrawal of the last detachment, he was forced to depend for the safety of his position entirely upon the loyalty of the militia. His repeated demands for funds to meet repairs and current expenses had not been honored. He had kept on good terms with the Indians, but was fearful of forays from the Spaniards, and of an attack from one Willing, whose depredations on the Mississippi gave him much concern.

James Willing of Philadelphia, a young man of good connections but of extravagant tastes and dissolute habits, having exhausted his means, applied for and obtained a commission in the American army, and was ordered West to watch the British, to conciliate settlers, and enlist recruits. His good address and persuasive eloquence enabled him in a short time to raise a force of over a hundred men. At Manchac, below Natchez, he managed to make himself master of a British armed vessel with which he proceeded to New Orleans. He here sold his vessel and with the proceeds entered upon a career of debauchery and crime which made him notorious. Having squandered the means thus obtained, he organized a fresh force of kindred spirits and returned to Manchac, where, taking possession of the post, he plundered the people indiscriminately. Thence he proceeded up the river, freebooting and alarming the settlers. As may be well supposed, his name became a terror to both loyalists and patriots, who finally organized a force and drove him and his band out of the country.* Such, at least, is the story told of and the character given to Capt. Willing by those who claim to have suffered at his hands; on the other hand, Girardin, in his "History of Virginia,"† refers to his expedition as laudable, and claims that the charges of cruelty and excesses brought against him were not justified by the facts.

Rocheblave was a good correspondent, and kept the authorities at Quebec well advised of what was going on in his district. He pointed out the necessity of the presence of regular troops

* Memoirs of Capt. Phelps, 1802. † Vol. IV, p. 357.

and complained of his want of means, of his "constant worries," and requested to be relieved by "some Englishman."

It is evident that with the opening guns of the Revolution so many demands were being made upon the Canadian governor's time and resources from what were considered more important localities that but little attention was given to Illinois affairs; and, as will be shown in the next chapter, taking advantage of this neglect, the Americans, through a brilliant strategic movement, were enabled to deal one of the most effective and important blows of the war.

Authorities: Dillon's "Historical Notes"; New-York Colonial Documents; Parkman's "Pontiac"; Capt. Pittman's "Settlements on the Mississippi, 1771"; "Magazine of Western History," and Articles therein by O. W. Collet; Billon's "Annals of St. Louis"; "Illinois in the Eighteenth Century," by Edw. G. Mason; "Canadian Archives"; Haswell's "Memoirs of Capt. Phelps"; W. F. Poole in Winsor's "America," Vol. VI; Beck's "Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri."

Period III.—Under Virginia, 1778-1784.

CHAPTER IX.

Illinois in the Revolution—Its Reduction by Virginia under Col. Clark—Capture of Vincennes—Indian Treaties.

THE issue of the French-and-Indian War gave to Great Britain a prestige greater than that country had ever enjoyed. Her victories on both land and sea had been unprecedented, and the addition of Canada and that portion of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi River to her colonial domain, already imperial in the grandeur of its extent, formed a fitting climax to a long line of splendid achievements. But the settlement of America had come to have a broader significance than the mere establishment of new marts of trade or the opening of new channels of commerce. The discontented emigrants from the overcrowded British Isles found in the newly-acquired territory opportunities for advancement which had been denied them at home, and the rapid accumulation of population soon brought about an aggregation of interests, social and political, distinctive and peculiar to the colonies. The home government soon perceived this fact, and the problem how best to adjust the relations between the mother country and the growing colonies became of such vital importance and absorbing interest as to overshadow all other questions.

The settlers of North America were men of rugged independence and firm believers in the right of free-deliberation and free-speech; and the arbitrary policy of the home ministry awakened the most determined opposition. The assertion of the right of taxation without representation, the enforcement of the navigation act, the adoption of the stamp-tax act by the British parliament, were firmly and defiantly resisted. Accumulated oppressions compelled, as a necessary defensive measure, the formation of the thirteen colonies into the American Union, and the creation of the Continental Congress. Following this came the vote to raise troops, provide means of defense,

the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, and the War of the Revolution.

The French settlers composing the great body of the inhabitants in Illinois, at the outbreak of the war, as before stated, were inclined to sympathize with the British. They were required, however, as a precautionary step, to renew their oath of allegiance to King George,* which they willingly consented to do. At the same time envoys were sent among them to incite acts of hostilities toward their neighbors—the Revolutionists—on the frontiers; and especially to encourage and aid the aborigines in making depredatory incursions against settlements friendly to the American cause. The striking difference between the respective policies of the British and American authorities in regard to the Indians was well illustrated in the rewards offered to secure their coöperation—those of the British being for scalps, seldom for prisoners; while Congress offered rewards for prisoners, but never for scalps. The early years of the war, however, did not materially affect the villages of Illinois. Their remoteness from the scenes of active operations insured for them comparative tranquility.

In the second year of the Revolution the attention of Virginia was drawn to the country of the Illinois, which was claimed to be within the limits of that commonwealth by virtue of ancient charters. The attacks of the Indians had become so frequent and been so successful as to cause serious alarm; but such had been the demands of the Confederation upon her for men and means that she had not been able to extend to her hardy backwoods settlers the aid which they so much needed. The British commandants at Vincennes and Kaskaskia, while unable to furnish men to aid the savage marauders whose midnight depredations had struck terror to the scattered settlements in Kentucky, could and did aid them with supplies and munitions of war.

It was reserved for the far-seeing eye of Col. George Rogers Clark, then in the vigor of early manhood, to discover the situation of affairs, and for his sagacity and valor to apply the remedy. Born in Albemarle County, Virginia, Nov. 19, 1752, and already a leading spirit in the councils of his native State,

* Dillon's "Historical Notes," 124.

"he had made himself familiar with the relations and conditions, the needs and resources of the West. With that intuitive genius which stamps him as the most brilliant commander of all those who obtained distinction in border warfare," he was quick to perceive the policy required, which was: to transfer the line of defense and the battle-field from the settlements in Kentucky County to the territory which formed the enemy's base of supplies; to arouse sentiments of friendship among, or at least conciliate the opposition of, the French inhabitants of the Northwest; to neutralize the hostility of the savages if possible by demonstrating to them the justice of the American cause; and to accomplish what in every war is considered one of the greatest strategic successes—to turn the enemy's guns against himself.

To confirm his views, he sent, in 1777, to Kaskaskia two trusted spies, one of whom was James Moore, afterward a distinguished pioneer settler. From their report he learned that while the commandant lost no opportunity to incite Indian hostilities, the French inhabitants were not disposed to incur any great risks for the British crown, notwithstanding the fact that they had been made to believe appalling reports of the ferocity of "the big-knives," as the Americans were called. He was also made aware of the fact that while the militia was maintained in good order, rather from a fondness of display than from any desire to engage in active war or because they expected an attack, the fort was generally kept merely "as an asylum."

In December, 1777, Col. Clark submitted to Gov. Patrick Henry of Virginia, a plan for the reduction of the posts in Illinois, which, after some discussion, was approved; and on Jan. 2, he received authority to recruit, for three months' service, seven companies of fifty men each, which he was to command. Six thousand dollars were given him to defray expenses. Proceeding to Pittsburg, on Feb. 4, he succeeded, after extraordinary exertions, in raising three companies, who rendezvoused at Corn Island, a point nearly opposite the present city of Louisville.* Here Lieut. Hutchings, with a portion of one company,

* Several families who had accompanied Col. Clark's party were left on the island after his departure, and, removing to the mainland, laid out the town of Louisville in 1780.

deserted, but enough were retaken to form, with additional volunteers, a fourth company.

The four companies were led by captains Joseph Bowman, John Montgomery, Leonard Helm, and William Harrod, and their numbers have been variously estimated at from one hundred and fifty-three to one hundred and eighty men.

On June 24, 1778, Col. Clark set forth, and as his party descended the Falls of the Ohio the sun became totally eclipsed, which not only fixes the date, but might also have been regarded as an omen of the eclipse of British authority in the Illinois country, which the courageous determination of the devoted colonel and his men was soon to effect. With keel-boats with double-manned oars, rowing night and day, on June 28, he reached an island at the mouth of the Tennessee River, where he landed. Here he fortunately met with a party of eight American hunters, under the leadership of John Duff, who had left Kaskaskia but a few days previously. They not only gave him all necessary information, but cheerfully took the oath of allegiance and joined his expedition. Although the colonel says "their intelligence was not favorable," they rendered valuable service, one of them, John Saunders, acting as guide.

On this same evening he ran his boats into a small creek, about one mile above Fort Massac.* Here he disembarked his command, and on the next day, without horses, wagons, baggage, or artillery, he began his march across the country.

Kaskaskia, the objective point, was one hundred and twenty miles away and the hitherto untrodden route lay through wilderness and swamp. The guide, Saunders, becoming confused, lost his way, and being suspected of bad faith was threatened with death. Happily, however, he soon recognized a familiar spot, thus restoring confidence in his own fidelity and securing the safety of the party. After a wearisome march of six days, with only four days' provisions, the command arrived within three miles of Kaskaskia on the evening of July 4. On this very

* Erected by Lieut. Massac in October, 1758, after the evacuation of Fort Duquesne by the French—the last fort built by the French in the Western country. —Monette's "Valley of the Mississippi," I, 317. This statement and the name of such an officer has not been verified. It is more probable that the fort was named after Mr. de Massiac, the French minister of marine at this time.

day, Rocheblave, the commander of the post, all unconscious of the impending danger, was pouring forth the vexations of his soul in a pathetic appeal to Gen. Haldimand, governor of Canada. He depicted the discouragements of settlers, the disloyal conduct of those of British birth—enlarged upon the urgency of the need for troops, the jealousies of the inhabitants, Spanish encroachments, and expatiated upon the "brigandage" of Capt. Willing upon the Mississippi, fearing lest the latter might surprise and capture a position regarded as of great importance.* Col. Clark had indeed laid his plans with such adroitness and executed them with such skill that the apprehensions of Rocheblave were concentrated upon a remote peril rather than upon the one which was at his door.

As soon as he could trust to darkness to hide his manœuvres from sight, Col. Clark led his command to the ferry-house on the Kaskaskia River, about a mile above the town, and made prisoners of the keeper and his family. "Finding," to use his own language, "plenty of boats to cross in in two hours, we transported ourselves to the other shore with the greatest silence. * * I immediately divided my little army into two divisions. * Ordering one to surround the town, with the other I broke into the fort, secured the governor, Mr. Rocheblave; in fifteen minutes had every street secured, sent runners through the town ordering the people on pain of death to keep close to their houses, which they observed, and before daylight had the whole town disarmed." Capt. Helm commanded the town party, and the celebrated Simon Kenton led the way to the fort, into which he was conducted by a friendly American who was there ready for this service.† The commandant was found peacefully sleeping by the side of his wife, and the success of the expedition was attained without the firing of a gun "or the shedding of a drop of blood."

Fort Gage, according to local traditions, was built in 1736, on the bluff on the opposite side of the Kaskaskia River from the town, as a protection against the Chickasaws and other hostile Indians at that time at war with the French. In 1756, during the French-and-Indian War, it was repaired and occupied by a

* Brymner's "Report of Canadian Archives," 1881, p. 15.

† Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," 2d ed., p. 95.

French garrison. Its shape is described by Capt. Pittman as that of an oblong quadrangle, and its dimensions are given as two hundred and ninety by two hundred and fifty-one feet. It was constructed of thick, square timbers, and within its walls were a stone magazine, the commandant's house, and other small buildings. It was destroyed by fire in 1766, and there is no evidence that it was ever rebuilt or reoccupied.

Following the histories of the State, until within the past year it has been generally supposed that the fort thus taken by Col. Clark was that known as the Fort Gage above spoken of. The publication of later information, throwing a clearer light on the important events of this period, shows that such a supposition is erroneous. The commandant at Fort Chartres, when it was abandoned in 1772, was ordered to station his troops at Kaskaskia. In a letter from Capt. Lord, bearing date April 10, 1772, he says that Fort Gage was to be the rendezvous in case of war. And in a letter of August 30, 1773, from Gov. Haldimand addressed to the commandant "at Fort Gage," he directs that the fort should be "well provisioned." But the fort here referred to as Fort Gage was evidently on the town side of the Kaskaskia River. In neither of the accounts given of the capture by Col. Clark does he mention the name of the fort taken by him. Neither has he stated that he divided his troops on the eastern bank of the river. To have crossed the stream with his entire force and then ordered a portion to recross in order to march up the hill on whose summit Fort Gage was situated would have been a waste of time and an altogether indefensible military movement. In the preceding February, Rocheblave, in a letter to Gen. Guy Carlton, states that "the roof of the mansion of the fort is of shingles and very leaky, notwithstanding my efforts to patch it, and unless a new roof be provided very soon, the building, which was constructed twenty-five years ago and cost the Jesuits forty thousand piasters, will be ruined."* The building referred to, situated in the southeastern portion of the town near the river, was the old "Jesuit House," as Pittman calls it, which had been substantially constructed of stone, and the probability is, that as the old fort had not been repaired and

* Brymner's "Report of Canadian Archives," 1882, p. 12.

the garrison at the time of its transfer to Kaskaskia was small, it was decided to convert the old Jesuit residence temporarily into a fort.

As confirmatory evidence that the fort taken by Col. Clark was this old Jesuit mansion, the following letter to Gov. Frederick Haldimand of date June 27, 1779, from Maj. A. S. De Peyster, commandant of Mackinac, who was directly interested in procuring accurate information, would seem to be conclusive. He says: "The Kaskaskia is no ways fortified. The fort being still a sorry pinchetted [picketed?] enclosure around the Jesuit college, with two plank-houses at opposite angles, mounting two four-pounders, each on the ground floor, and a few swivels mounted in pidgeen [pigeon] houses."*

There is no evidence, indeed, that Col. Clark ever occupied the old fort on the hill; but on the contrary, soon after the capture by him of the structure then occupied as a fort, while making preparations to repel a threatened attack, he says: "I resolved to burn a part of the town that was *near the fort*, and guard it, as I knew the greatest service we possibly could do was to sell the fort as dear as possible."† From the journals of both Col. Clark and Capt. Bowman it appears that when the former's force afterward started for Vincennes, it crossed the Kaskaskia River, which would not have been necessary had the men occupied the fort on the eastern bluff.‡

Having thus far succeeded in his plans, Col. Clark next took measures to conciliate the inhabitants. In order to insure their more complete submission, he at first confirmed by his conduct and demeanor, as well as that of his men, the reports they had heard of the daring and ferocity of the "big-knives." Surprised and affrighted by the offensive bearing of the soldiery, they were soon driven, trembling for their lives, to their houses. Some of the leading citizens were arbitrarily arrested, and no one was permitted to leave the town. Having, in accordance with their request, on the following morning permitted the inhabitants to

* Michigan "Pioneer Collections," Vol. IX, p. 388.

† "Clark's Campaign in Illinois," p. 57.

‡ These new facts concerning the location of the fort captured by Col. Clark were first brought to light by W. F. Poole, in his chapter on "The West," in Winsor's "America," VI, 719, 720.

assemble for public worship, he took occasion to explain to them the causes of the Revolution, and following the instructions of Gov. Henry, informed them "that although they were a conquered people, and as such were at the mercy of the conqueror, nevertheless the policy, no less than the desire, of the American government was to make them free; and that if he could have surety of their zeal and attachment to the American cause they should immediately enjoy all the privileges of government and their property be secured to them." He further said that while he had nothing to do with churches except to protect them from insult, religious liberty should not be interfered with. They were also informed that the king of France had united his armies with those of the Americans, and that the two peoples were making common cause against the British; but that they were at liberty to espouse whichever side in the great conflict they preferred; that if they decided to go with the Americans they must take the oath of allegiance.

The revulsion of feeling which followed the colonel's speech was highly complimentary to his eloquence. Unbounded demonstrations of joyful approval greeted his address, and the inhabitants at once avowed their readiness to take the required oath and become American citizens. The colonel was disposed also to deal leniently with Rocheblave, and invited him to dine with him; but instead of meeting his courtesies half-way and making the best of his misfortunes, the disgruntled Franco-British officer became violent and insulting. To such a length did he carry his insolence that the colonel felt compelled to place him in irons, and soon after sent him to Williamsburg as a prisoner of war. In 1780, breaking his parole, he made his way to New York, where, in 1781, he applied for a command and authority to recapture the Illinois posts. His slaves were confiscated and sold, the proceeds, amounting to five hundred pounds, being distributed among the troops of Col. Clark.*

The good work having been so successfully inaugurated at Kaskaskia, Capt. Bowman, with his company, was despatched to take possession of Cahokia. A number of the now friendly inhabitants of Kaskaskia accompanied the expedition to use

* "Clark's Campaign in Illinois," 37.

their influence to induce a like result at that point. There was a stockade fort at Cahokia, but it was not garrisoned, and no resistance whatever was made to the entrance of Capt. Bowman into the town. On learning what had occurred at Kaskaskia, the inhabitants here also readily took the oath of allegiance to Virginia. Many of the French, as a further pledge of their fealty to the new government, volunteered to enter the depleted ranks of the Virginia companies, and afterward did good service under Col. Clark.

"Domestic affairs," says the colonel, "being thus pretty well settled, the Indian department came next to be the object of my attention." This, indeed, was the most delicate and difficult portion of his task. To win the friendship, or at least secure the neutrality of the Indians was one of the primary objects of the campaign. The Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Sacs, Foxes—in a word, nearly all the leading tribes of the West—were represented in the repeated conferences held between Col. Clark and the savages, delegations of braves in some instances traveling a distance of five hundred miles in order to be present. With such consummate adroitness did he conduct these negotiations, not without a show of temper and of strength when occasion demanded, and so eloquently did he present the inherent justice of the American cause, that during the five weeks he remained at Cahokia he was enabled to conclude treaties with "ten or twelve different nations, among them the Miamis and Illinois." His success in this direction exceeded his most sanguine expectations.

Having brought matters to such a satisfactory issue at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, Col. Clark next directed his attention to Post Vincennes, called by the British Fort Sackville. The commandant of this post, Lieut.-Gov. Edward Abbott, had gone to Detroit, leaving the fort to be guarded by the inhabitants of the village. Learning this fact, Col. Clark resolved to dispatch an envoy for the purpose of winning over the settlers of that locality to the support of the colonial cause. For this mission he selected Pierre Gibault, the vicar-general of the Illinois country, who was well known at Vincennes. His embassy was completely successful, the inhabitants proceeding in a body to the church and taking the oath of allegiance. The American

flag was displayed from the fort to the astonishment of the Indians, and an officer temporarily placed in command. Capt. Helm, who had distinguished himself as a successful Indian negotiator, was subsequently appointed to this post, and entered upon his duties as commandant the middle of August. Immediate steps were taken to conciliate the Indians, who, observing the success of the Americans in obtaining possession of so many important British posts, began to reflect whether it was not for their interest to make friends with the winning side. The consideration which most influenced their decision, however, was the fact, repeatedly urged upon them, that "their old father, the king of the French, had come to life again and was mad at them for fighting for the British." A council was held at which all the tribes of the Wabash were represented, who declared themselves to have changed their minds in favor of the Americans.

But now occurred one of those reverses of fortune incident to a state of war, which no foresight of Col. Clark could well have prevented. Gov. Hamilton of Detroit, having learned of the loss of the posts of the Illinois, and that Fort Sackville had been left without a garrison other than that furnished by the inhabitants of Vincennes, resolved at once to recapture the latter post. With a force of thirty regulars, fifty French volunteers, and four hundred Indians, he started down the Wabash and arrived in sight of the fort, Dec. 17. Gov. Hamilton well knew from sad experience that if the defense of the fort depended upon the French militia, it would not long hold out. He had captured that very day one of the inhabitants of Vincennes who was found to carry commissions in the army from both the British and Americans; and he expresses himself on the subject of their fidelity as follows: "There is not one in twenty of the French inhabitants at all the outposts, I firmly believe, whose oath of allegiance would have force enough to bind him to his duty; added to this that the greatest part of the traders among them who are called English, are rebels in their hearts."

Capt. Helm was not at all taken by surprise at the approach of the British force and had done all he could to be prepared for it. In a letter written to Col. Clark on that day, which was captured by Gov. Hamilton, he says: "The enemy is in sight,

and my determination is to defend the garrison, though I have but twenty-one men, but not four men that I can really depend upon. Not one of the militia will take up arms, though before sight of the army there were no braver men." Even the four men that he had counted on turned out to be unreliable; but the brave captain refused to surrender the fort when demanded until terms—the honors of war—were granted him. Only himself and one soldier* were surrendered, together with "three mounted iron guns, two swivels, fifty pounds of powder, and one hundred and fourteen shot."† Gov. Hamilton once more assembled the citizens, enlarged upon their perfidy, and administered the oath of allegiance for the second time to one hundred and fifty-eight of them.

This was alarming news when communicated to Col. Clark, and placed him in a critical situation. He was well aware of the fact that the British did not intend to stop at Vincennes, but to recapture their lost ground in the Illinois. He also learned that Gov. Hamilton had decided not to make his attack in force until spring, and had permitted his Indian allies to depart on their winter's hunt and to make such forays as might offer. In one of these, Col. Clark came near being captured, as a party of forty Indians was within a few rods of him when he and a small guard of six soldiers were passing, failing to fire on them because they were instructed to take him alive.

Col. Clark, who kept himself well advised of the movements of the enemy, having also learned that Maj. de Peyster at Mackinac had despatched Capt. Chas. de Langlade to raise a coöperative force of Indians to act with Hamilton at Vincennes, or more directly by way of the Illinois River, upon Cahokia,‡ decided, with his accustomed daring and sagacity, not to wait for the favorable weather, the want of which had delayed the British commander, but to take advantage of the absence of the Indians, who were still marauding across the Ohio, and become the attacking party himself. He fitted up a boat mounting two four-pounders, and placing Lieut. John Rogers in command with thirty men, ordered him to proceed to Vincennes by water. With the detachment recalled from Cahokia and the two French

* Moses Henry. † Michigan "Pioneer Collections," IX, p.

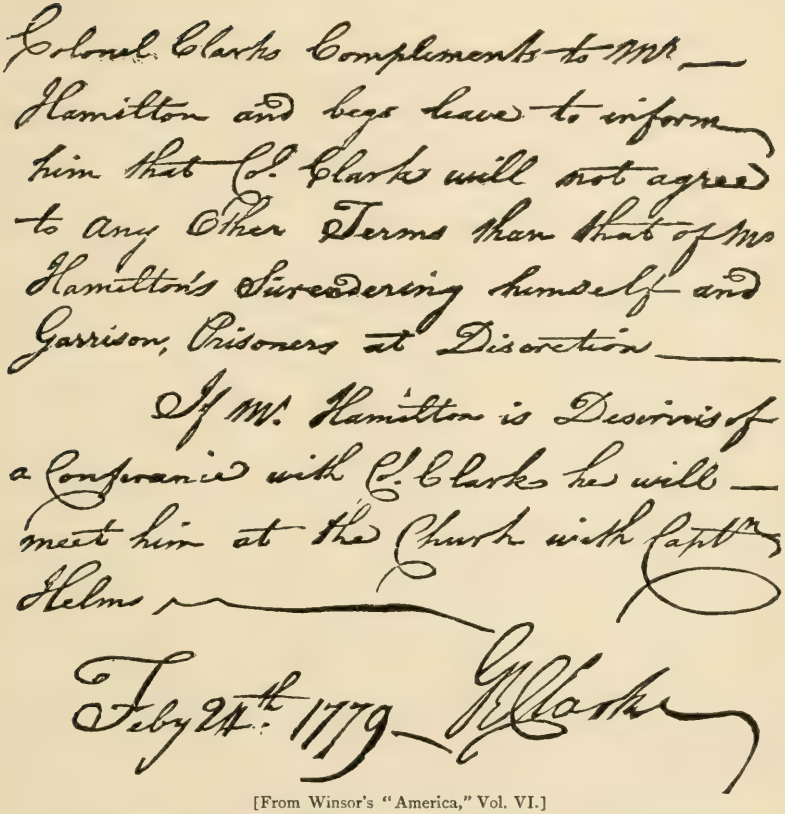
‡ "Magazine of Western History," III.

companies, which were commanded by Capts. Richard McCarty and François Charleville, he had a force of one hundred and seventy-three men. The American companies were led by Capts. Bowman and Worthington.

On Feb. 7, 1779, the inhabitants of Kaskaskia came out in their holiday attire to bid adieu to their friends and to cheer them on their way with words of encouragement. Father Gibault made a patriotic speech on the occasion, and "gave all the soldiers absolution." The march across the country through swamps and overflowed bottoms, swimming creeks and rivers filled with ice and snow, was most difficult and trying. Without food, the water, which was "breast-high," freezing to their clothes, with no dry land in sight upon which shelter and warmth could be procured, the men at one time refused to proceed any farther. Clark's persuasive powers were invoked in vain. At length he mounted a little drummer-boy upon the shoulders of a stalwart sergeant, six feet two in height, who was personally devoted to his commander, and gave the order, "March!" The sergeant at once dashed along through the water, the drummer-boy beating the charge from his lofty perch, while Clark, with sword in hand, followed, repeating the command as he threw aside the floating ice, "Forward!" Inspired with the novel scene as well as amused, the entire command promptly obeyed the order.*

He arrived before Vincennes at sunset, Feb. 23, and immediately began the attack. Those of the inhabitants who adhered to the king had been warned by proclamation "to join their hair-buying general [so called on account of bounties offered by him for scalps] and fight like men;" while "the friends of liberty," although assured of good treatment, were cautioned "to keep out of the streets." On the next morning, after a brisk firing, Col. Clark demanded the surrender of the fort. This was refused, and the attack was renewed and continued for two hours. Gov. Hamilton believed that the American force was much larger than it was, and fearing that in case the fort should be carried by assault no mercy would be shown to the besieged, as Clark had threatened in his demand, asked for a conference, to which the colonel replied as follows:

* Law's "Vincennes."


Colonel Clarks Compliments to Mr
Hamilton and begs leave to inform
him that Col. Clark will not agree
to any Other Terms than that of Mr
Hamilton's Surrendering himself and
Garrison, Prisoners at Discretion

If Mr. Hamilton is Desirous of
a Conference with Col. Clark he will
meet him at the Church with Capt.
Helm

Feby 24th 1779 G. Rogers Clark

[From Winsor's "America," Vol. VI.]

The conference which followed resulted in the acceptance of the terms of capitulation proposed by Col. Clark. Seventy-nine prisoners were surrendered, and stores valued at $50,000. The casualties were, one of Clark's men and six of the British wounded. Gov. Hamilton was sent as a prisoner to Williamsburg, and was exchanged March 4, 1781.*

* Gov. Henry Hamilton was appointed governor of Quebec in 1785, and afterward governor of Dominica. He died at Antigua in 1796.

Authorities: Dillon's "Historical Notes"; Clark's "Campaign in the Illinois," published by R. Clarke & Co.; "Canadian Archives"; Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois"; Michigan "Pioneer Collections", Vol. IX; "Magazine of Western History," Vol. III; Winsor's "America," Vol. VI and Chap. IX therein, by W. F. Poole, LL.D.; "Memoirs of Capt. Matthew Phelps," by A. Haswell; "American Archives," Series 4, Vol. I; "Colonial History of New York"; "Virginia State Papers," Vol. I.

CHAPTER X.

The County of Illinois—Officers and Government—La-Balme's and Brady's Expeditions—Attack on St. Louis and Cahokia—The Spanish Expedition against St. Joseph—Fort Jefferson—Close of the War and Termination of Virginia Control.

THE importance of the brilliant success which crowned the well-laid and ably-executed plans of Col. Clark can hardly be over-estimated. A well-appointed British garrison remaining in possession of Vincennes might have rendered impossible the retention by the Americans of the captured posts in the Illinois. But in the hands of the "big-knives," whose valor the Indians had learned to respect, the situation was reversed and the conquest of the territory rendered comparatively secure.*

The results of Clark's brief but arduous campaigns were far-reaching. The importance of the conquest from a military and strategic point of view was readily recognized and appreciated. But the issue of the expedition was fraught with consequences of a weightier—even of an international character. These Thomas Jefferson was quick to perceive, and that sagacious statesman in a letter to Clark, written about the date of the inception of the expedition, after signifying his approbation of the scheme, says: "If successful, it will have an important bearing ultimately upon our northwestern boundary." Time justified the correctness of the prediction. Had the undertaking never been conceived, or had it failed, American possession and control of the great Northwest might never have been realized, and the treaty of 1783 might have named as the western boundary of the new nation the ridge of the Alleghanies rather than the channel of the Mississippi.

The Mississippi Valley lying north of the Ohio was claimed by Virginia under and by virtue of ancient charters. The re-

* The Virginia House of Delegates manifested their appreciation of Col. Clark's services by tendering him a unanimous vote of thanks; and later he and his command received more substantial reward in the donation of a tract of 150,000 acres of land.


Wm. Henry Harrison
F. J. Grimké
F. J. Mantonnerey, Chicago

ceipt at Williamsburg of official reports of the reduction of the British forts within this territory, inasmuch as it had been effected by Virginia enterprise and valor, was regarded by the general assembly of the commonwealth as a ground for the enforcement of such claims. The house of delegates accordingly proceeded to extend civil jurisdiction over that country, in October, 1778, by enacting a law establishing the county of Illinois, containing the following provisions: "The citizens of the commonwealth of Virginia who are already settled or shall hereafter settle on the western side of the Ohio shall be included in a distinct county which shall be called Illinois County; and the governor of this commonwealth, with the advice of the council, may appoint a county-lieutenant or commandant-in-chief of that county during pleasure, who shall take the oath of fidelity to this commonwealth and the oath of office according to the form of their own religion. And all civil offices to which the inhabitants have been accustomed, necessary for the preservation of the peace and the administration of justice, shall be chosen by a majority of the citizens in their respective districts, to be convened for that purpose by the county-lieutenant or commandant, or his deputy, and shall be commissioned by said county-lieutenant."

In pursuance of the above provisions, Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, and who thus became *ex-officio* the first governor of Illinois, appointed Col. John Todd of Kentucky County, the commandant of the county of Illinois. Together with his commission the governor sent Col. Todd a letter of instructions containing statesman-like suggestions regarding the course to be pursued by his appointee. Among other things, he said: "The present crisis rendered favorable by the good disposition of the French and Indians may be improved to great purposes; but if, unhappily, it should be lost, a return of the same attachments to us may never happen. Considering, therefore, that early prejudices are so hard to wear out, you will take care to cultivate the affections of the French and Indians." As the head of the civil department, Col. Todd was to have the command of the militia, "who are not to be under command of the military until ordered out by the civil authority and to act in conjunction with them." The governor

advised that on all occasions he should impress upon the people the value of liberty and the difference between the state of free citizenship to which the inhabitants of the Illinois were destined and that of slavery; and that a free and equal representation and improved jurisprudence was to be guaranteed them.

Col. Todd, who was thus authorized to inaugurate the genesis of republican institutions and civil government in Illinois, was a Pennsylvanian by birth, a lawyer by profession, and a patriotic military leader in the county of his residence. His appointment was dated Dec. 12, 1778, but he did not arrive at Kaskaskia and enter upon the discharge of his duties until May of the following year. On May 14, the militia was organized, commissions being issued to Richard Winston as deputy commandant of Kaskaskia, and to Nicholas Janis and Joseph Duplassy as captains of companies. On May 17, François Trottier was commissioned as deputy commandant of Cahokia, and Jean Bte. Barbeau to hold the same position at Prairie du Rocher.

Having discharged these preliminary duties, Col. Todd proceeded to carry out another important instruction of Gov. Henry by ordering an election of civil officers, including the members of courts at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, which should have both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The election held under this order was the first exercise of the elective franchise in Illinois. The officers chosen, with one exception, were either by birth or descent, French.* The lack of persons qualified to fill the few offices vacant, a want which in modern days is never long felt, rendered it unavoidable that in some cases the same incumbent should fill at the same time both a civil and a military position. Richard Winston—who held the office of sheriff by election, in addition to filling other posts, appointive in their character—is the only name on the list of elective officeholders not of French origin.

Thus were started the wheels of government by whose revo-

* Members of the court elected at Kaskaskia: Gabriel Cerré, Joseph Duplassy, Jacques Lesource, Nicholas Janis, Jean Bte. Barbeau, Nicholas LeChanie, Charles Charleville, Antoine D. de Louvieres, —— Girradot; —— Carbonneaux, clerk; Richard Winston, sheriff. At Cahokia, —— Touranjeau (Michael Godin), François Trottier, Charles Gratiot, Antoine Gioradin, Jean Bte. Saucier, Jean Beaulieu, P. Marthin; François Saucier, clerk; J. B. LeCroix, sheriff.—"Col. John Todd's Record-Book."

lutions a practical knowledge of the forms necessary to the establishment of a free republic was substituted for those of monarchy. Experience proved, however, that the privileges of citizenship had been extended to those who appreciated neither its value nor its responsibilities.

The next questions which occupied the attention of Col. Todd related to the public lands and the regulation of trade. To prevent the taking up of large tracts by speculators he issued a proclamation enjoining all persons from making any new settlements of lands, and requiring the exhibition to duly-appointed commissioners of the evidences of title by those already in possession. Licenses to erect factories and stores and traffic in general merchandise were granted under careful restrictions. Perceiving the rapid depreciation in the value of continental currency, the commandant evolved a plan for the creation and floating of a new circulating medium somewhat in the nature of land-script, but the scheme eventually came to naught. He next visited Vincennes, where similar proceedings were instituted. Returning to Kaskaskia, July 27, he found that the lately-elected judges had met and adjourned their court to a distant date. It was an easy method to get rid of a system of jurisprudence which was at once new and distasteful to the inhabitants. This adjournment the commandant refused to sanction, and issued his order convening the courts, reprimanding the judges for their neglect of duty and impressing upon them the importance of regular sessions.

Early in August, obedient to the instructions of Gov. Henry, Col. Todd forwarded a communication to the Spanish commandants at Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, proposing the establishment of commercial relations between the governments of Spain and Virginia, and offering military assistance in case it should be needed.*

The old record-book of Col. Todd, now in possession of the Chicago Historical Society, which is the principal authority for the above-cited facts, contains one page which affords a singular commentary upon the cruelty, ignorance, and superstition of this early period. This is the minute of the capital condemnation of a negro slave named Manuel for some crime

* E. G. Mason's "Illinois in the Eighteenth Century."

not specified, but which, from other evidence, is supposed to have been what was then, as now, called voudouism, or negro witchcraft. The order of the commandant to the sheriff who was required to execute the sentence was that he "be chained to a post at the water side and there be burnt alive and his ashes scattered." On the original entry heavy lines have been drawn through this portion of the record, which fact, let us hope, indicates that the barbarous order was revoked. Gov. Reynolds in his "Pioneer History," second edition, page 175, says that a negro of this name was shot at Cahokia for this offense.

Commandant Todd having been appointed colonel of a Virginia regiment, left the county of Illinois the latter part of 1779, and there is no accessible evidence showing that he ever again returned. Henceforward he was actively engaged in military operations, fulfilling his duties as commandant of Illinois County as well as distance and other calls upon him would permit. Through Col. Clark and others he endeavored to keep himself advised of the situation, and frequently corresponded with the governor of Virginia in regard to the affairs of the county.

After the departure of the commandant, Col. John Montgomery was assigned, Aug. 5, 1779, to the command of the military department of the Illinois, with headquarters at Kaskaskia. The officers in command of detachments under him were "at Fort Clark, Capt. John Williams, to be joined by Capt. Worthington's company; at Kaskaskia, Capt. Shelby, to be joined by Capts. Taylor and Kellar's companies; at Cahokia, Capt. Richard McCarty in command, to be joined by Capt. Quirk's company." Maj. Joseph Bowman was assigned to the recruiting service and Capt. L. Helm made Indian agent at Kaskaskia, while Capt. Linetot was ordered to duty along the Illinois River.*

Since the capture of Vincennes, the loss of which was severely felt by the British, an attack upon the Illinois villages had been constantly threatened and feared. As an offset to a proposed expedition of Col. Clark against Detroit, Maj. de Peyster, British commander at Mackinac, in July, directed Capt. Charles Langlade to arouse the Indians on Lake Michigan and join Lieut. Thomas Bennett, who was in command of one hundred

* "Virginia State Papers," I, 324.

regulars at Chicago, for the purpose of making an attack upon the Illinois towns. He succeeded in raising a force of two hundred savages, but upon learning that Clark had abandoned his proposed expedition he returned to his post.

In March, 1780, Col. Clark, who was kept well advised of these movements, writes to Col. Todd that he much fears that the efforts of the British to regain the favor of the Indians and retake Illinois will succeed. And what is very singular, he further states that he is "not clear but the Spaniards would favorably suffer these [Illinois] settlements to fall into British hands for the sake of having an opportunity to retake them."*

It will be remembered that that portion of the Illinois district lying west of the Mississippi which formerly belonged to France now belonged to Spain, and that St. Louis was its *chef-lieu* or capital. The Spanish government was at this time the ally of the United States and the avowed foe of Great Britain, having declared war against that power on May 8, 1779. It would seem to have been the interest of the Spaniards, as friendly neighbors of the colonies on their eastern border, to act in unison with them and against the assaults of the common foe. Gov. Henry, as has been pointed out, had been particular to enjoin such a policy upon the commandant of Illinois. But, as will be seen hereafter, the suspicion of the watchful and sagacious Clark was fully justified by the event.

In June, 1779, one month after the Spanish declaration of war, Gen. Fred. Haldimand, then governor of Canada, acting under instructions of the home government, of which Lord Germaine was the head, prepared to organize an attack upon the Spanish posts along the Mississippi. A military force was to be despatched from Pensacola under Gen. John Campbell, then in command of the British garrison there, and all the northwestern governors were instructed by secret circular letters to coöperate with the movement. At this time the Spanish governor at New Orleans, Col. Don Bernardo de Galvez, a youthful officer—scarcely twenty-five—whose sagacity was equal to his valor, having learned through intercepted letters the intentions of the British, determined boldly to anticipate the contemplated assault by becoming himself the attacking party.

* "Virginia State Papers," I, 338.

Accordingly, in September, he started from New Orleans with six hundred and seventy troops on an expedition to capture the enemy's posts at Fort Manchac and Baton Rouge. Both points fell into his hands. He followed up these successes by promptly marching upon Natchez, the capitulation of which was likewise secured.

Five months after the occurrence of these events, in Feb., 1780, Capt. Patrick Sinclair, who had succeeded Maj. Arent Schuyler de Peyster in the command of the British troops at Mackinac, was busily engaged in organizing a force of Indians, whom, with a detachment of white troops, it was his intention to despatch to Natchez in order to coöperate with Gen. Campbell. While such coöperation was the ultimate object of the movement, Capt. Sinclair proposed, under instructions from Gov. Haldimand, to deal the American rebels a crushing blow on the way. Cahokia and Kaskaskia were to be reduced and also the Spanish posts at St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. The former had been popularly known as *Paincourt*—colloquially abbreviated to Pancore, and the latter *Misere.* Sinclair had received information to the effect that St. Louis was protected only by a garrison of "twenty men and twenty brass cannon." He supposed that the capture of the posts named would be less difficult than holding them afterward. The expedition started on May 2; according to Capt. Sinclair's statement, it was composed of seven hundred and fifty men, including servants, Indians, traders, and twenty Canadian volunteers. Capt. Hesse was in command, but the aboriginal contingent was directly controlled by Chief Wabasha. The former was ordered to remain at St. Louis, while the latter was to assault Ste. Genevieve and Kaskaskia.

All unconscious of the fact that the brilliant successes of Gov. Galvez had long before resulted in the transfer of Natchez to the Spanish power, Capt. Sinclair impressed upon Capt. Hesse the imperative necessity of pressing forward to that point with all possible despatch. With sublime faith in his success and a watchful eye toward resulting necessities in the way of subsistence, he thus outlined his plans in an official communication to Haldimand: "The two lower villages of the Illinois were to be laid under contribution for the support of the different garrisons

and the two upper villages to supply LaBay with cattle to feed the Indians."* On May 26, 1780, the expedition arrived before St. Louis and prepared to make its attack.

In the meantime, Col. Clark, who was at the Falls of the Ohio, had been informed, both by Montgomery and Capt. Ferdinand de Leyba, lieutenant-governor of St. Louis, of the impending invasion, and with a small force arrived at Cahokia only twenty-four hours before the appearance of the enemy.†

The conflicting reports of the affair which followed afford a striking illustration of the difficulties attending nearly every effort to arrive at the truth regarding these early engagements on the border. Gov. Reynolds in his account says that the raid was incited by one Ducharme in revenge for personal injuries inflicted on him as a trader, and that his force numbered fifteen hundred men; and that, having killed "as many as appeased his wrath, he withdrew his red warriors and abandoned the massacre." Stoddard, in his "Sketches of Louisiana," says sixty were killed and thirty prisoners were taken.‡ Local writers at St. Louis, however, concur in the statement that the attack was made in the forenoon at an early hour and not then expected; that the village was without defensive works of any kind; that those who were killed were shot in the fields, the enemy not approaching within three-fourths of a mile of the post; that certainly not more than seven or eight of the villagers lost their lives, all but two of whom were buried the same afternoon, their names appearing in the church register; that none of them were scalped; that but few were taken prisoners, and that there was no destruction of property.§ Col. John Montgomery reports that, "finding they [the invading force] were likely to be disappointed in their designs, they returned after doing some mischief on the Spanish shore which we would have prevented if, unfortunately, the high wind had not prevented the signals being heard."

* "Michigan Pioneer Collection," IX, 546, 558.

† "Virginia State Papers," III, p. 443.

‡ The discrepancy between historians as to the date of the occurrence is almost as great as is the divergence in their respective accounts of its results. They fix it variously as May 6, 1778, Judge Hall; May, 1779, Primm; May 6, 1780, Nicollet.

§ O. W. Collet MS., 1888.

Now contrast the foregoing with the report of the redoubtable Capt. Sinclair to Gen. Haldimand: "The two first of the Indian nations [Winnebagoes and Sioux] would have stormed the Spanish lines if the Sacs and Outigamies, under their treacherous leader Mons. Calvé, had not fallen back so early as to give them well-grounded suspicion that they were between two fires. A Mons. Ducharme and others who traded in the country kept pace with Mons. Calvé in his perfidity. The attack, unsuccessful as it was, will still have its good consequences. The Winnebagoes had a chief and three men killed and four wounded—the only sufferers. The rebels lost an officer and three men killed at Cahokia, and five prisoners. At Pancore, sixty-eight were killed and eighteen black and white people made prisoners. Many hundreds of cattle were destroyed and forty-three scalps *are brought in.*" * In weighing this report of the captain, it must not be forgotten that it emanated from the head-quarters of an unsuccessful commandant. That his statement of losses inflicted upon the enemy was exaggerated to meet the exigencies of the occasion, does not admit of any doubt.

The Hesse-Wabasha expedition made much better time in returning than it had done in going; the speed of the retreating Indians being accelerated by the close proximity of Col. Montgomery with a force of three hundred and fifty men, including a party of Spanish allies, who followed them to Peoria lake and thence to Rock River, destroying their towns and crops on the way. No amount of provocation was sufficient to induce the fugitives to make a stand for the purpose of giving battle. The lesson taught by this *fiasco* was not lost upon the Indians, and they bore it in mind when efforts were subsequently made to incite them to attack Illinois, and exhibited a preference for an expedition in some other direction.

In order to divert attention from the expedition of Capt. Hesse and his Indian allies, Capt. Henry Bird was despatched from Detroit by Maj. de Peyster in May, 1780, with a force of one hundred and fifty whites and one thousand Indians, with two field-pieces, to invade Kentucky, the fitting out of which expedition involved an outlay of over $200,000.† As soon as Col.

* "Michigan Pioneer Collection," IX, 559.

† Farmer's "History of Detroit," 260. "Michigan Pioneer Collection," III, 25.

Clark had been assured of the precipitate flight of the motley company which had undertaken the reduction of St. Louis, he directed his attention to the force from Detroit. Hastening to Kentucky, he quickly recruited one thousand volunteers. Bird appears to have taken alarm, and after storming two unimportant stockades retreated, manifesting no disposition to encounter the Americans on an open field. By way of reprisal for this inroad, Clark silently swept down upon the Indian villages north of the Ohio, thereby at once retaliating upon the invaders and diverting their attention to the support of their savage allies.

The original conception of the plan of campaign by Lord Germaine, above outlined, was brilliant in design and bid fair to prove a success. Had not the rapidity and daring of Gov. Galvez forestalled its execution by preventing the union of the northern and southern divisions of the proposed army, it is difficult to say what might have been the ultimate issue of the war of the Revolution.* As it was, however, the Spanish commander at New Orleans unintentionally rendered to the infant colonies the most valuable aid. The British advance was checked before it had fairly begun, and the raids of captains Hesse and Bird were the last organized attempts to regain the country of the Illinois or to capture the Spanish posts along the Mississippi.

In March, 1780, Col. Clark, foreseeing the probability of British inroads, addressed a letter to Col. Todd recommending the withdrawal of the troops from the outlying posts in the Illinois country and their concentration at a point known as the Iron Banks, on the east bank of the Mississippi, just below the junction of the Ohio with that river. On June 2, Col. Todd submitted this recommendation, with his endorsement, to the governor of Virginia. The proposition was approved by the general assembly, and the new post was named Fort Jefferson, in honor of the then governor of that commonwealth.† Grants of four hundred acres of land were made to heads of families in order to invite and stimulate immigration, and commissions freely issued to volunteer officers, with a view to recruiting the ranks of the militia.

* The author acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. W. F. Poole for directing his attention to the authorities relating to the intended Campbell expedition.

† "Virginia State Papers," Vol. I, 358, 360.

The event proved this to have been an unwise and unfortunate step, which would not have been taken could its results have been foreseen. It was in effect an abandonment of the villages of Illinois, which were thereby left exposed and liable to easy conquest by the British. The new post was erected on the hunting-grounds of the Chickasaws, without their consent. In consequence, this tribe, which had theretofore been friendly, at once became hostile, and made frequent raids upon it; and when they became pacified, the beleaguered garrison was attacked by other tribes. As a result, Fort Jefferson was in a constant state of fear; and so far from prospering, as had been hoped and confidently expected, the post proved a constant source of annoyance and expense to the government. There was a continual dearth of supplies, particularly of a liquid sort, the demand for which being the hardest to satisfy, and their receipt affording the greatest pleasure. Thus writes Capt. Robert George: "We are now able to drink brandy, taffia, and wine, and, with your good assistance, whisky too; but it has not made us so saucy but we can drink all the whisky you can send us." The fort was evacuated June 8, 1781.

At the same time a spirit of insubordination sprang up among the militia at various points. Richard Winston, as civil commandant at Kaskaskia, was having trouble with Col. Montgomery, who, Col. Todd says in a letter to Gov. Jefferson, went to New Orleans under circumstances which gave rise to grave scandal; while Capt. Richard McCarty was rendering himself exceedingly disagreeable "by endeavoring to enforce military law upon the civil authorities at Cahokia." *

Without either regularly-constituted military authority or a civil government which commanded respect, the inhabitants of the Illinois villages were subject to the impositions of any adventurer seeking to use them for the accomplishment of his own ends. Of these, one Col. Moltin de la Balme was the most conspicuous. He came to this country with Lafayette, and claiming to have authority from the United States, went to Kaskaskia in the fall of 1780, and after obtaining supplies, organized an expedition for the purpose—as he alleged—of capturing Detroit. He raised a force variously esti-

* "Virginia State Papers," I, 460.

mated at from twenty to fifty men, which was increased to one hundred and three by additional volunteers from Vincennes, besides a band of Indian allies. From here he marched to the post of Kekionga, at the head of the Maumee River, which settlement, after sacking, he destroyed. Securing the plunder, he proceeded to the river Aboite, and while there encamped, was attacked during the night by a party of Miamis, who overwhelmingly defeated him, killing Col. la Balme and, it was reported, between thirty and forty of his followers, and dispersing the remainder. The colonel's watch, set with diamonds, his double-barrelled gun, spurs, and valuable papers were brought to Maj. de Peyster by an Indian.*

Fort St. Joseph, situated on the river of that name, was the British post nearest to the Illinois villages. It was used not only as a depot of supplies, but as a general rendezvous for the Indian allies of the British, and from which they had made frequent hostile raids. The vigorous pursuit of the force sent against St. Louis and Cahokia, and the unexpected strength of the Americans thereby exhibited, led to the withdrawal of the British garrison at this post by order of Lieut.-Gov. Sinclair in the summer of 1780. The British traders there feeling secure in the protection afforded them by the presence of friendly Indians, decided, however, to remain. When these facts became known in the Illinois it was determined to raise a small force and make a raid against the post. The company consisted of seventeen men only, and was commanded by Thomas Brady, a patriotic citizen of Cahokia who had emigrated from Pennsylvania and who is described as having been both restless and daring. Marching across the country in October, he succeeded in eluding the Indian guards and captured the place, taking a few British prisoners together with a large quantity of goods. Being overconfident, on his return he was attacked by a force of Pottawatomies and British traders, hastily organized for that purpose, while he lay encamped on the Calumet. His party was easily defeated; two of them were killed, two wounded, and ten taken prisoners. Brady, with two others, succeeded in making his escape, and, returning to Illinois, did not rest until another expedition was organized to rescue his friends and avenge his

* "History of Detroit and Michigan," by Silas Farmer, 257.

defeat. This was the now noted invasion of which the following is an account:* Learning that the post had been again occupied, it was determined by the authorities at St. Louis and Cahokia to make another effort to capture the place and avenge their common wrongs. An expedition composed of about sixty-five whites, including Spaniards and Cahokians, and some two hundred Indians, was organized to proceed against it. It was commanded by a Spanish captain named Don Eugenio Pourré, and started out on Jan. 2, 1781, marching across the country in the usual pioneer fashion and meeting with but few obstructions and very little opposition. The Indians encountered on the way and in the vicinity of the fort were easily placated by presents and the promise of receiving a portion of the anticipated spoils. Arriving at the fort and finding no force prepared to oppose them, the raiders "valorously dashed in" and captured it without striking a blow. The few traders there had relied on the representations and friendship of the neighboring Indians, some of whom accompanied the attacking party, and having lent a willing ear to the superior inducements offered by the latter, permitted their unopposed approach. The place was plundered and the goods and provisions distributed among the Indians as had been promised. The British flag was replaced by that of Spain, and possession was taken in the name of "His Catholic Majesty," not only of St. Joseph and its dependencies, but also of the Illinois River.†

Possession was retained only a few days, when the fort was evacuated and the command returned to St. Louis. Yet from this affair, which was deemed of but little importance by the British, there arose serious international complications. A report of the alleged "conquest," no doubt exaggerated and highly colored, was forwarded to Madrid and published in the official gazette. Copies of this paper were transmitted to Gen. Washington by John Jay, our Spanish minister; and Benjamin Franklin, our minister to France, made it the subject of a special communication to Congress. It has, indeed, been contended that the expedition was "inspired and directed" by

* The date given by Gov. Reynolds and others for this expedition, 1777, is erroneous.—See "Virginia State Papers," I, 465.

† Dillon's "Historical Notes," 190; "Secret Journal of Congress," IV, 65.

the Spanish ministry as a part of their scheme to acquire a portion at least of the Mississippi Valley. But the facts seem to warrant the assertion that it was simply an ordinary raid, having plunder for its object, which originated at St. Louis and Cahokia, being composed of troops from both places, and was intended as a legitimate retaliation to the attack by the British and Indians upon these places the preceding year. The idea of giving it the importance subsequently attached to it and of using it for diplomatic purposes was probably an afterthought, possibly justified by the misleading terms of the report. At all events, it served the purpose of giving added strength to the Spanish claim to the Mississippi Valley, for the assertion of which the previous reduction of British posts above New Orleans had already laid the foundation.*

The preposterous character of this claim appears from the following considerations:

(1) It was evidently a joint expedition, conceived and undertaken by the authorities at both St. Louis and Cahokia. Certainly neither party could fairly claim the benefit arising from its success exclusively for itself; and it is hardly to be supposed that the inhabitants of an Illinois village would engage in a warlike undertaking which had for its object the transfer of a portion of the territory belonging to the colonies to a foreign power.

(2) The claim of Spain was, that in consequence of having taken St. Joseph, they "had made a conquest of the Illinois country."† The fact is that St. Joseph was not then, if indeed it had ever been, any part of the Illinois country either as a district or territory. In this respect and in coupling the name of the Illinois River with the capture, it was a bare-faced fraud, without a shadow of evidence to support it. If the Spanish government had desired to establish a *bona-fide* claim to Illinois by virtue of conquest, the coveted territory was near at hand —only across the river. The military had been withdrawn therefrom, its towns were not garrisoned except by small detachments of militia, who would not have been able to resist a serious attack or endure a siege.

(3) Even if the claim had been geographically correct, the

* "Secret Journal of Congress," IV, 62. † Spark's "Franklin," IX, 128.

fact that no effort was made to retain possession of so important a post shows that it was not intended at the time to base a claim of conquest upon its capture.

But, notwithstanding the effrontery and absurdity of the claim, it was seriously presented and urged by Spain at the preliminary negotiations for peace between the colonies and Great Britain at Paris in 1782, and was even supported by France. But owing to the sagacity, firmness, and wisdom of Jay, Franklin, and Adams, who were well acquainted with the facts and circumstance of the case, the accomplishment of the scheme which might have made the Ohio River instead of the Mississippi the western boundry of the United States was prevented.

This was the last expedition in which the citizens of Illinois are reported to have taken any part during the Revolution.

In 1780, Col. Todd, the commandant, was elected a delegate from the county of Kentucky to the general assembly of Virginia, and in November of that year he was appointed colonel of Fayette County. In May, 1781, he became a citizen, and was elected a trustee, of Lexington. After this date he seems to have paid no attention to Illinois affairs, as in a letter to the governor of Virginia, dated Oct. 21, he makes no allusion to them as he had done in previous communications. He was killed at the battle of Blue Licks, Aug. 18, 1782.

But little now remains to be added regarding Illinois as a county of Virginia. In 1782, one "Thimothe Demunbrunt, Lt. comd'g par interim, etc.," as he signed himself in the old record-book, exercised authority; and claimed to act as commandant until the arrival of Gov. Arthur St. Clair, in 1790;* but so far as appears, his official acts were confined to "affording succor," upon their application, to some Delaware and Shawnee Indians. They pleaded poverty as their excuse for asking assistance, and professed their willingness to be conciliated by the receipt of corn, flour, tobacco, and taffia, of which the latter article was much the largest quantity in proportion to the others. It is also known that Demunbrunt was quite liberal in the issuing of land-grants, which afterward formed the subject of much litigation.

After the close of the war of the Revolution, however, the

* "Virginia State Papers," V, 408.

civil affairs of the country were entirely neglected by both Virginia and Congress, and the people were left without a government. Courts ceased to be held and public officers failed or refused to discharge their duties.* To make the condition of the people, if possible, still more deplorable, in 1784, after the cession of the country to the United States, an irresponsible body of soldiers, pretending to have authority from Virginia, organized themselves, assumed control, and plundered and oppressed the inhabitants "with a high hand."†

The old record-book contains no entries from April 29, 1782, until June 5, 1787, and only two thereafter. The last of these is the record of a jury trial between John Edgar, plaintiff, and Thomas Green, defendant. Col. Josiah Harmar had visited the country and endeavored to restore order by reëstablishing the courts, but in effect there was neither law nor order in the Illinois country for the seven years from 1783 to 1790. The French inhabitants were the greatest sufferers on account of the absence of these essential safeguards of society, being ignorant and easily imposed upon. The American settlers, though as yet few and scattered, were better able to take care of themselves.

* Dillon's "Historical Notes," 405. † Gen. St. Clair's report to Congress.

Authorities: Calendar of Virginia State Papers; "Western Annals"; "Michigan Pioneer Collection," Vol. IX; "Report of Canadian Archives"; Winsor's "America," Vol. VI, Chap. V, by William F. Poole; "Magazine of American History," Vol. XV; "March of the Spaniards across Illinois," by E. G. Mason; "Secret Journals of Congress"; Farmer's "History of Detroit and Michigan"; Dillon's "Notes and Northwestern Territory"; "Magazine of Western History"; Butler's "History of Kentucky"; Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois"; Col. Todd's "Old Record-Book"; Mason's "Illinois in the Eighteenth Century"; Girardin's "History of Virginia," IV; Pitkin's "History of the United States."

Period IV.—Under the United States, 1784–1818.

CHAPTER XI.

The Public Domain—How Obtained—Its Extent—What it Cost—How Surveyed.

THE treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, concluded at Paris, Sept. 3, 1783, was ratified by Congress, Jan. 14, 1784. The second article of the treaty defined the western boundaries of the United States as follows: "From the most northwest point of the Lake of the Woods on a due-west course to the River Mississippi, thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of said River Mississippi until it shall intersect the northwest part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude."

The claims of Virginia and of other states to the territory of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, whether the same had been included in ancient charters, in treaties with the Indians, or obtained by conquest, were opposed by the states of Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, which had no claims to western lands.

Under the Articles of Confederation it was provided that no State should be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States; and that settlements of disputed boundaries or jurisdiction as between the states should be by commissioners appointed by Congress. Maryland refused to agree to the Articles of Confederation because of the above provisions until, in May, 1781—the other five states having done so, protesting against it. The disagreeing states claimed that if the unsettled western country ceded by France to Great Britain had been, as they contended, wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen states, it should be considered as a common acquisition to be divided by Congress into free and independent governments "in such manner as its wisdom might direct." It was contended that if the claim of Virginia to the

country lying east of the Mississippi should be allowed, she could raise and equip volunteers on more favorable terms than the other states by offering large bounties in the form of lands; that that commonwealth would also be able to derive a vast revenue from sales of the same, thus securing an undue advantage in the way of taxation. She would also, by attracting settlers to cheap lands, deprive other states not so advantageously situated of their most enterprising citizens.

Virginia and North Carolina, under that provision of the Articles of Confederation which left the disposition of lands to the states owning them, opened land-offices as early as 1779, and proposed to dispose of them by grants of bounties and sales. So pronounced had become the opposition to these proceedings that Congress, on Oct. 30, 1779, adopted a resolution, which was transmitted to the different states, "that it be earnestly recommended to the State of Virginia to reconsider their late act of assembly for opening their land-office, and that it be recommended to said state, and all other states similarly circumstanced, to forbear settling or issuing warrants for unappropriated land, or granting the same during the continuance of the present war." *

New York was the first state to respond, and on March 7, 1780, her legislature passed an act authorizing her delegates in Congress to limit and restrict the boundaries of the state in such manner as they should judge to be expedient, and to cede its claim to western lands. Virginia remonstrated and held back, but on Sept. 6, 1780, on the report of a committee, Congress resolved "That it be earnestly recommended to those states who have claims to the western country to pass such laws and give their delegates in Congress such powers as may remove the only obstacle to a final ratification of the Articles of Confederation." As a farther act of pacification, Congress, on Oct. 10, adopted a resolution "that the unappropriated lands that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States pursuant to the recommendation of Sept. 6, shall be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and be formed into distinct republican states, which shall become members of the Federal Union and have the same rights of

* "Public Domain," 63.

sovereignty, freedom, and independence as the other states."*

On Jan. 2, 1781, Virginia passed an act proposing to Congress to cede her lands northwest of the Ohio River on certain conditions. On Oct. 31, 1781, the resolution of Oct. 10, together with the acts and resolutions of New York and Virginia, were referred by Congress to a committee of seven. The formal deed of cession of New York was made and filed in Congress March 1, 1781, but no immediate action was taken thereon.

In the meantime, other claimants had arisen to a large portion of the lands in question, namely, the Indiana, the Vandalia, the Illinois, and the Wabash land companies, who filed their petitions before the committee, setting up their claims by right of purchase from the Indians. Against this action Virginia protested, and raised the question that the committee had no authority to consider these claims.

On Nov. 3, 1781, the committee, as appears by subsequent proceedings, made its report, which was not only adverse to Virginia, but recommended favorable action in regard to certain of the land-claims filed, and in favor of the right of New York to the western territory, on the ground "that all the lands belonging to the Six Nations [of which these were claimed to be a part] and their tributaries had been in due form put under the protection of England by said Six Nations, as appendant to the late government of New York." When this remarkable document came up for consideration, May 1, 1782, Theodoric Bland, a delegate from Virginia, offered the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That previous to any determination in Congress relative to the cessions of the western lands, the name of each member present be called over by the secretary; that on such call, each member do declare upon his honor whether he is or is not personally interested, directly or indirectly, in the claims of any company or companies which have petitioned against the territorial rights of any of the states by whom such cessions have been made, and that such declarations be entered upon the Journal."

The legislative squabble which not unusually follows the introduction into Congress of unpalatable measures now occurred. Motions to postpone and amend were made, and the body

* "Journal of Congress," III, 535.

adjourned without reaching a vote on Mr. Bland's proposition. The next day its consideration was declared out of order; but no vote upon the adoption of the committee's report was ever taken in Congress, although action was frequently sought by the Commonwealth of Virginia, as the journals show. On Oct. 29, 1782, the cession of New York was formally filed and accepted as an independent proposition.

After failing to agree upon several intervening reports, the whole matter, including the report of Nov. 3, 1781, was referred to a new committee, who brought in what proved to be a final report on Sept. 13, 1783, in which the entire question is discussed, and the proposition of Virginia as originally made was recommended to be accepted with but few, and those immaterial, modifications. The report was adopted, and on March 1, 1784, the deed of cession, signed by Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee, and James Monroe, was presented, formally executed, and accepted, New Jersey alone voting in the negative.*

The conditions insisted upon by Virginia and agreed to before the cession were: That the expenses incurred by the state in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts and garrisons therein, should be reimbursed by the United States; and that the French inhabitants and other settlers of Kaskaskia and neighboring villages who had become citizens of Virginia should have their possessions and titles confirmed to them and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties; and that the one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land promised by the state should be allowed and granted to Gen. George Rogers Clark and the officers and soldiers of his regiment who marched with him when Kaskaskia and Vincennes were reduced, and the officers and soldiers who have been since incorporated in said regiment, to be laid off in one tract and to be divided among said officers and soldiers in due proportion. There was also another stipulation of reservation in the deed relating to the "Virginia Military Lands" in Ohio.

Without regard to the claim of Virginia to the western territory by virtue of ancient charters, which it is not necessary here to discuss, her claim in right of conquest was certainly well

* "Journal of Congress," IV, 344.

founded, if, indeed, it was not unimpeachable. The Articles of Confederation (VI) provided that "no state shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be actually invaded by enemies or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such state, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of delay." Just the condition of things contemplated by this article existed when, in 1778, Virginia organized and sent the expedition under Col. George Rogers Clark which reduced the posts in Illinois, and subsequently held them by Virginia authority until the close of the war. They had been in possession of and garrisoned by British forces, and were continually stirring up the Indians in what is now Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to make hostile and murderous raids into Virginia. These were constantly occurring—the British furnishing not only men to assist, but ammunition and supplies to maintain the invading forces. The timely campaign of Col. Clark was the outgrowth of Virginia foresight, enterprise, and valor, and Virginia money paid the bills. But for this conquest the Northwest at the close of the Revolution would have been in possession of the British and would doubtless have so remained, as did Canada; and the western line of the United States, as before observed, would have been the ridge of the Alleghanies and the Ohio River, instead of the channel of the Mississippi. The supreme court of the United States in speaking of this title says "the grant of Virginia contained reservations and stipulations which could only be made by the owners of the soil." *

That the claim of New York through the Iroquois, so readily yielded at the time, was presented more for the purpose of effecting a favorable settlement of its disputed claim to the territory of Vermont, or to serve some other special purpose, than with any serious belief in its merits is more than probable.

The title of the Indians to land in this country has been long settled by both the British and American governments, and the adjudication of the courts. While they were admitted to be rightful occupants, with a legal and just claim to possession, they never acquired any proprietary interests in the vast tracts

* "Wheaton," VIII, 593.

of territory over which they wandered, and had no power of alienation. The purchases made from them by colonies were merely a measure of policy to prevent hostilities.* The claim of the Iroquois to western lands, although that confederacy was never backward in asserting its demands, was never so strongly urged by themselves for their own benefit as by the British government for the purpose of effecting its controversy with France, which brought on the French-and-Indian War. The claim of the Six Nations to the western country by right of conquest before 1700 was undoubtedly an afterthought. They frequently fixed their boundary themselves, and in the year 1744, at the Lancaster conference, when explicitly requested by the governor of Virginia to define the extent of these claims, either original or as acquired by conquest, and to name what nations they had conquered any lands from in Virginia, replied that it was the territory only between the Potomac and the Warrior Ridge, and was bounded by the lands of the Susquehanna and Potomac Indians,† making no pretense of claim to the Wabash or Illinois country.

By 1763, their claim by conquest had grown in inverse ratio to their power, which had been steadily waning. It extended, according to Sir William Johnson, as far west as the Falls of the Ohio, and thence northerly to the south end of Lake Michigan.‡ The nations claimed to have been subdued were the Shawnees, Delawares, Miamis, and other Western Indians, who had become their tributaries. As to the Delawares, the assertion had some semblance of truth, but none whatever so far as relates to the others. While the Iroquois had on several occasions, by reason of their having been supplied with firearms, successfully attacked the Illinois tribes and at one time driven them beyond the Mississippi, the latter never failed in any year to reoccupy their old camping-grounds, and frequently defeated and drove back their ancient foes. So far from conquering the Miamis, the latter were able not only to take care of themselves at home, but to attack their enemies on their own ground, where they so roughly handled them as to compel them to fly to the governor

* "Wheaton," VIII, 595.

† Colden's "History of the Five Nations," II, 81.

‡ "Pennsylvania Archives," VI, 602.

of New York for help. While a few of the Shawnees acknowledged for a time a limited dependency upon the Iroquois, they early threw off the yoke and ranged themselves on the side of the French against them. All the Western Indians, including the Miamis and Shawnees, formed an independent alliance under Pontiac in 1762, claiming to own the territory of the Northwest themselves, and it was in support of this claim that they went to war under the great Ottawa chieftain.

At the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, however, the claims of the Iroquois, real as well as pretended, including those by right of conquest, were fully considered, and that nation's boundary was definitely established as follows: "We begin at the Ohio at the mouth of the Cherokee River, which is our just right, and from thence we go up on the south side of the Ohio to Kittaning, above Fort Pitt; from thence in a direct line to the forks of the Susquehanah," and thence by various courses as described, northward to Fort Stanwix. "And this we declare to be our final resolves."*

Thus was effectually concluded whatever claim New York had to any portion of the western lands by reason of her alleged protectorate over the Iroquois. And the assurance of the committee in endorsing a claim so attenuated is equaled only by the apparent obliviousness of facts shown by attempts at this late day to revive the alleged reasons originally advanced in its support.

Other deeds of cession to the United States were made as follows: By Massachusetts, April 19, 1785, including a strip about eighty miles in width, beginning at the western boundary of New York from 42° 2′ north latitude to 43° 43′ 12″ across the country to the Mississippi River. By Connecticut, Sept. 13, 1786, including a strip of land about sixty-two miles in width, commencing west of a meridian passing one hundred and twenty miles west of the west boundary of Pennsylvania and extending westward from 41° to 42° 2′ north latitude, running also to the Mississippi River. By South Carolina, Aug. 9, 1787, to the

* "Colonial History of New York," VIII, 136. A second treaty of Fort Stanwix, concluded with the United States, Oct. 22, 1784, and subsequently reaffirmed by the treaty of Fort Harmar, Jan. 9, 1789, still farther restricted the boundary of the Six Nations, and declared in express terms that they yielded all claims to the country west of the western boundary of Pennsylvania, north of the Ohio.

northern portions of the present states of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. By North Carolina, Feb. 25, 1790, under our present constitution, to what is now the State of Tennessee. And by Georgia, April 24, 1802, to a strip lying west of its western boundary and to the Mississippi River, between parallels 31° and 34° 41′ north latitude in the states of Mississippi and Alabama.

And thus it was through these several cessions by seven states of the original thirteen that the United States consummated its title to the public domain lying east of the Mississippi River.*

* The area and number of acres thus acquired is shown by the following table:

	DATE.	SQUARE MILES.	ACRES.	COST.
Massachusetts { claimed and disputed, includ-	Apr. 19, 1785,	54,000	34,500,000	
Connecticut { ed in Va. cession, estimated	Sep. 13, 1786,	40,000	25,600,000	
New York and Massachusetts, actual,	Mar. 1, 1781,	315	202,187	
Virginia, disputed and undisputed, exclusive of Kentucky, western reserve, and fire lands,	Mar. 1, 1784,	259,625	166,159,680	
Connecticut, western reserve and fire lands,	Sept. 13, 1786,	5,937	3,800,000	
South Carolina,	Aug. 9, 1787,	4,900	3,136,000	
North Carolina, nominal, the area of Tennessee being almost covered with reservations,	Feb. 25, 1790,	45,600	29,184,000	paid Yazoo scrip claims, $6,200,000
Georgia,	Apr. 24, 1802,	88,578	56,689,920	
		404,955	259,171,787	

By adding to the foregoing the subsequent purchases by the United States, the entire extent and cost of the public domain is shown, as follows:

The Louisiana purchase from France,	Apr. 30, 1803,	1,182,752	756,961,280	$27,267,621
East and West Florida from Spain,	Feb. 22, 1819,	59,268	37,931,520	6,489,768
Mexican acquisition by treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,	Feb. 2, 1848,	522,568	334,443,520	15,000,000
The State of Texas, Sept., 1850, $8,500,000: 1855, $7,500,000,	Feb. 28, 1855.	96,707	61,892,480	16,000,000
The Gadsden purchase from Mexico,	Dec. 30, 1853,	45,535	29,142,400	10,000,000
Alaska, from Russia,	Mar. 30, 1867,	577,390	369,529,600	7,200,000
Making a grand total of		2,889,175	1,849,072,587	$88,157,389

Expenses of surveys, to June, 1880,	$24,468,691
Expenses of executive and administrative departments, to June, 1880, partly estimated,	22,094,611
Amount paid to extinguish Indian titles, annuities, and expenses, to June, 1880,	187,338,904
Total cost, to June, 1880,	$322,049,595
Sold at New York to June 30, 1796, 1,484.047 acres, $1,201,725	
Sold since at public sale, net receipts, to June, 1880, 199,501,124	200,702,849
Total cost above receipts to June, 1880,	$121,345,746

There remained unsold, June 30, 1880 (not including Alaska), 791,178,438 acres, which were valued, according to the testimony and estimates in the report of the public-land commissioner, Feb. 24, 1880, at $1,159,921,261.—Compiled principally from "The Public Domain; Its History, with Statistics. By Thomas Donaldson. Washington, 1884." Published as a congressional document.

The United States having thus acquired the ownership of the public lands heretofore belonging to the respective states, it became necessary to provide for their disposition. Three problems presented themselves requiring an immediate solution: First, what plan to adopt for their survey and sale; second, how to provide satisfactorily for the extinguishment of the claim of the Indians thereto; and third, what form of government should be adopted for the people residing thereon. Each of these questions presented grave difficulties, but that relating to the title of the red man was the greatest. It confronted Congress at the beginning, and out of it grew those Indian wars which marked the bloody period of pioneer settlements in the entire Northwest. Its adjustment involved the expenditure of millions of money and the sacrifice of thousands of lives.

The first law passed by Congress on the subject of the disposal of the public lands was dated May 20, 1785, and provided for a survey, and after setting apart one-seventh part for the use of the Continental army, and making reservations for school purposes, and providing for the division of the remainder among the original thirteen states, for their sale; but failing to answer the purpose for which it was framed, it was in its main features repealed by the ordinance passed July 9, 1788.

The system of land-surveys authorized by this law, and which have been continued ever since, is called the *rectangular*. From the principal bases, townships six miles square were to be laid out and established, each containing thirty-six sections one mile square, numbered from one to thirty-six, beginning at the northeast corner of the township, each section to contain six hundred and forty acres. Principal meridians and bases were initiated as follows: The first principal meridian, coincident with 84° 51′ of longitude west of Greenwich, divides the states of Ohio and Indiana, having for its base the Ohio River. The second, coincident with longitude 86° 28′ governs the surveys in Indiana and a portion of those in Illinois. The third, coincident with longitude 89° 10′ 30″, governs the surveys in Illinois east of said meridian, with the exception of those lands on the west side of the Illinois River. The fourth begins in the middle of the channel of the Illinois River at its mouth, in latitude 38° 58′ 12″ north, and longitude 90° 29′ 56″ west, governs the surveys in

Illinois west of the Illinois River and west of the third principal meridian north of said river. Other meridians were initiated for other states and territories westward as the surveys required.

The first officer in charge of the surveys of the public lands was Thomas Hutchins, who was appointed under the law of 1785, and was called the geographer. He had been a captain in a British regiment—Sixtieth Royal, and was assistant-engineer in Bouquet's expedition. He was for a time stationed at Fort Chartres, but when the Revolution broke out, being strongly in sympathy with the colonists, he relinquished his position. In 1779, he was imprisoned in London on a charge of being in treasonable correspondence with Benjamin Franklin. After his release he proceeded to Charleston, and joined the army of Gen. Greene. He was the author of a "Topographical Description of Virginia," and several other valuable works.*

It is claimed for him that he was the author of the plan of surveys adopted by congress, and to him was committed the task of putting it into successful operation, which he performed with remarkable care, patience, and ability. His work and descriptions of the country surveyed by him are of great value. Rufus Putnam was the first surveyor-general, so called, and was appointed under the act of 1796, creating the office. No lands were disposed of under the law of 1785.

* He was born in Monmouth, N.J., in 1730, and died in Pittsburg, Penn., April 28, 1789, where his remains now lie unnoticed in the cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church.—Allen's "American Biographical and Historical Dictionary." "Ohio Surveys," Tract, No. 59.

Authorities: "The Public Domain" (cong. doc.), by Thomas Donaldson; "Journals and Laws of Congress"; early Illinois pamphlets; "United-States Supreme-court Reports"; Cadwallader Colden's "History of the Five Nations," 3d ed.; "Pennsylvania Archives"; "Colonial History of New York."

CHAPTER XII.

Ordinance of 1787—First Sales of Public Lands.

THE necessity in the meantime of providing the people of the Northwest Territory with the means of governmental protection became apparent and even urgent. Accordingly, on March 1, 1784, a committee, of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman, was appointed to prepare a plan for the temporary government of the western territory. The report submitted by Jefferson proposed to divide the territory into seven states, to be named as follows: Sylvania, Michigania, Chersonesus, Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Polypotamia, and Polisipia; and among other things it was provided that after the year 1800, "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states otherwise than in punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." This was recommitted, but the second report agreed in substance with the first, omitting the names given to states. The anti-slavery clause, failing to secure a majority of states for its retention, was striken out. The report was then adopted, April 23, in the form of a resolution. Provision was made for the organization of states by the people, but it was left to congress to provide such measures for the preservation of peace and good order among the settlers as "might from time to time be taken." No such action, however, was taken by congress.

The resolutions of 1784 having failed to serve any practical purpose, remaining in fact inoperative, the inhabitants of Kaskaskia in August, 1786, petitioned congress to provide some means by which they could form a better government. That body directed its secretary to reply "that congress have under consideration the plan of a temporary government for said district, and that its adoption will no longer be protracted than the importance of the subject and due regard to their interests may require."

On Sept. 19, 1786, the plan above referred to was reported to congress, and after some discussion its further consideration

was postponed. On April 29, 1787, the same committee reported another measure, which was read a second time and ordered to a third reading on May 10. On that date, however, action was again postponed. It contained none of those declarations in favor of freedom and human rights which distinguished the ordinance afterward adopted.

After these repeated delays, all at once the situation was changed. Apathy gave place to interest, and inaction to earnest effort, and the greatest work of the Continental Congress was soon to be accomplished. The influence which produced this desirable result grew out of a plan to purchase western lands. A number of gentlemen in New England, nearly all of them ex-officers of the Revolutionary army, owning large amounts of government certificates of indebtedness, then not marketable, the previous year had organized themselves into a company for the purpose of converting their paper into land, with which the government was decidedly better supplied than with money to pay its debts. The most able and active member of the company was sent to New York to conduct the negotiations. This was Rev. Manasseh Cutler, D. D., a distinguished New-England divine who had served sometime as a regimental chaplain. He was a ripe scientist, an eloquent speaker, and a man of large experience. His person was commanding and his address as courteous as his oratory was convincing. His associates in the company, generals James Mitchell Varnum, Samuel Holden Parsons, Benjamin Tappan, colonels Rufus Putnam, and Ebenezer Sproat, and Maj. Winthrop Sargeant, were all men of influence and ability. Gen. Parsons had presented to congress the memorial embodying the proposed plan of exchanging scrip for land the previous May.

Dr. Cutler arrived in New York on July 5, and at once entered upon the work assigned him. He sought to impress upon members not only the advantage of the proposed exchange, but also how essential it was that a proper foundation for a good system of government should be laid for the people who should reside in the Far-West where the land desired by the New-England creditors of the government was situated, and without which the grant, if made, would be worthless. He even insisted that this was the first thing

demanding consideration; and as that subject was then occupying the attention of congress, the doctor became very busy. He interviewed Gen. Arthur St. Clair—president of congress, and other leading members of that body, besides capitalists and prominent citizens. The first-fruit of his efforts was the appointment, on July 9, of a new committee, composed mostly of fresh material: Edward Carrington and Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, John Kean of South Carolina—new members; Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, and Melancthon Smith of New York—old members. The bill as it then stood was submitted to Dr. Cutler "with leave," as he says "to make remarks and propose amendments." These he reported, and having favorably presented his proposition and put new life into the proposed ordinance, on July 10, he departed for Philadelphia, where the Constitutional convention was in session.

The time for dilatory proceedings had now passed. Here was an opportunity presented to congress to discharge several millions of dollars of the Nation's indebtedness in exchange for lands on the frontier, which could not be expected to have any market value for years if left to the natural course of events; and also to interpose a bulwark of settlements against Indian invasions of Virginia, New York, and Pennsylvania, which opportunities ought not to be neglected. An enactment for the government of the people of the proposed new settlement which would be satisfactory to the promoters of the enterprise was a prerequisite which ought not to be withheld or deferred.

The committee went to work in earnest, and the new ordinance as prepared was reported to congress and read on July 11. The next day it was read a second time and amended by the insertion of the sixth article; and on the day following, July 13, it was passed, receiving the unanimous vote of eight states, to wit: Virginia, Massachusetts, Delaware, New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, all that were present. A majority of these were slave-states—indeed, slaves were held in all the states except Massachusetts. But slavery had not yet become a political question, and many of the leading men of the Southern States were strongly opposed to its existence and had so expressed themselves. While they would not favor the emancipation of slaves in their

own states, it was not difficult for them to consent to its exclusion from the Northwest Territory. Grayson of Virginia, explained his vote by saying that the anti-slavery clause in the ordinance would prevent the raising of tobacco, cotton, and indigo north of the Ohio River. Other Southern members were no doubt influenced by similar considerations.

This celebrated enactment, justly distinguished as the great "American charter," and which in the centennial year of its adoption was the subject of renewed encomiums, was in the nature of a compact, and older than the constitution itself. While the object primarily sought to be obtained by its passage was the provision of a government for, and the encouragement of the settlement of, a vast territory destined to expand into future states, congress seized upon the opportunity thus offered to engraft upon the organic law, by legislative enactment, the fundamental principles of human freedom and equal rights, of which the Declaration of Independence formed the grandest statement which the world had yet seen. The ordinance vitalized and put into practical operation those eternal truths which the Declaration stated only doctrinally, upon which the American government was founded and upon the preservation and maintenance of which its existence alone depends.

Daniel Webster said of it: "We are accustomed to praise the law-givers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus; but I doubt whether one single law, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787." Chief-Justice Salmon P. Chase, while governor of Ohio, spoke of it as follows: "Never, probably, in the history of the world did a measure of legislation so accurately fulfil, and yet so mightily exceed the anticipations of the legislators. It has been well described as having been a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night in the settlement and government of the Northwestern States."

It is not surprising that the question of authorship of so important a document should have awakened more than ordinary interest. And here it must be noted that the era in which it was produced was remarkable alike for its discussion of questions relating to the rights of man, and for the advancement made

in theories of human government. It was a period of bold thought and searching investigation. The splendid rhetoric of Edmund Burke, the unanswerable logic of Thomas Jefferson, the keen satire of Thomas Paine, and the profound philosophy of Benjamin Franklin revolutionized public sentiment. Old ideas of the prerogative of kings, hereditary rights, and class legislation, with their attendant train of suffering and oppression were shown to be untenable. Man was lifted up to a higher plane, where his eyes were opened to a clearer conception of his rights, no less than of his duties and obligations.

It was, therefore, in line of the thought of the age that in providing for the government of the inhabitants of that magnificent domain, lately acquired by the general government, all the benefits—social, political, and educational—derived from enlarged views of freedom and culture should be extended to them and embodied in their fundamental law. The principles announced in the Declaration of Independence remaining there without form of law to enforce them would indeed have proved to be merely "glittering generalities." But they had already been vitalized by enactment into the constitutions of Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina, Maryland, Georgia, New Hampshire, and especially in Massachusetts. In all of these instruments articles were adopted in favor of religious liberty, the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus*, the trial by jury, establishing the common law, the right to bail, that fines should be moderate, and that no man should be deprived of his liberty or property without due process of law, and that full compensation should be made for private property taken for public uses.

In the constitutions of Massachusetts, Georgia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and New Hampshire provision was made for the establishment of public-schools and their support by the state. In Massachusetts, almost the precise language was used as that in the ordinance, the statement being, "the happiness of the people and the good order and preservation of civil government essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality." "Wisdom and knowledge as well as virtue diffused generally among the body of the people being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties."

In regard to real property, it repealed the leading features of

feudalism by which all lands before the Revolution were held by socage tenure, denoting a fixed and determined service.* In thus providing for the free and unconditional alienation of the public lands by the general government, and for the equal distribution of estates among the descendants of intestates and their dispositon by will, as against the English laws of primogeniture, and the alienation of real estate by lease and release or bargain and sale by deed, in fee simple, "it struck the keynote of our liberal system of land laws, not only in the states formed out of the public domain, but also in the older states."†

But even these important provisions, although not so broadly and clearly shaped, were already contained in the Constitution of Georgia, (Art. II.)

It appears, in fact, that some of the most important declarations of rights contained in these early constitutions, and since reënacted, were not included in the ordinance, namely: the liberty of the press, the right of free-speech, the right of petition, the freedom of elections, the right to bear arms, and the prohibition of *ex-post-facto* laws.

The proposition that certain articles should be considered as a compact between the original States and the people *and States* in the said territory, seems to have originated with Jefferson. It was in the ordinance reported by him in 1784. This ordinance also contained an article of which Jefferson was the author, prohibiting slavery in any state to be formed out of said territory after the year 1800; but Jefferson, in 1787, was our minister to France, and took no part in the later enactment. In 1785, Rufus King of New York, introduced a resolution as a supplement to the ordinance of 1784, providing for the prohibition of slavery in the *States* to be formed out of said territory. It was referred to a committee and never reported upon.

That portion, therefore, of Art. VI. which prohibited slavery in the *territory* was new. The original draft was in Mr. Dane's handwriting, as indeed was the entire instrument, and he says in his letter to Rufus King that "when I drew the ordinance, which passed, a few words excepted, as I originally formed it, I had no idea the States would agree to the Sixth Article, as only Massachusetts of the Eastern States was present, and

* Kent, III, 527. † Com'r, J. S. Wilson.

therefore omitted it in the draft; but finding the House favorably disposed on the subject after we had completed the other parts, I moved the Article which was agreed to without opposition."

On the other hand, Judge Ephraim Cutler, son of the doctor, tells us that while on a visit to his father, then a member of Congress, at Washington, in 1804, having informed him that he had prepared the anti-slavery clause of the Ohio constitution, his father stated in response, that it was a singular coincidence, as he himself (the doctor) had prepared that part of the Ordinance of 1787 while he was in New York negotiating the purchase of lands for the Ohio Company.

In regard to other clauses, the doctor informs us in his diary that on his return from Philadelphia, July 19, he found that the ordinance which had been adopted had been "in a degree new-modeled," but that the amendments proposed by him had all been made except one, which related to taxation. These, as claimed by him, it appears, were the provisions relating to religion, education, and slavery.*

The provisions of the ordinance which were distinctly new, in addition to article six, were as follows:

The plan for the organization of a civil government for the northwestern territory was a venture into an entirely new field. The grant of power to the people was, however, not very liberal. Every office of the territory was to be filled by appointment, and the incumbents were required to be land owners. The minimum was a free-hold estate therein of five hundred acres each by the secretary and judges, and one thousand acres by the governor. All "magistrates and other civil officers" were appointed by the governor, who, with the judges made the laws, until the territory rose to the second grade. The elective franchise, only to be exercised after the territory had obtained five thousand inhabitants, was confined to the election of members of the general assembly. A representative was required to be a citizen of the United States, a resident of the district, and the owner of two hundred acres of land; while an elector must be the owner of fifty acres.

Both reflection and experience demonstrated the fact that

* Cutler's "Life of Rev. Manaseh Cutler," I., 342-3.

these provisions were too narrow, and the ordinance was amended in 1809 so that the people were authorized to elect a council, theretofore appointed by the president and a member of congress, previously chosen by the Legislature; and in 1811, the right of suffrage was extended to all those who paid a tax and resided one year in the territory.

The other provisions of the ordinance which were new, were (1) the clause in regard to the inviolability of private contracts; and (2) that in regard to the treatment of the Indians. The claim of originality by Dane to both of these, seems to be well founded, and has not, indeed, been seriously questioned. That the committee was greatly benefited and assisted by the suggestions and personal influence of Dr. Cutler, during the final preparation of the ordinance, there can be no doubt. But the eminent services of the able Dane, who, in his official capacity as a member of congress, prepared and aided in securing the passage of the document, can not be over estimated by the millions of people who are now reaping and enjoying the benefits of its wise provisions.

Having shown how the public domain was acquired, the system of surveys established, and the provision made for the government of the inhabitants residing thereon, a brief space will now be devoted to the plan adopted for its disposition.

The first sale of land after the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, was made in pursuance of an act of congress, July 23, the same year, instructing the Board of Treasury to contract for the sale of the large tract to the Ohio Land Company, of 822,900 acres, receiving therefor certificates of ownership and army land-warrants valued at $642,859. This was followed by one to John Cleves Symmes, of 272,540 acres, for which he and his associates paid $189,643; and by another to the State of Pennsylvania, of 202,187 acres. All other sales of public lands of the United States were made under general laws.*

On May 19, 1796, an act was passed by congress for the sale of lands in Ohio; but the general system finally adopted, under which all the public lands have been since disposed of, was embraced in the act of May 10, 1800, the credit for originating which is due to the profound thought, and far-

* "Public Domain," 17, 197-8.

reaching sagacity of that eminent financier and statesman, Alexander Hamilton. The subject having been referred to him as secretary of the treasury, he presented a report in which he recommended the establishment of a general land-office, the appointment of a surveyor-general, and all the other prominent features embodied in the act last named. Provision was made for receivers and registers; the lands were to be offered at public sale in lots of 320 and 640 acres, and at not less than two dollars per acre, one-fourth of the purchase money to be paid within 40 days and the remaining three-fourths in two, three, and four years, with interest at the rate of six per cent per annum on the deferred payments.

Prior to the passage of the act in question, the only portion of the public domain sold had been in Ohio. The sales had aggregated 1,484,047 acres, for which there had been paid into the Treasury the sum of $1,201,725.*

Amendments were made to the law of May 10, 1800, at various times, extending the time of payments, and providing for sales in smaller quantities than 320 acres, until in 1820 the credit system was abolished and sales of eighty-acre lots permitted, and the price fixed at $1.25 per acre. Subsequently entries also were allowed for forty-acre lots. Under the credit system there had been sold in Illinois 1,593,247 acres.

In every instance the following tracts were excepted from sale: (1) One thirty-sixth portion (640 acres) of each township for the support of schools. (2) Seven entire townships, viz: Two in Ohio and one each in the territories of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Mississippi, and Louisiana, were reserved for the support of seminaries of learning. (3) All salt-springs and lead-mines were also reserved, but might be leased by the president.

* "Public Domain," 17.

Authorities: Laws and Journals of Congress; Article in "North American Review," April, 1876, by W. F. Poole; "The St. Clair Papers," by W. H. Smith; "Life, Journal and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler," by W. P. and J. P. Cutler; "Charters and Constitutions," by Ben. Perley Poore; "The Public Domain," Congressional Document.

CHAPTER XIII.

As a Part of the Northwest Territory—Illinois Merged into St. Clair County—First Officers—Land-Titles in Illinois—Indian Disturbances—St. Clair's Defeat—Randolph County—Early Attempts to Dismember the American Union, 1789-1800.

THE chronological sequence of events having been broken somewhat in the two foregoing chapters, it will now be resumed before taking up the subject of Indian treaties.

A plan for the government of the Northwest Territory having been formulated and adopted by congress, it became necessary to appoint officers to administer it.

This question had already received some consideration, even at the time of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787. That famous statute and the act authorizing the sale of western lands were in charge of congressional committees whose *personnel* was almost identical, both having the same chairman, and three of the members of one being also members of the other. It soon transpired that the parties interested in the Ohio Land Company desired Gen. Parsons for governor. The act of congress providing for the sale, as passed July 23, was not satisfactory to the proposed purchasers, especially in regard to the security required for the unpaid purchase money, and Dr. Cutler addressed a letter to the treasury requesting modifications. There was a serious hitch in the proceedings, and the doctor threatened that unless the terms proposed in his letter were complied with the company would purchase land from the states. But the chief obstacle in the way to success, as he soon began to suspect, was the company's candidate for governor. The program was accordingly changed, the doctor frankly declaring to Col. Grayson and other members of congress, "that if Gen. Parsons could have the appointment of first judge, and Sargent secretary, we should be satisfied; and that I heartily wished Gen. St. Clair might be governor, and that I would solicit the Eastern members to favor such an arrangement." The doctor further states

that he found this suggestion "rather pleasing to the Southern members;" and the next morning meeting Gen. St. Clair, that gentleman informed him that "he would make any possible exertion to prevail with congress to accept the terms contained in our letter." Dr. Cutler added 'that things went on much better since St. Clair and his friends had been informed that we had given up Parsons;" and on that very day, July 23, congress accepted the proposed modifications and closed the contract.*

The reverend doctor's experience in public affairs proved to be of great advantage to him in this emergency, and enabled him to consummate his great scheme without the surrender of a single point seriously insisted upon.

The officers for the Northwest Territory were finally appointed February 1, 1788, as follows: Gen. Arthur St. Clair, governor; Winthrop Sargent, secretary; and Samuel Holden Parsons, James Mitchell Varnum, and John Cleves Symmes—vice John Armstrong declined—judges. The ordinance having been amended to conform to the Constitution in regard to appointments, these officers were all re-appointed by President Washington and confirmed by the Senate, Aug. 8, 1789.†

Gen. St. Clair was a native of Scotland, whence he emigrated to North America in 1755, when he was twenty-one years of age. He entered the army and served through the French and Indian wars and that of the Revolution, leaving the army with the rank of a major-general. In 1786, he was elected a delegate to congress from Pennsylvania, and was president of that body when he received his gubernatorial appointment.

He was now to enter upon an untried field. The theory of congress was to be put to the crucial test of actual experiment. Stupendous results might depend upon the success or failure of

* Cutler's Journal in Smith's "St. Clair Papers," I, 129.

† Other officers, in place of those who had died or resigned, were subsequently appointed as follows: Judges, George Turner, Sept. 12, 1789—vice Wm. Burton, declined—resigned 1797; Rufus Putnam, March 31, 1790—vice S. H. Parsons, deceased—resigned 1796; Joseph Gilman, Dec. 26, 1796, in place of Putnam; Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., Feb. 12, 1798, in place of George Turner; Secretaries, Wm. H. Harrison, 1798-9; Charles Willing Byrd, 1799 to 1803; Attorney General, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., from 1796; Treasurer, John Armstrong, from 1792; Auditors of Public Accounts, Rice Bullock, 1799; Thomas Gibson, from 1800; Delegates to Congress, Wm. H. Harrison, 1799-1800, William McMillan, 1800-1, Paul Fearing, 1801-3.

his initiatory efforts to lay broad and deep the foundation on which was to rest the superstructure of five mighty states, and the welfare of the unborn millions who would people them. How to deal with the white inhabitants, separated from the restraints of older communities, and with the red men, who largely outnumbered them; how equitably to settle complicated and conflicting land claims arising from grants and treaties; how to provide wholesome laws and regulations adapted to the growth and prosperity of the inhabitants—these were a few of the profound as well as perplexing problems which the situation presented.

On July 9, 1788, the twelve-oared barge of the governor reached Marietta, the name of the settlement which formed the nucleus of the colony to be planted by the Ohio Land Company; and as he stepped on shore, he was received by the recently arrived citizens with military honors.

On July 15, the governor and judges formally proceeded to organize the new government. The county of Washington was established, and a code of laws adopted and published.*

It was not long before it was evident that there was a lack of harmony between the executive and judicial departments. They entertained different views as to their respective and relative powers, and did not agree as to the character of needed legislation. Some of the laws adopted were construed to be in violation of the ordinance, and subsequently failed of ratification by congress.

The governor found his situation neither pleasant nor profitable, and returning to Philadelphia in the Fall, seriously thought of tendering his resignation. But his plans for preferment and the advancement of his personal interests in his old home failed, and he returned to his position.

* These laws were not always adopted from the statutes of the original states as required by the ordinance, but were changed at first to meet the supposed exigencies of the case. This action was not approved by congress, but the laws were generally permitted to remain in force until reënacted by the first territorial legislature. After 1795, the laws adopted were almost literal transcripts of those of other states, of which, up to 1799, when the governor and council were superseded by the legislature, twenty-five (limitations, settlement of estates, wills, enclosures, ejectment, etc.) were taken from Pennsylvania, eight (dower, divorce, coroners) from Massachusetts, four each from Virginia, Connecticut, and Kentucky, two from New York and one from New Jersey.

In January, 1790, the governor and judges proceeded to Fort Washington, where the county of Hamilton was organized, and the name of the village changed from Losantiville to Cincinnati.*

From here the governor and secretary determined to visit for the first time the Illinois country, and arrived at Kaskaskia March 5, 1790. The county of St. Clair was established (named after himself) being laid off into three districts, and officers appointed therein. The selection of the latter the governor found to be a difficult task, since, as he says "not a fiftieth man could read or write," and the entire district "afforded barely a sufficient number of persons who were in any degree qualified to fill the necessary offices." So, doubtless, it appeared to the governor, but why it happened that so few Americans received appointments, when there were then nearly a hundred in the county, among them the Moores, Ogles, Wm. Arundel, Shadrach Bond, sr., the Clarks, Lemons, George Atchison, and many others who possessed qualifications above the average pioneer settler, it is impossible to conjecture. Did they prefer to remain out of the way, waiting to see how they might be affected by the changed aspect of affairs?†

The governor made his first visit to Cahokia April 27, 1790. He found the inhabitants of the Illinois country in a deplorable condition. Ever since it had fallen under American control they had been involved in no little distress. They had with great cheerfulness furnished Col. Clark and his troops with supplies, robbing themselves even of necessaries. The certificates which they had received in payment, were still in their hands unliquidated and unpaid. The authorities of Virginia had re-

* Dillon's "Historical Notes," 40.

† The first officers appointed in St. Clair County were as follows: Judges of the Court of Common Pleas: Jean Bte. Barbeau, John Edgar, Antoine Gerardin, Philip Engle, and John de Moulin; Justices of the Court of Quarter Sessions and Justices-of-the-Peace: John Edgar, Philip Engle, Antoine Gerardin, Antoine Louviers; Justices of the Court of St. Clair County: Francois Trottier, F. Janis, Nicholas Smith, James Piggott, B. Saueier; Judge of Probate: Bartholomew Tardiveau; Clerk and Recorder of Deeds: William St. Clair, a nephew of the governor; Sheriff: William Briggs; Coroner: Charles le Fevre; Surveyor: Antoine Gerardin; Militia: Lt-Colonel, Bartholomew Tardiveau; Major, Antoine Geradin; Captains, John Edgar, J. B. Dubergin, Philip Engle, F. Janis, and James Piggott; Notary Public: Joseph La Bussiere.—Sargent's Journal in "St. Clair Papers."

fused payment because the obligation had been assumed by the general government, and the latter had failed to provide for them. Added to this they had suffered the loss of the Indian trade, and extortions at the hands of those who had been formerly their friends. Other misfortunes followed, among the chief of which had been three successive and extraordinary inundations of the Mississippi, which swept away their crops or prevented their being planted, together with the loss of their previous crop by an untimely frost.

Father Gibault, the patriotic priest who had rendered such valuable service to Gen. Clark in 1778, in order to meet the demands for supplying American troops, and as an example and encouragement to others, had even "parted with his tithes and his beasts, receiving therefor only paper dollars," and was "compelled to sell two of his good slaves" to raise a required sum of $1500. He had done all in his power to aid the Revolutionary cause, only, as he claimed, "to perceive that it was intended to pillage and abandon the French inhabitants."

Charles Gratiot, at Cahokia, performed like patriotic services on a much larger scale. Himself and François Vigo, with others, contributed large sums not only to supply troops but also to purchase goods for the Indians to close treaties, without which they could not have been successfully concluded. Gratiot presented his claims at Richmond and after repeated visits there, and years of effort, he finally succeeded in having them allowed, receiving but little ready money for them, however, being compelled to take pay in tobacco, slaves, and lands at high prices.

Vigo's claim was originally $8716, a large sum in those days, the failure to collect which kept him poor. His heirs finally succeeded in securing its allowance in the Court of Claims, but the United States appealed from the decision to the Supreme Court, where it was reaffirmed in 1876, amounting then to about $50,000.*

The French inhabitants of the Illinois territory had, indeed, experienced the most remarkable vicissitudes of political fortune. They had become the subjects of their own conquerors and the victims of their own wars. Subjugated by the British,

* "Magazine of Western History," I, 230.

deserted by the Indians, despoiled and cheated by the Americans, it is not surprising if, in their present condition, they looked back with regretful longings to the good old days of French rule, or even to the time when the British were over them, who, if they took their property, paid for it at a fair valuation in gold.

The governor remained in the new county until June 11, after which time he did not revisit it for five years. In the meantime the government which he had inaugurated therein was far from being a success. The militia organization had proved an entire failure, many of the officers refusing to discharge their duties, and their successors manifesting no desire to improve the service. The men were insubordinate, and had refused to muster for eighteen months. The judiciary was in an equally unsatisfactory condition. The courts were rarely convened, their few sessions being marked by the absence of order or decorum. In other respects also the government was a failure, and the prospects of the people were indeed gloomy.*

In 1795 Judge Turner, at the request of the governor, proceeded to St. Clair County to hold court. His visit was productive of more harm than good. He ordered the removal of the records from Cahokia to Kaskaskia, and removed the clerk from office because he opposed the transfer. Out of this proceeding arose a controversy between the governor and the judge, which resulted in the preferment of charges against the latter, and in his ultimate resignation. The division of St. Clair County, and the establishment of Randolph—named after Gov. Beverly Randolph of Virginia—also had its origin in the same cause. This event occurred in 1795—the dividing line between the counties ran from the Mississippi through the New Design settlement to the Wabash. Kaskaskia was made the county-seat of Randolph County, and Cahokia of St. Clair.

The governor revisited these counties in 1796, and with him came Judge Symmes, who held court at both Kaskaskia and Cahokia.

At the latter place an exciting incident was the attempt to indict Col. William Whiteside and others for the killing of certain Indians. The grand jury refused to find a bill, and the

* "Report of William St. Clair," in June, 1793, "St. Clair Papers."

governor, who was present, approved their action, stating that the killing was not only justifiable but praiseworthy.*

The complications arising out of conflicting claims and titles to land in Illinois were as difficult of adjustment as they were various and perplexing. There were the old French grants, whose lines were often difficult to find, the British grants, and those of the Virginia authorities. These latter were judiciously restricted and guarded by Col. Todd, but not by his successor, who, it is said, made grants indiscriminately.

To make "confusion worse confounded," in accordance with the stipulations of the deed of cession by Virginia, in part compensation for the hardships imposed upon the inhabitants of Illinois by the events of war which followed the capture of Kaskaskia by Gen. Clark, congress on the 29th of August, 1788, had passed a resolution providing for the confirmation in their possessions, and titles of the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers about Kaskaskia and Vincennes, who on or before the year 1783, had professed themselves citizens of the United States, or any of them; and also donating a tract of four hundred acres of land to each head of family of the same description of settlers. The act was just and right, the difficulty lay in the failure to execute it.

Although ten years had elapsed since the conquest of the country, and five years since the close of the Revolutionary war, congress had taken no action in compliance with the numerous petitions of settlers requesting that their claims be confirmed and their titles quieted. Mindful of the injury being done in consequence of these delays, in his first letter of instruction to Gov. St. Clair, President Washington, in October, 1789, called especial attention to this subject, and directed him to "execute the order of congress," stating that it was a matter of importance "that the said inhabitants should as soon as possible possess the lands to which they were entitled by some known and fixed principle."

Gov. St. Clair found the task assigned him by the resolution, which required him to make lists of the persons entitled to lands and have them surveyed, a most trying one, the difficulties of which were enhanced by the passage of the act of con-

* "St. Clair Papers."

gress of March 3, 1791. This law extended the benefits of the resolution not only to those who had removed from one place to another within the district, but also to such as had removed out of the limits of the territory specified, upon condition of their returning and occupying said lands within five years.

It further provided that when lands had been actually improved and cultivated within the limits before mentioned under a presumably valid grant of the same by any commandant or court claiming authority to make such grants, the governor was "empowered to confirm the same to such persons, their heirs or assigns, or such parts thereof as he might deem reasonable, not exceeding four hundred acres to any one person." The statute also contained a provision to the effect that "the governor be authorized to make a grant of land not exceeding one hundred acres to each person who hath not obtained any grant of land from the United States, and who on the first day of August, 1790, was enrolled in the militia at Vincennes, or the Illinois country, and has done militia duty."

Various lists and additions thereto were made out by the governor under the foregoing resolutions and act of congress, up to the time of the division of the Northwest Territory, and even thereafter, from which great confusion and uncertainty arose. Many of the original claimants were dead, many had removed, some had assigned their claims, and not a few persons presented themselves as having resided in the territory at the time prescribed, but who had never been heard of by the traditional "oldest inhabitant." But no surveys were made under the direction of the governor, and the law remained practically a dead letter, to the great dissatisfaction and inconvenience of the people. Another plan for the adjustment of these claims had therefore to be adopted. This was embraced in the act of March 26, 1804, establishing land-offices at Vincennes and Kaskaskia. Under this act Michael Jones was appointed register and Elijah Backus, receiver; who were also authorized to act as commissioners with full power to receive and adjudicate such claims; which were classified thus: (1) Ancient grants, (2) donation, or head-rights, as they were called; (3) improvement, and (4) militia claims. John Caldwell was added to the commission in 1812, and Shadrach Bond was acting as register

when the final report was made in 1815. Naturally the age of these claims and difficulty attending their proof, opened wide the door to fraudulent speculators. The assignment of a claim frequently implied as a necessary adjunct the production of a perjured deposition to establish it. There were filed with the commissioners seven hundred claims, of which they reported that two hundred were subsequently admitted to be false by the persons making them. Signatures to deeds and assignments were frequently forged, and in these questionable transactions some of the leading citizens of Kaskaskia were implicated. Many of those who had left the country and were not aware of the act of congress sold their claims for a mere song.

Many French inhabitants fled the country in consequence of being told that they would be required, under the Ordinance of 1787, to abjure their religion and forfeit their slaves if they remained. As might have been expected, such ignorant fugitives gladly disposed of their titles at a merely nominal price.

Finally, as reported by the commissioners, more than thirty years after the claims originated, of the 2294 claims presented, 1171 had been confirmed. Of the 254 donation claims confirmed in the first report and approved by congress, 194 had been assigned. Of the 172 in the second report, every one had passed into the hands of new parties. Exclusive of the ancient-grant claims, the following persons, who were the largest holders at the time of the presentation of the final report, had their titles confirmed to the number of acres set after their respective names:

Nicholas Jarrot, 25,000; John Rice Jones, 9400; William Morrison, 15,040; John Edgar, 49,200; James O'Hara, 6000; Jean François Perry, 5500; William McIntosh, 8800.

Although a state of war existed between the Indians and the inhabitants of Kentucky and the Northwest Territory, which was characterized by great ferocity and vindictiveness on both sides during the years from 1781–5, the white settlements in St. Clair County, which by this time numbered forty or fifty families, escaped serious molestation. The act of congress of June, 1785, warning settlers to depart from the public lands, as it was the intention of the government to have them surveyed and offered for sale, aroused the jealousy of tribes on the Wabash,

who determined to make war upon the white settlers in St. Clair and Knox counties, the latter having been laid out at Post Vincennes.*

The salient features of the war, if the desultory guerilla warfare may be dignified by that title, were marauding expeditions and midnight attacks, in which the Kickapoos bore a prominent part. During the years 1786–1795, these sanguinary raids were of frequent occurrence in the Illinois country, and resulted in the capture or massacre of many of the inhabitants.

A few individual cases, which have come down to us through particular mention, may be especially noticed: During one of these predatory incursions in 1786, James Andrews, with his wife and daughter, James White and Samuel McClure were killed. In 1788, John Vallis was killed and Wm. Biggs taken prisoner. The same year, Samuel Garrison and Mr. Reddich were killed and scalped, and Benj. Ogle wounded. In 1789, David Waddle was wounded and scalped, but afterward recovered; James Turner and John Ferrel with three others were killed, and several wounded. In 1790, James Worley was among the killed.

As a defense and protection against these attacks, blockhouses were built in all the settlements. These were from one and a half to two stories high. In their construction, ornament was discarded for utility, and symmetry sacrificed for strength. The lower story was provided with port-holes through which to shoot. The second story projected three or four feet over the first, and its floor was perforated with similar holes.

Occasionally, more elaborate architectural plans were followed; several families made common cause in mutual protection against the treacherous foe. In such cases four houses were erected on the four corners of a square piece of ground, the intervals between being filled by heavy timbers set endways in the ground to a height of fifteen feet. Within the enclosure were cabins for the residence of the families, care being taken to choose a location near a spring of running water. Wells were sometimes dug on the inside to be used in case of siege. When danger seemed imminent, horses and other stock were driven inside the inclosure for safe keeping. The trees were nearly all

* Dillon, 201.

cut down to guard against ambuscades; but even this precaution did not avail to prevent occasional casualties when the gates were opened in the early morning.

In 1791, all overtures for peace having been rejected by the Indians, who plainly showed their ability and willingness to fight for the lands of which they claimed to have been deprived, Gov. St. Clair determined to establish a series of forts in the enemy's country in the neighborhood of the Miami village and to attack him wherever met. His experience in the Revolutionary war was not without value to him in the performance of the task which his official position imposed upon him, and served him in good stead at a time when experience was more rare than courage. He started on his campaign on September 7. On November 3, his forces, numbering some 1450 men, reached a point near what was afterward the site of Fort Henry, and went into camp. Here on the morning of September 4, just before sunrise, he was unexpectedly attacked by a force of 1200 Indians, commanded by Little Turtle and Blue Jacket, with whom were the notorious Simon Girty and a few other renegade whites. The militia fled at the first fire, but the regulars stood firm, and to save the day, which was going against them, made repeated and most heroic bayonet charges. Their determined valor, however, did not avail, and a retreat was ordered. The fierce yells of triumph from a thousand savages, and the furious onslaught of the now victorious foe, turned the scene into a pandemonium of destruction and death.

The brave old commander, though so severely afflicted with the gout as to be unable to seat himself in his saddle, was in the thickest of the fight, continually urging his men to stand and charge. He had four horses killed while trying to secure a mount. He was not in uniform. His long grey hair flying in the wind was as conspicuous as were the white plumes of Henry of Navarre at Ivry. He led the charge which drove back the first assault and the one which cut a way through the enemy and made retreat possible. The loss was fearful, especially among the officers, thirty-nine of whom were left dead upon the field. Of the men, five hundred and ninety were killed or missing. Twenty-two officers and two hundred and forty-two men were wounded. The loss of the Indians was estimated at only

one hundred and fifty. The value of the property secured by them was estimated at $32,810.*

As might have been expected, their success in this engagement encouraged the "red skins" to still bolder acts of hostility. But the American settlements in St. Clair County had been lately reinforced and greatly strengthened by the immigration of the families of Whiteside, Ogle, Judy, and others from Kentucky, who, by their daring, became a terror to the Indians, and kept them at bay.

Gen. St. Clair having resigned his command in the army, was succeeded by Gen. Anthony Wayne. The campaign entered upon by him resulted in the victory of the Maumee Rapids, on August 20, 1794, and led to a suspension of hostilities. The Indians having by this time become convinced that it was idle for them to prolong the struggle, even should the British redeem their doubtful promises of support and co-operation, concluded to agree to a general conference, which resulted in the Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795.

The news of the execution of this important treaty was hailed with joy throughout the Northwest. Other treaties being made soon after, immigration revived and the people resumed their peaceful pursuits, nor was the improvement of the country again interrupted by the disturbing element of Indian depredations for over fifteen years.

Among those facts of general American history which sustain an intimate relation to the Northwest at this period, may be mentioned the diplomatic complications which existed between the United States on the one hand, and Great Britain, France and Spain, on the other. That the monarchial governments of Europe would have rejoiced to witness the downfall of republican institutions in the new world, is a question not admitting of much doubt. Whether or not any or all of the great powers hoped for an ultimate partition of the continent of North America—each in its own interest, the fact remains that American affairs constituted one of the chief topics of discussion in the cabinets of the old world. The latter regarded the successful establishment of a republic on the western shores of the Atlantic as a standing menace to the integrity of those ancient insti-

* Dillon's "Historical Notes," and Smith's "St. Clair Papers."

tutions whose perpetuity they sought to maintain. Two modes of securing the overthrow of the new government presented themselves; one to embroil the United States in a foreign war, and the other, to sow the seeds of sectional jealousy and dissension.

Great Britain having, in 1794, erected forts within the territorial limits of the United States, on the Maumee River, from which aid was extended to the hostile Indians, an acrimonious controversy arose respecting the same. The attitude of Great Britain toward our government at this period was so especially offensive that only the firm prudence of President Washington and the diplomatic skill of John Jay averted the precipitation of hostilities, which, to say the least, might have been fraught with grave peril to the young republic. On November 19, 1794, at London, a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, was concluded with Great Britain which happily settled all existing causes of quarrel with that government.*

In 1793, the French Republic, now in the midst of its struggles with the monarchies of Europe to maintain its existence, in view of the essential aid which France had rendered the United States in the Revolution, through its minister, Edmond Charles Genet, endeavored to persuade the American government to make common cause with France, and render it equally valuable assistance. He was received with much favor by the people generally. Becoming intoxicated by the fumes of popular adulation, he ventured to endeavor to make proselytes to his own political theories and to enlist recruits in the French cause. He secretly organized Jacobin clubs in the East, and dispatched emissaries to establish similar organizations in the West—notably in Kentucky. Failing to secure the coöperation of the government in his schemes, he urged upon the people of the West the advisability of setting up for themselves a new and independent government. He called for volunteers against Spain, offering large inducements and high positions in the French army. A force of two thousand men enlisted for this service, at the head of which, with a commission as major-general, was Gen. George Rogers Clark.

But while both President Washington and the members of his

* Dillon's "Indiana," 382, *et seq.*

cabinet were personally in sympathy with the republican movement in France, they wisely determined that the best interests of the United States required the government to maintain a strict neutrality as between France and the other powers. The conduct of Minister Genet was so rash, impolitic, and even unfriendly, that his recall was insisted upon by the American government.

By order of the President, Gov. St. Clair issued a proclamation informing the people of the contemplated invasion of Spanish territory, and warning them of the dangerous consequences of participating in it; and on March 24, 1794, he issued a second proclamation to the same effect, and ordered Gen. Wayne to garrison and provision Fort Massac, for the purpose of preventing the contemplated expedition from going down the Ohio. Genet's wild scheme having been thus frustrated by the adoption of these measures was necessarily abandoned.

This action of the United States, and especially its ratification of the late treaty with Great Britain, was claimed by the French government to operate as a suspension of the treaty made between France and the United States in 1778—the French directory charging our government with a breach of friendship, an abandonment of its neutrality, as well as a violation of its tacit engagements. Amicable relations between France and Spain were renewed by the treaty of August, 1796, and in December following James Monroe, our minister at Paris, was officially notified that France declined longer to receive a minister from the United States.

Leaving for the present this threatening attitude of France toward the United States, the machinations of the Spanish authorities in the Western country against the peace and integrity of the American Union will be now briefly noticed.

The discontent of the inhabitants of Kentucky and certain portions of North Carolina, afterward embraced within the limits of Tennessee, over the question of the navigation of the Mississippi River below the thirty-first degree of latitude, which had been reluctantly conceded to Spain by the United States in 1782, was now greatly aggravated by the repeated refusals of congress, in answer to their petitions, to take up this question

and to insist that all impediments to the free navigation of that river should be removed.*

Seven states, indeed, had authorized Minister Jay to conclude a treaty with Spain in which the United States would agree to forbear to navigate the Mississippi for twenty-five or thirty years.†

The Mississippi formed the natural outlet of the products of the West. Spain not only had possession of the lower portion of this great artery of commerce, but controlled its navigation and had more than once seized American vessels attempting its passage, confiscating both boat and cargo.

Said Mr. Madison, "the Mississippi is to the people of the Western country everything. It is the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac, and all navigable streams of the United States formed into one stream." ‡

The people expressed their own views on the subject as follows: "The Mississippi is ours by nature. Its mouth is the only issue which nature has given to our waters and we wish to use it for our vessels. No power shall deprive us of this right. If congress refuses us effectual protection we shall adopt the measures which our safety requires, even if they endanger the peace of the Union, and our connection with other states. 'No protection, no allegiance.'" §

The restlessness and discontent of the people was also increased by the refusal of congress to admit Kentucky as a state. To have admitted Kentucky would have disturbed the sectional preponderance of the East in the national counsels; and as the proposed new commonwealth sought admission as a slave-state, eastern members promptly and emphatically declared that if the demand of Kentucky was granted, they would peremptorily insist upon the admission of Maine or Vermont as a free-state.

Spain, not unmindful of its failure to secure a portion of the territory of the Northwest east of the Mississippi in 1783, had never ceased to cast a longing eye upon that rich domain, to strengthen its possessions on the west. Its aim now was to

* Madison's Works, IV, 558.

† "Magazine of Western History," I, 365, Dillon's "Indiana," 189.

‡ "American State Papers," II, 513. § Barbe Marbois' "Louisiana," 235.

take advantage of this revolutionary feeling in the Northwest, of which it had been the primary cause, and to incite the people either to establish a separate government, or to attach themselves with their territory to Louisiana. Efforts for the accomplishment of this end were sedulously put forward for nearly five years. Spanish agents visited leading men in the coveted territory and freely offered both men and money to aid them in the prosecution of the scheme. Gen. Miro, the Spanish governor at New Orleans, was active and adroit in his efforts to urge the people of the disaffected district to revolt. Neither were there wanting ambitious leaders therein, who not only lent a willing ear to these counsels, but were also ready to coöperate with him in his plans.

But fortunately the people of Kentucky were divided among themselves regarding the policy to be pursued. While some favored the establishment of a new republic, others were inclined to attach the would-be state to Louisiana; a third faction believed that the Spanish power in North America might be overthrown by a well-planned attack on New Orleans, and there was yet a fourth party who contended that the panacea for their political woes was to be found in the establishment of a French protectorate.

But in the meantime, pending negotiations between Spain and the United States were finally concluded by the treaty of October 27, 1795, among whose provisions were the following: That the middle of the Mississippi should be the Western boundary of the United States; that the navigation of the entire river should be free to the people of the United States, and that the latter should, for three years, have the privilege of using the port of New Orleans as a port of both entry and export, being subject to the payment of local charges only. It is a remarkable fact that as the navigation of the Mississippi was reluctantly conceded by the United States to Spain in 1782, in consequence of the fear that the states of South Carolina and Georgia, then occupied by the British, might fall into the hands of that government, so the favorable concessions by Spain, in the treaty of 1795 to the United States, were secured from that government because it desired to interpose the United States as a neutral power and barrier between Canada and

Louisiana in the then pending war between Spain and Great Britain.

On the part of Spain, however, the treaty of 1795 seems to have been signed with a mental reservation. No sooner had the British war cloud disappeared from the horizon than Baron Carondolet, the Spanish governor at New Orleans, declared that the agreement for the free navigation of the Mississippi "was only a temporary arrangement," and renewed his efforts to foment the spirit of discontent in the West. Thomas Power, who, as his emissary, had already been over the ground on a similar mission, was again dispatched to sow the seeds of discord. The terms of his commission as well as of his instructions were secret, and a system of private communication, through signs and cipher dispatches, was arranged before his departure. He was directed to impress upon the leading citizens, to whom he was sent, the necessity for withdrawing from the federal Union and forming a separate Western government. The best talent the country afforded was to be employed in writing well-timed publications, to expose the inconveniences and disadvantages of any further connection with the Atlantic States, and to enlarge upon the benefits to be derived from autonomy. To cover the cost and expenses of this branch of the work, the Baron pledged one hundred thousand dollars.

Immediately after the promulgation of the declaration of independence, Fort Massac was to be seized by the putative government, which would be supplied with munitions of war by the King of Spain, and one hundred thousand dollars donated for raising and maintaining troops. Power traveled through Tennessee and Kentucky with great secrecy and after holding interviews with leading citizens proceeded to Detroit to confer with Gen. Wilkinson, who had been regarded as an active adherent of the scheme of disintegration, but the latter had apparently begun to lose faith in the "well-laid plan" for separation, and, although he had private conferences with Power, he sent him away publicly under guard, and in disgrace.

The people of the West having secured, by the treaty of 1795, the right to navigate the great river without hindrance, and a place of storage at New Orleans without being subjected to unreasonable charges, now found but little cause of com-

plaint against the general government. Their attachment to the new constitution had grown stronger as their desire for separation had weakened, and in March, 1796, Spain, having lost all hope of effecting a secession of the western country from the Republic, evacuated the fort of Natchez, which was the next day taken possession of by the United-States troops.

To return to the French. The refusal of that government to receive a minister from the United States, and the depredations committed by its vessels upon American commerce, compelled our government to adopt and enforce measures of defence and retaliation. These were (1) to raise a provisional army, (2) to suspend commercial relations between the two countries, (3) to authorize the armed resistance of merchant vessels, and (4) to enact stringent penalties for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States.

Meanwhile a great change had taken place in the internal administration of France. The new ministry, perceiving that it was for French interest to maintain friendly relations with the United States, intimated as much to our minister at the Hague. As a result a treaty of international amity was again concluded between the two governments on September 30, 1800. And thus happily were averted those foreign complications which had threatened serious disaster to the young republic.

In 1798, it having been ascertained that the Northwest Territory contained a population of five thousand inhabitants, steps were taken to advance it to the rank of a territory of the second grade. An election was ordered for representatives to a general assembly, which was to convene at Cincinnati, February 4, 1799. To this body Shadrach Bond was elected a delegate from St. Clair County and John Edgar from Randolph. After nominating persons whose names were to be sent to the President from among whom he might appoint the council, an adjournment was had until September, when the organization was completed. During the first session, which terminated December 19, forty-eight acts were passed, of which thirty-seven were approved by the governor and eleven vetoed.

The territorial legislature was composed of an able body of men, among them being Return J. Meigs, afterward judge of the Supreme Court, governor of Ohio, and postmaster-general;

Thomas Worthington and Edward Tiffin, both of them subsequently governors of the State and senators in congress; Gen. James Findlay, for many years a member of congress from the Cincinnati district; Jacob Burnet and Solomon Sibley. Serious and unhappy differences of opinion upon proposed legislation between the governor and the legislature were soon apparent, provoking no little controversy, which probably hastened the creation of Indiana Territory, and the admission of Ohio as a state.

Wm. H. Harrison, who had been appointed secretary of the territory, June 26, 1798, in the place of Winthrop Sargent who had been promoted to the governorship of Mississippi, was chosen a delegate to congress, defeating Arthur St. Clair, son of the governor, by one vote.

The division of the Northwest Territory makes it no longer necessary to follow the fortunes of Gov. St. Clair. In parting with the veteran pioneer executive, it can hardly be claimed for him that his administration was a success. Although an ardent patriot, he was a high federalist, and a believer in the theory of a "paternal government," in life-tenures of office, and in executive appointments rather than in popular elections. In his official conduct he was arbitrary, opinionated, self-confident, and stubborn. He had misunderstandings with the first secretary, Sargent, quarrelled with and antagonized his successor, Gen. Harrison, and bitterly opposed the last secretary, Byrd. He controverted the judges, and had frequent collisions with the territorial legislatures. His appointment of his son, Arthur, Jr., as attorney general, and of his nephew William, clerk and recorder of St. Clair County, and above all his confirmation of an alleged grant of thirty thousand acres of land to John Edgar and J. Murry St. Clair, another son, in 1800, after the termination of his authority to act as land commissioner—which confirmation was afterward declared a nullity—were acts fairly open to severe criticism. He was rebuked by two presidents, Washington and Jefferson, and was finally removed from office by the latter on account of his conduct growing out of the division of the territory and the steps taken to form the state government of Ohio.

In person he was tall and erect and his address was courtly.

He was brave in battle and faithful to his friends. He advanced large sums from his private means to sustain the government in the darkest hours of the Revolution, as well as to defray the current expenses of the territorial government, which were never repaid to him. The last days of the old soldier, whose name is so closely interwoven with the early history of Illinois, were dark and lonely. His fortune—once a large one for the times in which he lived—had been mainly spent in the service of his country, and he found himself in his old age reduced from affluence to penury. Neglected by his friends, he dragged out a wretched existence in poverty, if not in actual want, his only support being the beggarly pension allowed him by the government, until, at the age of eighty-four years he closed his days in a log-cabin in Pennsylvania, a striking illustration of the proverbial "ingratitude of republics."

Authorities: "The St. Clair Papers," by William Henry Smith; "Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwest Territory," by Jacob Burnet; Dillon's "Historical Notes;" "American State Papers;" old MSS. in Chicago Historical Society; "Magazine of Western History," Vol. I.—a series of papers therein edited by O. W. Collet; "Life, Journal, and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler," by W. P. and J. P. Cutler; U. S. Treaties; "Laws of Congress;" "Western Annals;" Gayarre's and Marbois' "History of Louisiana;" Bancroft's "History of the Constitution;" Butler's and Marshall's "History of Kentucky."

CHAPTER XIV.

As a Part of Indiana Territory—Indian Policy and Treaties—Tables—Acquisition of Louisiana—Third Attempt to Divide the Union—Schemes of Aaron Burr, 1800-1809.

ON May 7, 1800, congress passed an act dividing the Northwest Territory, by the provisions of which, after July 4, "all that portion thereof which lies to the westward of a line beginning on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence north until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall for the purpose of a temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called the Indiana Territory." The seat of government designated was "Saint Vincennes."

Gen. Wm. Henry Harrison, then a member of congress, having become widely known as an able and efficient public officer by reason of his military and administrative, as well as legislative services, was, on May 13, 1800, appointed governor of this new territory. He was the son of Gov. Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, where he was born February 9, 1773. Leaving the college of Hampden Sydney at the age of seventeen, he was placed at a medical college in Philadelphia by his father, who intended he should be a physician. But the news of the Indian disturbances in the West reaching him aroused his military spirit, and he determined to exchange the pestle and mortar for the more enlivening music of the fife and drum.

He was commissioned an ensign by President Washington in 1791, and as the aid-de-camp of Gen. Wayne, greatly distinguished himself, especially in the battle of the Maumee Rapids. From this date his advancement in rank was as rapid as it was deserved. The young captain was no less successful in the lists of Cupid than upon the field of Mars. He wooed the daughter of the wealthy Judge Symmes, and though his suit was prosperous with the lady, the father refused his consent to the proposed

alliance. Taking advantage of the absence of the prospective father-in-law, the young couple proceeded to have the hymeneal knot securely tied. Upon his return home the judge met his son-in-law at a dinner-party given by Gen. Wilkinson to Gen. Wayne, and accosting him, said, "Well, sir, I understand you have been married to Annie?" "I have, sir," was the reply. "How do you expect to support her?" inquired the father. "By my sword and my own right arm," was the response. His subsequent splendid career justified his confidence and showed that his brave words were not mere idle vaporing.

John Gibson of Pennsylvania, was appointed secretary of the Territory under Gen. Harrison, and William Clark, John Griffin, and Henry Vanderburgh, judges. The arrival of the governor having been delayed until January, 1801, the secretary, as empowered by law, organized the new government by appointing the necessary subordinate officers in the three counties of Knox, St. Clair, and Randolph.*

After the governor had reached Vincennes he met the judges in legislative session, at which laws for the government of the Territory were enacted, courts established, other officers selected and the new government successfully launched.

The long career of Gen. Harrison as governor of Indiana Territory was particularly distinguished by the success which attended his judicious, yet firm, Indian policy. He has been not inaptly styled "the great treaty-maker," his name appearing as the representative of the United States, on no less than thirteen treaties with different tribes in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, all of which were executed during the period of his occupation of the gubernatorial chair, and included nearly all the lands in the Northwest Territory.

The first Indian treaty relating to cessions in the section indicated was that of Fort McIntosh, made January 21, 1785, and embraced only lands in Ohio.

On January 31, 1786, a treaty was concluded at the mouth of

* Those designated in Randolph County were: Robert Morrison, Paul Harralson, and James Gilbreath, county commissioners; George Fisher, sheriff; Robert Morrison, clerk of the court of quarter-sessions; William Wilson, county surveyor; William Kelley, coroner; and Lardner Clark, recorder. In St. Clair County they were: John Hays, sheriff; William Arundel, clerk; and John Hay, recorder.

the Miami, which covered not only lands in Ohio but also in Indiana. Then followed that of Fort Harmar, January 9, 1789, between Gov. St. Clair and the Six Nations, and certain western tribes including the Ottawas, Pottawatomies, and Sacs and Foxes, which was chiefly confirmatory of that of Fort McIntosh.

These treaties, and the subsequent action of congress relating to the public lands, proved to be unsatisfactory to the Indians, and gave rise to frequent disputes, which culminated in war as has been already stated. In 1793, a commission consisting of Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts, Beverly Randolph of Virginia, and Timothy Pickering of Pennsylvania, was appointed by congress to consider all the questions involved and, if possible, arrive at some satisfactory settlement. For the guidance of the commission, instructions were framed, which can not but be read with interest at the present day, since they not only defined the duties and powers of the commissioners, but also clearly outlined the then existing policy of the national government toward the aborigines.

The principles by which the commissioners were to be guided were formally set forth as follows: "With respect to the treaties made between the United States and the several hostile tribes since the peace with Great Britain in 1783, it is to be observed that the treaty of Fort Harmar, made in January, 1789, is regarded as having been made on solid grounds—the principle being that of a fair purchase and sale. The government considers the Six Nations, who claimed the lands by virtue of former conquests, lying between the Ohio and Lake Erie, [east of the western line of Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio] which were ceded and confirmed to the United States by said treaty with said Six Nations, together with the Wyandots, Delawares, and Ottawas, and other hostile Indians, who were the actual occupants of the lands, *as the proper owners thereof:* that they had the right to convey said lands to the United States; and that they did accordingly make the said conveyance with their free consent and full understanding. Parties, however, who were not at the treaty of Fort Harmar may have been at the treaty of Fort McIntosh or the Miami. But if it shall appear upon a further investigation of the subject, at the place of conference, that there were other tribes interested in the lands then

ceded to the United States, than those who subscribed the said treaty, or that the consideration given was inadequate, it may be proper, in either or both cases, that a liberal compensation be made to the just claimants." *

At the various conferences subsequently held between the commissioners and the Indians, delegates were present from the following tribes: the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Mingoes, Pottawatomies, Ottawas, Chippewas, Seven Nations of Canada, Cherokees, Mohicans, Senecas, Munsees, Convoys, and Creeks. The Indians contended that the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh had been executed by them through fear, and that they were ignorant of the fact that they provided for cessions of lands. They further urged that the treaty of Fort Harmar was made by Gen. St. Clair with a few chiefs of two or three nations only, after he had been informed that at a general council of the tribes, previously held, no bargain or sale of any portion of their lands would be considered as valid or binding.

The commissioners found it necessary to recede from the position first taken by the government, that the whole of the Northwest Territory was owned by the United States, as successors of Great Britain, making use of the following language: "We by express authority of the President do acknowledge the property, or right of soil of the great country above described to be in the Indian Nations, so long as they desire to occupy the same. We only claim particular tracts in it * * and the right of purchasing of the Indian Nations disposed to sell these lands, to the exclusion of all other white people."

To this the Indians replied, that they had never granted to the King of England or any other European power the exclusive privilege of purchasing their lands and said, "and we declare to you that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands whenever and to whomsoever we please."

The views of the contracting parties, it will be seen, were wide apart; and no agreement having been reached after a discussion lasting through July and August, the pending negotiations were broken off.

An appeal was once more made to the sword, and the cam-

* Dillon's "Indiana," 301.

paign of Maj.-Gen. Anthony Wayne begun in July, 1794 was brought to a successful close by the battle of the Maumee Rapids, August 20, in which the allied Indians were defeated. The loss of the Americans was twenty-six killed and eighty-seven wounded; that of the Indians, more than double that number, forty being left dead upon the field.* This engagement was followed by the Treaty of Greenville, executed August 3, 1795.

This was the first treaty relating to lands in Illinois in which the Western tribes claiming to own them united. The lands conveyed thereby were as follows: six miles square at the mouth of the Chicago River; twelve miles square at or near the mouth of the Illinois River; six miles square at the old Peoria fort; the post of Fort Masaac; the 150,000 acres assigned Gen. Clark and his soldiers; "and the lands at all other places in possession of the French people and other white settlers among them, the Indian title to which has been thus extinguished."

The United States relinquished its claims to all other Indian lands northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and south of the great lakes, afterward explained and defined in the treaty to mean "that the Indian tribes who have a right to these lands are quietly to enjoy them hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States."

These concessions thus wisely secured by Gen. Wayne formed the basis of all future negotiations with the Indians; and now it was no longer required to wait until all the tribes pretending to be interested could be got together, as all that was necessary for the government to do was to hold out sufficient inducements to any single tribe, in order to secure the title to the land which it claimed to own.

Accordingly, when, in consequence of the extensive settlements toward the Mississippi, it became necessary to secure more land in that direction, a treaty was concluded with the Kaskaskias representing the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Mitchigamis, and Tamaroas, of the ancient confederation of the Illinois Ind-

* "American Pioneer," Vol. I, 315–320.

ians, for over eight million acres of land in the southern portion of what is now the State of Illinois. This treaty was executed at Vincennes by Gov. Harrison, Aug. 13, 1803.* Following the treaty last cited, others were made with the Shawnees and Piankashaws, the same year; with the Piankashaws and Sacs and Foxes in 1804; the Kickapoos and Pottawatomies in 1809; the Peorias, Illinois, Weas, and Kickapoos in 1818, by which Indian claims to lands in the greater portion of Illinois, were extinguished.†

* "Revision of Indian Treaties," 424.

† The following shows in a compact form the time and place of execution of those treaties relating to lands in Illinois, the names of the tribes with whom made, the amount of territory ceded, and, as nearly as can be ascertained, the consideration paid therefor:

PLACE AND NAME.	DATE.	NAMES OF TRIBES.	ACRES.	AM'T PAID
Greenville, By Gen. Wayne.	Aug. 3, 1795.	Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Miamis, Shawnees, Pottawatomies, Kaskaskias, Eel River, Kickapoos, Piankashaws	11,808,499	$210,000
Fort Wayne, Gov. Harrison.	June 7, 1803.	Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Pottawatomies, and Kickapoos.	2,038,400	4,000
Vincennes, Gov. Harrison.	Aug. 13, 1803.	Kaskaskias, representing themselves Cahokias, & Mitchigamis.	8,911,850	12,000
St. Louis, Gov. Harrison.	Nov. 3, 1804.	Sacs and Foxes.	14,803,500	22,234
Vincennes, Gov. Harrison.	Dec. 30, 1805.	Piankashaws.	2,676,150	4,100
Fort Wayne, Gov. Harrison.	Sept. 30, 1809.	Delawares, Miamis, Eel River, Pottawatomies, and Weas.	2,900,000	
Vincennes, Gov. Harrison.	Dec. 9, 1809.	Kickapoos,	138,240	27,000
St. Louis, Gov. Edwards, Wm. Clark, A. Chouteau.	Aug. 24, 1816.	Pottawatomies, Chippewas, Ottawas.	1,418,400	12,000
Edwardsville, Gov. Edwards and A. Chouteau.	Sept. 30, 1818.	Peoria and Illinois.	6,865,280	6,400
St. Mary's, Lewis Cass, et al.	Oct. 2, 1818.	Weas.	11,000,000	33,000
Fort Harrison, Benjamin Parke.	Aug. 30, 1819.	Kickapoos of the Vermilion.	3,173,120	23,000
St. Joseph, Lewis Cass, Pierre Menard.	Sept 20, 1828.	Pottawatomies.	990,720	189,795
Prairie du Chien, Pierre Menard, et al.	Jan. 2, 1830.	Pottawatomies, Chippewas, Ottawas.	4,160,000	390,601
Chicago,	Oct. 20, 1832.	Pottawatomies of the Prairie.	1,536 000	460,346
Tippecanoe,	Oct. 27, 1832.	Pottawatomies of Indiana.	737,000	406,121
Chicago,	Sept. 26, 1833.	Pottawatomies, Chippewas, Ottawas.	5,104,960	7,624,289
Fort Armstrong and Prairie du Chien.	1829 and 1832.	Winnebagoes.	10,346,000	5,195,252
St. Louis.	Oct. 27, 1832.	Kaskaskias and Peorias.	1.920	155,780

The same lands, it will be noted, are in some instances included in different treaties with different tribes.—See "American State Papers," Schoolcraft's "Indian Tribes," and Dillon's "Indiana," 578.

It was in consequence of the success of Gov. Harrison in obtaining from the Indians the title to their lands in Indiana and Illinois, that the animosity of the Shawnees, under Tecumseh and the Prophet, was again aroused, they claiming that no single tribe was invested with the right to make cessions without the consent of all others interested. Their hostile attitude was encouraged by British agents in order to secure their alliance and support in the threatened war of 1812. Other tribes, notably the Pottawatomies and Kickapoos, always ready to engage in a fight against the Americans, were easily induced to join the Shawnees, thus forming a strong combination. The defeat of the red men at the battle of Tippecanoe, Nov. 11, 1811, by Gen. Harrison, terminated the campaign, but left the disaffected tribes as hostile as ever.

The difficulties in the way of securing cessions were increased by the conflicting claims of different tribes to the same tracts. And it is especially noticeable with what uniformity of demand the Pottawatomies appeared at every place where negotiations were being carried on. Their greed was only equaled by their assurance. Wherever there was even an apparent opportunity to receive any money, they were promptly "on hand" to put in a claim, and, as will be seen by the table, generally succeeded in carrying off the lion's share.

The ownership of the vast territory of the Northwest, east of the Mississippi, was adjudicated by the sword; that west of it, together with the destiny of the people who lived upon it, was the subject of frequent barter and sale in the European mart where crowned heads, at their will, made and unmade nations and empires.

The great Napoleon, whose keen political vision scanned every continent and whose unerring judgment accurately weighed the value of the possessions of his rivals, determined to retrieve the error of the Bourbon dynasty in the surrender, in 1763, of the magnificent domain of Louisiana to Spain; and by the treaty of Ildefonso, Sept. 15, 1800, Spain was forced to retrocede that territory to France, after having owned it for nearly forty years.

Before the formal transfer was completed however, Napoleon was again threatened with war by Great Britain, and reluctantly concluded that he would not be able to hold the province

wrested from his southern neighbor. He said, "I know the full value of Louisiana, but the English wish to take possession of it, and it is thus they will begin the war. They have already twenty ships of the line in the Gulf of Mexico. The conquest of Louisiana would be easy. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. The English have successively taken from France the Canadas, Cape Breton, New Foundland, Nova Scotia, and the richest portion of Asia. But they shall not have the Mississippi which they covet."*

The United States also coveted it as well as Great Britain. James Monroe and Robert Livingston, our representatives at Paris, were at first authorized to negotiate only for the purchase of New Orleans and the Floridas; Livingston, indeed, stated that the United States did not desire the territory of Louisiana. Monroe, however, was in full possession of the views of President Jefferson, who he knew strongly desired to acquire the whole country. Although the United States was young and poor, and the constitution had made no provision for the purchase of or holding foreign territory, Jefferson recognizing the value and importance of the proposed acquisition, did not hesitate to urge it upon his ministers, even furnishing them with arguments to accomplish it; trusting to the people to ratify a policy so far-reaching, and a purchase so manifestly favorable to the best interests of his country.

When Napoleon finally declared his inflexible purpose to dispose of the territory, the negotiation was speedily concluded, April 30, 1803, and the United States became the owner of Louisiana and West Florida for $15,000,000. Spain surrendered possession to France, Nov. 13, and France to the United States, Dec. 20, 1803. Napoleon not only received more than he at first asked for Louisiana, but was rejoiced to find a purchaser in the American Republic, remarking that "this accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States. I have given England a rival."

By act of March 26, 1804, all that portion of Louisiana lying north of the thirty-third degree of north latitude and west of the Mississippi River was annexed to Indiana Territory for the purposes of government; and the govenor and judges

* James G. Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress," I, 6.

in October, following, framed the necessary laws for that district. This consolidation of the old Illinois country under one jurisdiction, only continued, however, until the following March, when a separate organization was provided by congress for the Louisiana Territory.

It was at this period that the name of Aaron Burr became prominently connected with the history of the West. He had been a distinguished officer in the Revolution, and had tied Thomas Jefferson in the electoral college as a candidate for president. He was neither a great lawyer nor a profound statesman, but the brilliancy of his intellect and the fascination of his address were acknowledged by all who came under the charm of his magnetic presence. The true story of his life, public and private, more like a romance than a recital of prosaic facts, has never been written. The odium attached to his name after his causeless duel with Alexander Hamilton, July 11, 1804, was so great as to annihilate all his prospects of political preferment in the East where his public career ended with the termination of his vice-presidential term, March 4, 1805. Such was the power of his eloquence notwithstanding the obloquy resting upon him, that at the close of his valedictory address the whole senate was in tears, and the senators so unmanned that it was half an hour before they could recover themselves and resume their ordinary business.*

Burr was unable to stem the tide of opposition, which had set in against him, and to use his own language: "In New York, I am to be disfranchised, and in New Jersey, hanged. Having substantial objections to both, I shall not for the present hazard either, but shall seek another country."* His friends urged him to seek new fortunes in the Southwest where his reputation as duelist would rather advance than mar his prospects. They even offered to assist him to an election to congress from the territory of Indiana or from some district in Kentucky or Tennessee. He soon thereafter visited these states, where his admirable tact, ready wit, and courteous affability so endeared him to the people that his reception by them resembled an ovation. New Orleans had vied with Nashville, and Louisville with Lexington in paying him homage. He captivated, as he

* Davis' "Memoirs of Aaron Burr."

was entertained by their leading citizens. His reception gratified his vanity and excited his ambition. Schemes for advancement to wealth and power, some of them as visionary as bold, presented themselves to his heated imagination. The first of these was to locate a colony of choice spirits in Louisiana, for which purpose he purchased 750,000 acres of land on the Washita, a tributary of the Red River. He paid $5000 down for it out of his own pocket, and the balance of the purchase-money $45,000 was readily raised by accommodating and admiring friends in Kentucky.

His success in this direction stimulated his mind to the conception of still grander and more far-reaching schemes. He fixed his eye upon Mexico. The separation of this province from Spain had been a cherished project ever since the unsuccessful attempt of Gen. Miranda, in 1797-8, to enlist the governments of Great Britain and the United States in the scheme of revolutionizing South America. The difficulties between Spain and the United States growing out of the navigation of the Mississippi, had reached such a point that war with that country now seemed inevitable. It was a critical and exciting period. The people of the West were in a state of ferment, and a large element was ripe to engage in plans of revolt or conquest. The inhabitants of New Orleans had never acquiesced in this transfer of their territory to the United States, and were willing listeners to any proposition which would place them under some other flag. The plan of forming Mexico into an independent republic, whose leading officers should be Americans, with Col. Burr at the head, was popular and seemed feasible, if the necessary men and means could be raised. Gen. James Wilkinson, then at the head of the army, the available portion of which had by him been lately transferred to the Sabine River, was consulted, and no doubt at first entered heartily into Col. Burr's plans. Conferences were had with him, in 1806, at Fort Massac and St. Louis. Consultations were had also with Gen. Andrew Jackson and Gov. Wm. H. Harrison, and other leading citizens. Kaskaskia and Vincennes were visited. Large sums of money were promised, and recruits were raised and enrolled, and Blennerhassett's Island appointed as a place of rendezvous. Just what the great agitator intended to accomplish remains in doubt.

At New Orleans, it is alleged, he openly avowed his intention to divide the American Union. With some, his theme was the settlement of his colony on the Wishita, with others, he held out to view the inviting prospect of a new republic in Mexico.

On Nov. 3, 1806, at Frankfort, Kentucky, while on his way to join his expedition, he was arrested "for treasonable practices," but the grand-jury refused to indict him. On Nov. 27, 1806, President Jefferson having received what he declared was sufficient information of the treasonable character of Col. Burr's expedition, issued his proclamation warning all loyal citizens against engaging therein. In December, Burr left Nashville with but two boats to effect a junction with Blennerhassett's fleet of nine barges at the mouth of the Cumberland, whence they proceeded down the Mississippi. At Chickasaw Bluffs, a post commanded by Lieut. (Jacob ?) Jackson, it is said, that officer was strongly urged to join him, but he firmly declined. Becoming convinced that his situation was now desperate, he boldly declared that the sole object of his expedition was to plant his colony in Louisiana; and he destroyed the evidence of its military character by throwing his chests of arms into the river. On Jan. 17, he gave himself up to Gov. Cowles Mead, acting-governor of Mississippi Territory, but the grand-jury declared there was no evidence against him, and pending his request to be released on his own recognizance, learning that he would again be arrested, he disguised himself and escaped. He was re-arrested in Alabama, and taken to Richmond, Virginia, for trial. It was a celebrated case, attracting world-wide attention, and resulted, as is well known, in a verdict of acquittal, under the rulings of the court, that the prisoner must have been present when the overt act was committed, which fact was not established.

Burr was more of a hero than a prisoner while undergoing this trial. His rooms in the jail were daily crowded with friends and admirers of both sexes, who brought him the best of the land to live on, and loaded his table with flowers and fruits. As to the main charge, Burr on his death-bed, in answer to the question if he had at any time contemplated a disruption of the Union, replied: "No; I would as soon have thought of taking possession of the moon and informing my friends that I intended

to divine it among them." Still the popular verdict was against him, and the cloud which hung over him at the time of his death, has never lifted.

On Sept. 11, 1804, an election was held in the Territory to decide upon the proposition to advance the government to the second grade. Only 400 votes were polled of which a majority of 138 were in its favor—Randolph County, with 61 votes, gave a majority of 19 in favor of, and St. Clair, with 81 votes, returned a majority of 37 against, the proposition. An election of delegates to the first territorial general assembly was held on Jan. 3, 1805. The members elected from St. Clair County were Shadrach Bond, sr., and William Biggs; S. Bond, sr., becoming a member of the legislative council, S. Bond, jr., in May, was elected in his place. From Randolph County, George Fisher was returned. The body met at Vincennes, Feb. 7, 1805; and having recommended a list of persons from whom to select a legislative council, adjourned. Those finally appointed from Illinois were Pierre Menard and John Hay. On July 29, the assembly again convened in regular session. Provision was made for a revision of the territorial laws by John Rice Jones and John Johnson. This revision was published in one volume, and included the laws passed at that session. Benjamin Parke was elected territorial delegate to congress.

The second session of the territorial legislature began Aug. 17, 1807. The members from St. Clair County were William Biggs and Shadrach Bond, jr.; and from Randolph County, George Fisher.

The question of the division of the Territory had been for some years a subject of exciting and acrimonious controversy. Upon a petition to congress in 1806, praying for separation, a committee of the house reported that it was at that time "inexpedient." A special session of the territorial legislature was called to meet on Sept. 27, 1808, when this subject once more became an issue of absorbing interest. In the meantime fortuitous circumstances had occurred which now insured its favorable consideration. Pierre Menard from Randolph County, and John Hay from St. Clair County, having resigned from the council, Shadrach Bond and George Fisher, members of the house, were appointed to fill the vacancies thus created. A

special election, being ordered in these two counties, resulted in the choice of Rice Jones from Randolph and John Messinger from St. Clair, thus replacing two opponents of separation by two zealous advocates of that measure. Jesse Burgess Thomas, member of the house from Dearborn County and speaker of that body, was a candidate for congress, to the successful issue of which question he was willing to subordinate all others. He found it not difficult therefore to effect a combination with those who cared more for division than for a choice of congressman, looking to the accomplishment of both purposes. The bargain was struck and as has been asserted a written obligation from the beneficiary for its faithful performance was exacted. However this may have been, the agreement was promptly and scrupulously carried out.

The final passage of the act of separation on Feb. 3 1809, renders it unnecessary longer to follow in this work the fortunes of Gen. Harrison. His military career, and skilful treatment of the Indian complications of the Northwest, fairly earned for him a reputation as broad as it has proved lasting. He was a statesman of the old school. Opposed to slavery in the abstract yet he was willing to introduce the institution into Indiana and Illinois. How he subsequently became a prominent member of congress, and finally reached the presidential chair, are familiar facts, calling for no further reference in this volume.

AUTHORITIES: Dillon's "History of Indiana"; "History of Randolph and St. Clair Counties"; United-States compilation of "Indian Treaties"; Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress"; "Magazine of Western History"; Hammond's "Political History of New York"; Foote's "Texas and Texans"; Schoolcraft's "Indian Tribes"; Davis' "Memoirs of Aaron Burr"; "American State Papers"; "Indiana, a Redemption from Slavery," by J. P. Dunn, jr.

CHAPTER XV.

The Territory of Illinois—First American Settlers—Early Diseases—Manners, Customs, and Recreations—First Preachers, Lawyers, Doctors, and Merchants.

THE Act of Congress of Feb. 3, 1809, dividing Indiana Territory into two separate governments, revived the name of Illinois, which had officially disappeared after the organization of the Northwest Territory in 1789. It was a name dear to the inhabitants, however, had become familiar by long usage, and was never willingly surrendered. Judge Thomas was therefore but carrying out the unanimous wishes of its inhabitants, when, seizing upon the first opportunity which offered, he secured the restoration of the old name, as that by which the "Illinois Country" was henceforth to be designated.

The language of the Act was as follows: "That from and after the first day of March next, all that part of the Indiana Territory which lies west of the Wabash River and Post Vincennes, due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate government, and be called Illinois." The seat of government was established at Kaskaskia.

No history of Illinois could claim to be complete which failed to make mention of that sturdy element in the first settlement of the country, which exercised an influence so potent in the development of its virgin resources, and which constituted at once the prototype and the example of that class honored today from Lake Michigan to the Ohio as the "American pioneer."

At the time of Clark's conquest there do not appear to have been any but French inhabitants, except the party of hunters who joined his expedition, and Thos. Brady and Rich'd McCarty, already mentioned, who resided at Cahokia in 1777. Aside from the members of Clark's command, some of whom doubtless remained continuously in the country, the first original immigrant appears to have been Capt. Nathaniel Hull, from Massachusetts. Then a young man, he at first settled on the Ohio,

at a point near the present site of Golconda. His place was called Hull's Landing. He laid out the first road to Kaskaskia, along which he soon journeyed in search of a new home, which he found in the American Bottom. He was a patriotic, leading, and influential citizen, always ready to repel Indian aggressions, and faithfully to discharge the official duties he was called upon to perform. He raised a large family, and well improved his farm, where he died in 1806.

In 1781, an enterprising company of immigrants, consisting of James Moore the leader, James Garrison, Shadrach Bond, sr., Robert Kidd, Larkin Rutherford, and James Piggott, with their families, came from Maryland, and settled on the American Bottom—this name originating with them. All of them, with the possible exception of Garrison, had been soldiers under Clark, and it was the glowing descriptions of the natural advantages of the country which they, and others of Clark's command, gave on their return, that induced so large an emigration from Virginia and Maryland, of which this party formed but the advance guard.

Before and during 1783, the following additional soldiers in the Clark campaign had also become inhabitants; William Biggs, Robert Seybold, Jacob Groots, John Hiltebrand, John Dodge, George Camp, Levi Teel, James Curry, Robert Whitehead, George Lunceford, Joseph Anderson, David Pagon, John Doyle, John Montgomery, Thomas Hughes, and William Murray, who settled in and near Kaskaskia.

The New-Design settlement was begun in 1782, and included a number of those whose names have been mentioned above. It was located on a beautiful elevation overlooking both the Mississippi and Kaskaskia rivers, about four miles south of Bellefontaine, where Moore and others of his party had settled.

A settlement was also made about the same time east of the Kaskaskia River, by Henry and Elijah Smith, Daniel Hicks, Hayden Wells, Leonard Harness, Michael Huff, James Henderson, and Isaac Chalfin. These were soon reinforced by the following: William Arundel, at Cahokia, John Seeley, Francis and John Clark, John Edgar, Joseph Ogle, Joseph Worley, James Andrews, James Lemon, James McRoberts, George Atchison, David Waddle, Ichabod Camp, Henry Golding, Thomas and

Elijah Flanary, John McElmuny, John Murdoch or Moredock, (two of this name,) Jacob and Samuel Judy, Benjamin Ogle, John Cook, and John K. Simpson, who settled at one of the above-named places or at Kaskaskia.

From 1780 to 1788, inclusive, there were, according to the reports of the Commissioners to Congress confirming their claims to donations of land, under the act of congress, one hundred and thirteen American heads of families in the Territory.

Prior to this time, owing to the hostile attitude of the Indians, only the hardiest and boldest pioneers ventured to immigrate; but with the treaty of Greenville came the blessings of peace, and although the difficulties in regard to land-titles were a serious hindrance, yet many settlers from the older states, attracted, by the reports of the extraordinary productiveness of the soil, continued to come in.

Among the arrivals in 1797 was a colony from Virginia, headed by Rev. David Bagley, numbering one hundred and fifty-four. The season was unusually wet, and the hardships and exposures of the journey left them in but a poor condition to begin life in a new country where there were no houses to be occupied, nor any of the ordinary comforts of life to be procured. A malignant fever broke out among them, which resulted in the death of half the colony. A prevalent disease at that day, and for many years afterward, and one to which all new-comers in such a rich country are liable, was what was called the "fever and ague," which was produced by the malaria arising from decaying vegetable matter in the early Fall. It was not, however, a fatal disease, and generally yielded to the then universal remedies of "tartar emetic, calomel and jalap, and Peruvian bark.

Another disease peculiar to these early times was known as the "milk-sick" which, it was claimed, was induced by drinking the milk, or eating the butter or meat of an animal infected with the poison. What this poison was could not be ascertained, the general supposition being that it was emitted from some mineral substance which, rising in a gaseous form covered vegetation or infused itself in the matter, thus communicating disease. It was generally fatal to both man and beast. The experience of these new settlers very naturally gave rise to the report that

Illinois was a sickly country, which rumor for some time produced a marked effect upon the tide of immigration.

Important additions were made to the population from 1790 to 1800 by the arrival of the following settlers: John Rice Jones, Pierre Menard, Shadrach Bond, jr., William, James and Robert Morrison, John and Israel Dodge, John Hays, John Hay, James McRoberts, William, John and Samuel Whiteside, Joseph and William Kinney, Isaac Darnielle, Rev. John Clark, John de Moulin, Robert Reynolds, John Messenger, Dr. George Fisher, William Goings, sr. and jr., R. E. Heacock, John T. Lusk, John, William, Stephen, and Nelson Rector, Dr. William L. Reynolds, Benj. H. Doyle, James Haggin, William Mears, Dr. Caldwell Cairnes, Dr. Wallace, Dr. Truman Tuttle, Nicholas Jarrot, John Pulliam and Dr. James Rose, nearly all of whom afterward became well known, and officially connected with either the territorial or state governments.

In 1805, a colony of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians arrived from South Carolina: the Andersons, Thompsons, Erwin, MacDonald, McBride, Cox, Miller, Couch, and others, which in a few years increased to forty families.

Immigration was further stimulated in consequence of the conclusion of treaties with the Indians in 1803–4–5, and the establishment of the land-office at Kaskaskia, in 1804.

The larger proportion of these first-American settlers came from Virginia and Maryland. While a few had received a rudimentary education, and had lived among communities which may be said to have been comparatively cultured, the most of them were hardy, rough, uncultivated backwoods-men. They had been accustomed only to the ways of the frontier and camp. Many of them had served in the war of the Revolution, and all of them in the border wars with the Indians. While they were brave, hospitable, and generous, they were more at ease beneath the forest bivouac than in the "living-room" of the log-cabin, and to swing a woodman's ax among the lofty trees of the primeval forest was a pursuit far more congenial to their rough nature and active temperament than to mingle with society in settled communities. Their habits and manners were plain, simple, and unostentatious. Their clothing was generally made of the dressed skins of the deer, wolf, or fox, while those of the buffalo

and elk supplied them with covering for their feet and heads. Their log-cabins were destitute of glass, nails, hinges, or locks. Their furniture and utensils were in harmony with the primitive appearance and rude character of their dwellings, being all home-made, with here and there a few pewter spoons, dishes, and iron knives and forks. With muscles of iron and hearts of oak, they united a tenderness for the weak and a capability for self-sacrifice, worthy of an ideal knight of chivalry; and their indomitable will, which recognized no obstacle as insuperable, was equaled only by their rugged integrity which regarded dishonesty as an offence as contemptible as cowardice. For many years they dwelt beyond the pale of governmental restraint, nor did they need the presence of either courts or constables. Crimes against person, property, or public order were of so infrequent occurrence as to be practically unknown. In moral endowments—even if not in mental attainments—these sturdy pioneers of Illinois were, it must be admitted, vastly superior to many of those who followed them when better facilities for transportation rendered the country more accessible.

Although the distance from the older states was so great, and the modes of conveyance so slow, and notwithstanding the reports of an unhealthy climate, and the efforts of the Ohio Land Association, and proprietors of the Western-Reserve country to attract purchasers to their localities by offering them lands at the low price of forty cents per acre, the rich prairies of Illinois proved a superior inducement, and immigrants continued to pour in. Gradually but surely, old settlements were extended and new ones formed in what afterward became Madison, Pope, Alexander, and Gallatin counties, and the white population which, in 1800, did not exceed 2500, in 1810 numbered 12,282.

Freed from the fear of Indian depredations, by the formal execution of treaties, they found time to cultivate the arts of peace. Land was reclaimed, farms improved, and trade extended. Although the officers and general administration of the territorial government had been so far away as to exercise over them but a nominal control, yet a knowledge of its existence had given them hope of the adoption of regulations better suited to their advancement when its arm should reach and embrace them.

The people generally had no costly tastes to gratify, no expensive habits to indulge. They neither possessed nor cared for luxuries. Their living, such as they required, cost but little of either time or labor. The corn from which they made their bread, came forth from the prolific soil at the touch of their rude plows. Their cattle and hogs found abundant sustenance on the broad prairies — which in the summer yielded the richest grass — and from the woods, where in the fall the ground was covered with mast. They raised flax and cotton, and their sheep furnished them wool, from which the women manufactured their homespun garments, which were sufficient for their wants and tastes.

Of leisure they had a superabundance, and it was cheerfully devoted to mutual assistance, without thought of recompense except in kind. Thus the labor of house-raising, harvesting, and plowing was rendered light by "changing work" and assisting each other. And if any one fell behind through sickness, or other misfortune, his neighbors would "turn in and help him out," making the occasion a frolic, thus mingling labor with amusement.

If a field of flax was to be pulled, or of wheat to be cut, the neighbors came in with their wives, daughters, and sons; and while the men were pulling the flax or reaping and shocking the wheat, the women at the house were preparing the harvest-noon feast. The rough table, for which the side and bottom boards of the wagon were frequently used, was laid under the shade of a spreading tree in the yard. The visitors contributed from their own meagre stock such dishes, knives and forks, and spoons as might be needed. Around the table, seated on benches, stools or splint-bottom chairs, with such appetites as could only be gained from honest toil in the open field, the company partook of the bounties before them.

These consisted, in addition to the never-failing cornbread and bacon, of bear and deer meat, of turkey or other game in its season, and of an abundance of vegetables, which they called "roughness." The bread was baked on "jonny" or journey boards, which gave it the name of jonny-cake. These boards were smooth, two feet long and eight inches wide. The dough was spread out on the boards, which were then placed before

the fire; after one side was baked, the dough was turned and baked on the other.

However it might be abstained from at other times, a harvest without whisky was like a dance without a fiddle. It was partaken of by all—each one, male and female, drinking from the bottle and passing it to his or her next neighbor. Drinking-vessels were dispensed with as mere idle superfluities.*

Dinner over, the company scattered. The elders gathered together, and seated or stretched themselves upon the ground, and after the filling and lighting of the inevitable pipe, conversation became general. The news of the day—not always, as may be imagined, very recent—was commented upon, and then, as now, politics were sagely and earnestly discussed. Stories, mainly of adventure, were told; hair-breadth escapes from Indian massacre were recounted and the battles of the Revolution again fought over beneath the spreading branches of the trees. Meanwhile, the boys and girls wandered off in separate and smaller groups, and enjoyed themselves in singing, and playing, and making love as they do today.

Another amusement of those days, and one which did not fall into disfavor for many years, was what was known as "shucking bees." To these gatherings were invited both old and young. Stacks of corn in the husk were piled upon the ground near the crib where the golden ears were to be finally stored. Upon the assemblage of the guests, those who had "made a record" as the best corn-huskers were appointed leaders; each leader filled the ranks of his own party by selection from the company present, the choice going to each in rotation. The corn was divided into piles of as nearly equal size as might be, and each party was assigned its own pile. The object of the contestants was to complete the husking, each of their own allotment; and the party first attaining this result was declared the winner. The lucky finder of a red ear was entitled to a kiss from the girls. The contest ended, supper followed, and after supper came the dance. Swiftly were the tables stripped of dishes, and no less quickly were they drawn aside and the room swept by eager hands. Then came the struggle for partners and the strife to be "first on the floor." The only music was the violin, and

* Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," 2d ed., 316.

"fiddlers" were in great request. The figures most in favor were the reel and the jig, in which all were moving at the same time, and all participated with a zest and abandon unknown in the modern ballroom. "They danced all night till broad daylight and went home with the girls in the morning," some on foot, and some on horseback, the only modes of conveyance.

But the amusement par excellence in those early days was horse-racing. This was patronized by all classes, and turf-meetings brought out the entire population. They were made in a great measure to serve the purpose of the modern county-fairs. While they exhibited nothing save themselves and their horses, trading of all kind was transacted, contracts entered into, debts paid, and questions of the day discussed. Besides the running of horses, that of men was indulged in, as also were wrestling, jumping, and other athletic pastimes. Whisky was freely used and the meetings generally wound up with "fist and skull," "rough-and-tumble" fights, in which every advantage was taken, and "fouls" were unrecognized. The excitement and enjoyment were most intense when some rough, sleepy-looking horse came out ahead in the race, or some small, wiry man gained the victory over a large one in a fight.

Corn for bread was broken in a mortar and ground in a grater, or hand-mill. Mills were few and far apart, some of the back-settlers having to go fifty miles for their grist. Here the saying "first come, first served" originated, which frequently carried the late arrival over the night, and sometimes prolonged the trip to procure a few bushels of meal three or four days. "Band-mills" run by horses, and small water-mills, where the situation permitted, came into use to supply the demand of larger ones. The building of a good mill was hailed with more satisfaction than that of a church.

Education received but little attention. School-houses, always of logs, were scarcely to be seen. Schools were sometimes opened at private houses, or at the residence of the teacher; but "book larnin" was considered too impractical to be of much value.

While the standard of morality, commercial as well as social, was of a high order, few of these early settlers were members of any church. Many of them, however, had been raised in relig-

ious communities by Christian parents, had been taught to regard the Sabbath as a day of worship, and had been early impressed with a sense of the necessity of religious faith and practice. Many of the prominent citizens encouraged these views by occasionally holding meetings in their cabins, at which the scriptures and sometimes sermons were read and hymns sung—but no prayers were offered.*

The first regular religious services in the Territory were held by Rev. James Smith, a Baptist minister, who visited New Design in 1787. His labors were measurably successful, but were abruptly terminated. On his way from one blockhouse to another he was captured by the Indians, and although he was ransomed by the payment of $170, by his friends, he was satisfied that Illinois was not the country to which his duty called him, and, while he subsequently visited the Territory, he transferred himself and his ministrations to Kentucky.

The next preacher to visit the country was Rev. Joseph Lillard, a Methodist, also from Kentucky, who, in 1793, formed the first class in the territory, with Capt. Joseph Ogle as leader.

In 1794, Rev. Joseph Dodge held meetings at New Design, and for the first time the rite of baptism was administered in the Territory. In 1796, Rev. David Bagley, who subsequently brought a large colony from Virginia to Illinois, with Joseph Chance, a lay-elder, organized, with twenty-eight members, the first Baptist church in the Territory.*

The first circuit-preacher under the direction of a conference of the Methodist-Episcopal church, was Rev. Berryman Young, in 1804. He was followed by Rev. Joseph Oglesby, in 1805, and by Rev. Charles R. Matheny, in 1806.† Rev. Jesse Walker was also a noted and successful circuit-rider and presiding-elder

* Rev. John Milton Peck in "Pioneer History of Illinois," 256.

† Charles R. Matheny was born in Virginia, in 1786, and while preaching read law and was admitted to the bar. He was a member of the third Territorial, and second State, general-assemblies. He removed to Springfield in 1821, where at one time he held the offices of probate justice, county auditor, clerk of the circuit-court, and clerk of the county-court. The latter office he continued to hold until his death in 1839. He was succeeded by his son Noah W. Matheny, who held the office until 1873. At this time, James H. Matheny, another son, was elected county-judge, a position he still occupies. This is an example of county civil-service that is unprecedented, and in which the family who have enjoyed the well-earned distinction may feel a just pride.

in Illinois from 1806 to 1818. In connection with Rev. Wm. M. McKendree, afterward bishop, he held the first camp-meetings in Illinois in 1807.

Rev. John Clark, a Scotchman, was a preacher and a school-teacher of those days, of great usefulness. He was also a member of the Methodist-Episcopal church, and was the first Protestant to cross the Mississippi and preach to the Americans there, in 1798.* Other noted preachers of these early times were as follows: John Scripps, Jacob Whiteside, Josiah Patterson, J. Nowlen, A. Amos, Elders John K. Simpson, Wm. Jones, James Lemon, sr.

The restraining and moulding influence of these early Christian efforts upon the habits and morals of the people, was in every respect wholesome and beneficial. The attention of the people was arrested and turned to the study and investigation of moral and religious questions, and direction was given to the contemplation of higher thoughts and a better life.

In the meantime, other elements were introduced which effected a radical change in the habits of the people for both good and evil. The first settlers lived in the country, in the woods and wilds, whose "clearings" were far apart. Not one in ten of them had ever dwelt in any town, or even visited one having as many as a thousand inhabitants. And now there came the merchant, the lawyer, the doctor, and the mechanic, who resided in the towns, which began to grow and to put on a new life. Most of these had enjoyed superior advantages, so far as related to education, and that worldly wisdom which comes from experience in older communities. Some of them had come from across the ocean, and others from the larger American cities, bringing with them manners, customs, furniture, and wares, of which the like had never been seen by the oldest inhabitant.

Large stores were opened in Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and goods were supplied from these at wholesale and retail, to all the country around, including the villages of St. Louis, St. Genevieve, and Cape Girardeau. A large and profitable trade was opened with Pittsburg and New Orleans, by which, in exchange for goods purchased, the flour, provisions, lead, and furs of the country were marketed and exported in barges or flat-boats.

* J. M. Peck in Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," 2d ed., 266.

And thus were gradually introduced the methods and appliances of a more advanced civilization. The pioneer and his wife, hearing of these things, would occasionally "go to town" to see "the sights," and would there discover that there were many useful and convenient articles for the farm and kitchen which might be procured in exchange for their corn, bacon, eggs, honey, and hides; and although the shrewd merchant was careful to exact his cent per cent, the prices asked were little heeded by the purchaser who was as ignorant of the value of the commodities offered, as he was delighted with their novelty and apparent usefulness.

There was need for but few members of the legal profession in these early days. The sessions of the courts were far apart, and presented but a beggarly docket of litigated cases when convened. The distinction of being the first lawyer in Illinois belongs to John Rice Jones, who was a native of Wales, where he was born in 1759, and came to Kaskaskia from Philadelphia in 1790; he was a classical scholar, and possessed fine native abilities. His practice was large and very remunerative. He removed to Vincennes in 1802, where he became a member of the legislative council and assisted in a revision of the territorial laws. Removing to the territory of Missouri in 1810, he was elected a member of the constitutional convention, and subsequently judge of the Supreme Court, which position he continued to hold until his death in 1824. He was the father of Hon. George W. Jones, a former U.-S. Senator from Iowa. Rice Jones, a son of John R. Jones, located in Kaskaskia in 1806. He bid fair to become eminent, but was assassinated soon after his arrival.

Isaac Darnielle, the second lawyer to become a resident of Illinois, was a native of Maryland, and settled at Cahokia in 1794; he had received a collegiate education, and possessed a high order of intellect; was a fluent speaker, of fine personal appearance and popular manners; a great admirer of the fair sex, to whom he paid court with a greater devotion than to his profession; was never married according to law, says Gov. Reynolds, "but to all appearances was never without a wife or wives." His irregularities in this direction, his only weakness, for he neither drank nor gamed, compelled him to abandon his practice,

and to remove to Kentucky, where after teaching school for some years, he died, rather "humbled and neglected," in 1830, aged 60.

James Haggin came from Kentucky in 1804, to Kaskaskia, where he practised law for several years; returning to Kentucky he became eminent in his profession.

Benjamin H. Doyle emigrated from Tennessee in 1805; was appointed attorney-general of the Territory in 1809, but soon after resigned his office and left the country.

John Rector — one of a family of nine brothers — located in Kaskaskia in 1806, and remained only a few years in the Territory.

William Mears, an Irishman by birth (1768), emigrated to Cahokia in 1808; was clerk of the house of representatives in 1814, was appointed attorney-general in 1800, and later a judge of the circuit-court; was a man of good education, industrious habits, and an able lawyer; and died at Belleville in 1824.

Russel E. Heacock practised law in Kaskaskia in 1808; and removed to Jonesboro, where he remained several years; thence he returned to New York, his native state, and subsequently came back to Illinois, settling at Chicago, where he acquired a large property; he died of cholera, June 28, 1849, aged 70.

Nathaniel Pope became a permanent resident of Kaskaskia in 1808, having first settled at St. Genevieve, Mo. He was born at Louisville, Ky., in 1784, and was educated at Transylvania University, whence he graduated with high honors. He read law with his brother, Senator John Pope. In 1809, he was appointed secretary of Illinois Territory, which position he held until 1816, when he was elected a delegate to congress. Upon the admission of Illinois as a state, he was appointed a judge of the United-States district-court in which office he continued until his death, November, 1850. He was a profound lawyer, an able legislator, a dignified and upright, yet courteous judge, and wore the ermine for over thirty years without a stain. He was the father of Maj.-Gen. John Pope.

Samuel D. Davidson came from Kentucky in 1809. Gov. Reynolds says of him that "he was a decent young man, wrote a beautiful hand, but was not much of a lawyer." He served in the war of 1812, and thereafter disappeared from public view.

Joseph Conway became a resident of Kaskaskia in 1812, and after the war, in which he served, practised law for some years. He was a senator in the fourth and fifth general assemblies.

In addition to those already mentioned, the following members of the legal profession, who will be more particularly referred to elsewhere, became citizens of Illinois during its territorial existence, namely, Thos. C. Browne, John McLean, Daniel Pope Cook, Jeptha Hardin, John Warnock, Elias Kent Kane, Robert K. McLaughlin, Alonzo C. Stuart, Joseph Phillips, George Forquer, Sidney Breese, John Reynolds, Thomas Reynolds, and David Jewett Baker.

Among the early physicians, perhaps the most distinguished was Dr. George Fisher, who came from Virginia, and settled at Kaskaskia before 1800. He was not only talented in his profession, but very popular with the people. He served as sheriff of Randolph County, and member of the first and third territorial legislatures, of both of which he was elected speaker. He was also a member of the constitutional convention of 1818; he died on his farm in 1820.

Dr. George Caldwell was also an eminent pioneer physician, who settled first on the American Bottom, near Fort Chartres, and afterward removed to Madison County. Entering public life, he served as judge of the County Court of both St.Clair and Madison counties, and as a representative from Madison in the first and second general assemblies, and from Greene County in the third. He lived to an old age, and died in Morgan County.

Dr. Wm. L. Reynolds was also a noted physician, who practised many years very successfully at both Kaskaskia and Cahokia; he came from Kentucky, was a classical scholar, and "regular bred."

Dr. Truman Tuttle was from the East, and came to Illinois as a surgeon of the U.-S. Army in 1802. He resigned his position and settled in Kaskaskia, afterward moving to Cahokia, where he became eminent in his profession. He also filled the office of judge of the Court of common pleas of St. Clair County.

Still earlier physicians, of whom not so much is known, were Drs. Wallace at New Design, and John Lyle at Cahokia.

Dr. James Rose settled in Kaskaskia from Kentucky in 1805,

and had a large practice for many years; removed to Belleville subsequently, where it is said that "neglecting his profession it neglected him."

Dr. Caldwell Cairnes, known as "a good physician" as early as 1805, was from Pennsylvania. He also entered into public life and represented Monroe County in the constitutional convention of 1818.

John Edgar, a native of Ireland, came to Kaskaskia in 1784, bringing with him a stock of goods, and soon built up an extensive trade, to which he added the business of milling; was industrious, intelligent, and hospitable, and was at one time the wealthiest man in Illinois. He filled many stations of honor and trust, including the position of major-general of Illinois militia. He died at Kaskaskia, at an advanced age in 1832.

William Morrison, a native of Pennsylvania, immigrated from Philadelphia to Kaskaskia in 1790. He was a man of great energy and enterprise, and for many years stood in the foremost rank in all the commercial transactions in the Territory. He had large stores in Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and at other points, from which goods were shipped to St. Louis, and all the surrounding country. His business extended even to Pittsburg, New Orleans, and the Rocky Mountains. He accumulated a large amount of property. His residence was a spacious stone house at Kaskaskia, where for many years he dispensed a generous hospitality. His personal appearance, we are informed, was "dignified, commanding, and prepossessing." He dressed richly, with taste and elegance. He died in April, 1837.

William Morrison was followed to Illinois by his brothers, Robert and James in 1798, by Jesse in 1805, and by Samuel in 1807, all of whom became prominent merchants and influential citizens. Col. Jas. Lee Donaldson Morrison, prominent in the politics of Illinois and Missouri, was a son of Robert Morrison; and Col. William R. Morrison, for so many years a representative in congress from the district in which he was born, is the son of Jesse Morrison (?).

The Menards, Pierre, Hypolite and François, who were natives of Quebec, also came to Kaskaskia in 1790, and became leading traders and merchants. Their transactions, including the Indian trade, which they mostly controlled, were large and very profit-

able. Pierre, as will elsewhere appear, also became prominent in political circles.

Jean Bte., Michael, and François Saucier, whose father had been a French officer at Fort Chartres, located at Cahokia in 1780, where they carried on a large business. Daughters of François were married to Col. Pierre Menard, James and Jesse Morrison, and George Atchison.

Charles Gratiot, another early merchant, was born in Switzerland in 1752. He had been a trader in Illinois as early as 1774, and was at Cahokia when it was captured by Col. Clark in 1778. He subsequently had stores at Cahokia and Kaskaskia, from which his business extended to the Wabash and Maumee rivers. He removed to St. Louis in 1784, where he was a leading citizen, until his death, April 20, 1817.

Jean François Perry immigrated from France in 1792, and settling in Prairie du Pont soon became a successful merchant and miller. He was well educated, and filled various civil offices in his county very creditably. He was benevolent, hospitable, and influential; and left a large estate unencumbered by a single debt.

Nicholas Jarrot, also a native of France, reached Cahokia in 1794. By his ability, industry, and energy, he soon built up a large business both as an Indian trader and local merchant. He acquired a large fortune, the most of which descended to his heirs. He acted as justice-of-the-peace, and judge of the county-court for many years. He resided in a spacious brick-dwelling, where he raised a large family and died in 1823. Vital Jarrot, long prominent in St. Clair County, was his son.

The account-books of P. Menard & Co., as probably those of other French merchants, prior to 1800, were written in French, and values were generally expressed in piastres, but sometimes in pounds sterling, and again in dollars and "bits"(12½ cents.)

The articles charged were chiefly whisky, sugar, and coffee, the prices for which were the same — that is a pound of coffee or sugar or a quart of whisky, cost two and a-half piastres, or fifty cents. Lard was 25 cents per pound, and flour $8 per barrel. Bohea tea was 66⅔ cents per pound, and calico, the same price per yard, and flannel 50 cents. In 1797, it appears that prices were as follows: corn 50 cents per bushel, pork 12½

cents, and hams 25 cents per pound, foolscap paper 50 cents per quire, and nails 31¼ cents per pound.* Their customers appear to have been principally French and Indians.

Col. John de Moulin, although rather a speculator in land, than a merchant, engaged in milling to some extent, and was a very conspicuous and popular character in his day. He was a Swiss, but came to Cahokia in 1788 from Canada. He was a classical scholar and a good lawyer. He was judge of the court of probate, and presiding judge of the court of common pleas in St. Clair County for many years. The Colonel was a fine-appearing and well-preserved gentleman of the old school. He had no family, and died in 1808.

The first American merchant in Cahokia was Wm. Arundel. He located there in 1783, having previously been engaged in business at Peoria. He was of Irish descent, of fair education, and agreeable manners.

William Kinney, lieutenant-governor in 1826, although beginning life as a farmer, at an early day tried the experiment of a country store. His venture was successful, and he gradually built up a large and prosperous business. He early conceived a fondness for political life, and his public career will be hereafter noticed.

Gov. Edwards was the foremost merchant of his day. Abandoning the practice of law after his removal to the Territory, he engaged in commercial pursuits on a most extensive scale. He established saw and grist mills, and stores in Kaskaskia, Belleville, Carlisle, Alton, and Springfield in Illinois, and at St. Louis, Chariton, and Franklin in Missouri; he gave them his personal attention so far as was consistent with his official duties, himself purchasing the immense stocks of goods required.

Mather and Lamb—a firm composed of Col. Thomas Mather and James L. Lamb, at a later period were extensive merchants at Kaskaskia, with branches at several other points. They were the first pork-packers in Illinois; and both afterward removed to Springfield, where the Colonel became president of the bank and Lamb continued to manage their large business.

* From original MSS. in possession of Chicago Historical Society, Vol. 61.

Authorities: "Laws of Congress"; "American State Papers"; Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois"; "History of Sangamon County"; Dillon's "Indiana."

CHAPTER XVI.

Illinois Territory [Continued]—**Its Organization—Governor Edwards and other Officers—Indian Disturbances—The War of 1812—The Chicago Massacre—Campaigns against the Indians—Peace.**

FOR the people whose primitive customs have been described in the foregoing chapter, a government was now to be organized within the limits of their own newly-created Territory;—its chief seat was to be at their own largest town, and they were to be brought into more direct contact with the machinery of courts and the mysterious forms of law with which they had heretofore been but distantly related, and for which, indeed they had had but little need. Whatever benefit was to be derived therefrom, they were anxiously waiting to receive.

John Boyle, associate-justice of the Kentucky court of appeals, was at first appointed governor of the newly-formed Territory, but, preferring to remain on the bench, he declined the proffered honor.

Ninian Edwards, chief-justice of the same court, upon the recommendation of Senator John Pope of Kentucky, and of Henry Clay, late a U.-S. senator and soon to reoccupy that position, thereupon received the appointment from President Madison, April 24, 1809.

Nathaniel Pope, heretofore mentioned, was appointed secretary of the Territory, March 7. In the absence of the governor, who was detained in Kentucky closing up his affairs, preparatory to removal, the secretary proceeded to organize the government, April 28, by proclamation, reëstablishing the counties of St. Clair and Randolph, with their existing boundaries.

The first-appointed territorial judges were Alexander Stuart, Obadiah Jones, and Jesse Burgess Thomas, late delegate to congress from the territory of Indiana. Judge Stuart being transferred to Missouri, Stanley Griswold was appointed to succeed him.

Gov. Edwards arrived at Kaskaskia early in June, and soon



Yrs Mo Ob Sr
Ninian Edwards

thereafter entered upon the discharge of his official duties. The precedent of appointing distinguished and influential citizens to the office of territorial governor had not been departed from in his selection. The son of Benjamin Edwards, he was born in Maryland, March 17, 1775. His early education was under the direction of William Wirt, between whom and himself a devoted, life-long friendship was cemented. His collegiate course was completed at Dickinson College, Penn. At the early age of nineteen, he left his paternal roof, taking with him ample means to purchase and improve lands in Kentucky; where he laid out farms, built tanyards, and distilleries, and erected houses. Like many other young men, however, of warm and generous dispositions, but wanting experience, he entered without restraint into all the excesses of society, as it then existed, and became dissipated. Having suddenly awakened to the fact that he had squandered his patrimony, impaired his health, and disappointed his friends, he formed the resolution to break away from his wild associates and thoroughly reform his life. This resolve he manfully carried out and never after fell into irregular habits. Removing from Nelson to Logan County he devoted himself to the study and afterward to the practice of law, in which he soon attained distinction. Although beginning life anew without a dollar, he firmly refused the proffered aid of his father, and in a few years, by the practice of his profession and through prudent investments, he amassed the nucleus of a large fortune.* Having served two terms in the Kentucky legislature, he filled successively the offices of presiding-judge of the general court, circuit-judge, and chief-justice of the court of appeals. His promotion had been as rapid as it was merited. Henry Clay said of him: "his good understanding, weight of character, and conciliatory manners gave him very fair pretentions to the office [of governor]. I have no doubt that the whole representation from the State [Kentucky] would concur in ascribing to him every qualification for the office in question."

Without the wide experience of St. Clair, or the military training of Harrison, his previous service on the bench and in the forum gave him superior advantages over either of his predecessors in discharging the civil duties upon which he now entered.

* Edwards' "History of Illinois," 241.

Gov. Edwards found on his arrival the people divided into parties and cliques, as in older communities. The controversy over the division of the Territory had been bitter, and left behind it the stings of disappointment and defeat. While the majority had been in favor of separation and the establishment of a new government, whose proximity might enable them personally to participate in its administration, a very considerable minority had preferred that it should have remained at a distance, thinking perhaps, that their schemes of speculation and trade would be less liable to provoke interference. Those who had been successful in the contest thought that they should be preferred by his excellency in the distribution of his favors, because of "the calumnies, indignities, and *other enormities* which had been heaped upon them by those who had opposed that measure."*

The white population of the Territory at this time was estimated at nine thousand, and the number of Indians, who occupied the larger portion, was supposed to be about eighteen thousand.

On June 16, the governor and judges formed themselves into a legislative body and enacted a code of laws for the government of the Territory. Most of these were copies of those heretofore existing, with which the people were already tolerably familiar.

The appointments of officers already made by the secretary were generally concurred in.†

The new government having been thus successfully inaugurated, the governor next turned his attention to the organization of the militia. In this task he encountered fresh difficulties. Although the contest over the appointment of civil officers had been bitter, that for military honors was equally acrimonious.

* Letter in Edwards' "Illinois," 28.

† The list as amended was as follows: Benjamin H. Doyle, attorney-general, having resigned, the office was tendered to John Jordan Crittenden of Kentucky, who declined, and Thos. Leonidas Crittenden was appointed. Robert Morrison, adjutant-general, vice Wm. Rector, resigned. For Randolph County: Robert Morrison, clerk of the general court; Benjamin Stephenson, sheriff; Wm. C. Greenup, clerk of the county-court. For St. Clair County: Wm. Arundel, recorder; John Hay, clerk of the court of common pleas, which office he held until his death in 1845; John Hays, sheriff, which office he held until 1818; Enoch Moore, coroner; John Messinger, surveyor.

In order to avoid the charge of affiliating with any faction, the governor adopted the plan of permitting each company to elect its own officers, and the latter to chose those for the regiment. Senator Pope, with whom he advised, severely criticised this course, and in commenting upon one of his appointees thus recommended said, he knew him to be a scoundrel.

The machinery of the territorial government had been scarcely set in motion before the executive was required to give earnest attention to his ex-officio duties as superintendent of Indian affairs. The era of peace and prosperity which had continued for nearly twenty years in the Territory was about to be disturbed once more by the "rude alarms" of war. It has been already pointed out that the cessions of such large portions of the lands of the different tribes, between 1803 and 1809, to the whites had given rise to much dissatisfaction among the native proprietors, who believed that their rights had been bartered away for a song. Sentiments of jealousy and enmity were aroused, which required but little fanning to be kindled into a blaze of war. The great Tecumseh, with his brother, the Prophet, took the lead in attempting to excite the dissatisfied tribes to revolt. They were untiring in their efforts to sow and foster the seeds of discontent, alleging that the Americans would soon overrun the entire country, and the red men be driven across the Mississippi. These representations were urged with such vehemence that attacks by marauding bands upon the defenceless settlements of Illinois and Missouri began to be of more or less frequent occurrence, resulting in the loss of many lives and the destruction of considerable property. Demands were made upon the Pottawatomies and Kickapoos to deliver up the perpetrators of these outrages. Frequent interviews and councils were held between the governor and his agents on the one hand and leading chiefs on the other, to see if some satisfactory arrangement could not be effected which would prevent further hostilities. The chiefs, though friendly in their demeanor, very emphatically contended that they had causes of grievance against the whites no less serious than those which the latter urged against the Indians—in a word, that wrongs had been committed on both sides.

From the temper of the savages displayed in these conferences,

and information carefully collected, together with the fact of the commission of further depredations, Gov. Edwards was convinced that the larger portion of the Indians in Illinois were only waiting for a more thorough organization and a favorable opportunity to make war upon the white settlements of the Territory.

A careful enumeration of the warriors of the different tribes residing in Illinois at this time, made under the direction of the governor, showed the following result:

Pottawatomies on the Illinois River	350
Pottawatomies on the Little Calumet, Fox, and Kankakee rivers	180
Pottawatomies and Ottawas near Chicago	300
Kickapoos and mixed near Peoria Lake and on the Little Mackinaw River	330
Sacs and Foxes on Rock River	1400
Winnebagos	450

Making in all 3010, which would indicate a hostile population of about 15,000, very far exceeding that of the whites. It will be seen that no Piankashaws nor the remnants of the Illinois, both of whom were friendly, were included in the estimate.

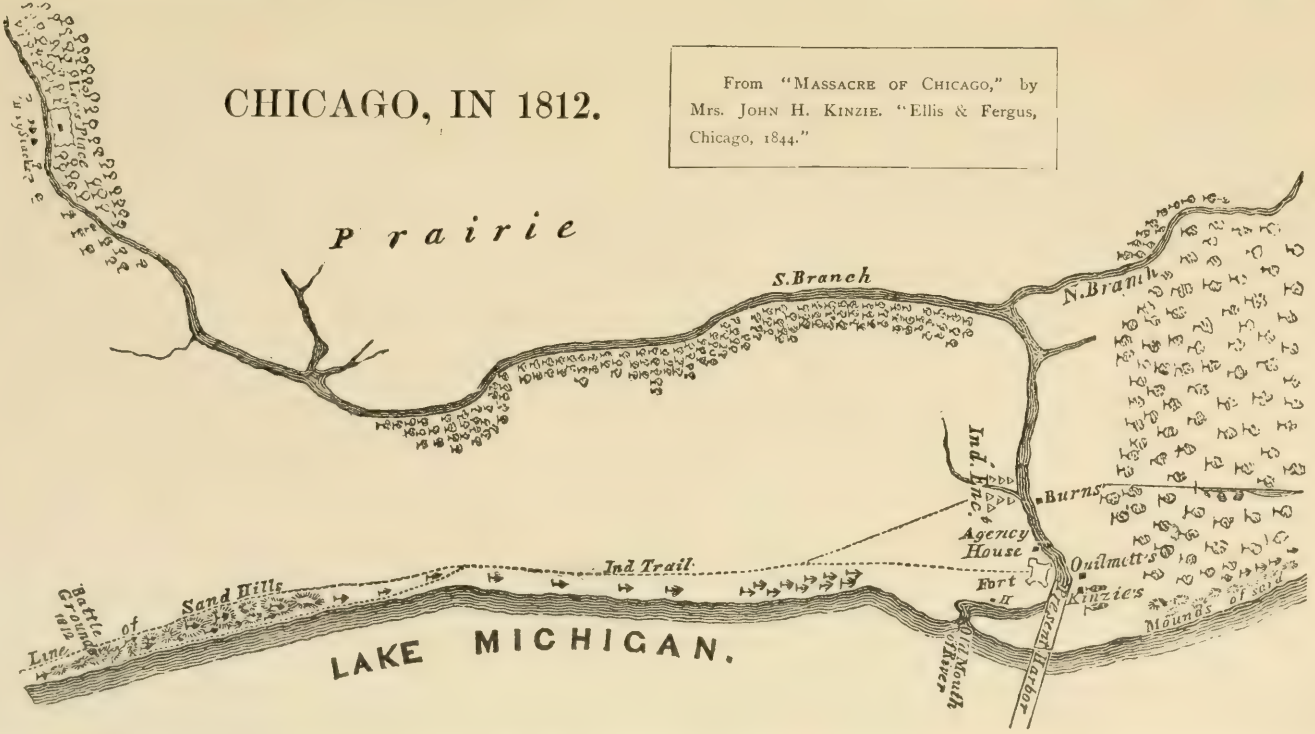
The battle of Tippecanoe, from which was taken one of the favorite political war-cries of Harrison's presidential campaign, was fought Nov. 6, 1811. Gen. Harrison, with a force of 700 strong, was attacked with unwonted ferocity, early in the morning, by Tecumseh with a superior force. After an obstinate and bloody contest, the enemy was repulsed and driven off the field; not however without inflicting a severe loss upon the Americans, 37 of whom were killed, 25 mortally and 126 seriously wounded. The Indian losses were still greater.

Illinois was not without its representation on both sides of this sanguinary contest. The Pottawatomies and Winnebagos were there, and also the Kickapoos, the latter of whom were especially distinguished by their fierce assaults and determined courage. Capt. Isaac White from Gallatin County, who commanded a company of militia, was among the slain. Here also fell the gallant Col. Joe Daviess at the head of his command.

The defeat of Tecumseh only serving to intensify the spirit of war among the savages, Gov. Edwards, without delay, proceeded

CHICAGO, IN 1812.

From "Massacre of Chicago," by Mrs. John H. Kinzie. "Ellis & Fergus, Chicago, 1844."



to make such preparations as his means permitted, for the defence and protection of his Territory. In advance of the action of congress providing for the organization and equipment o. volunteer companies, he called out the militia, and advanced large sums from his private means for the purchase of arms, the building of stockade forts, and the establishment of a line of defensive works from the Missouri to the Wabash rivers.*

In 1811, however, congress provided by law for ten companies of mounted rangers, constituting the seventh regiment, to protect the frontiers of the West, the command of which was entrusted to Col. Wm. Russell of Kentucky. Four of these companies were raised in Illinois, and were placed under the commands respectively, of Capts. Samuel Whiteside, William B. Whiteside, James B. Moore, and Jacob Short. Five independent cavalry companies were also organized for the protection of settlements on the lower Wabash, of which Willis Hargrave, William McHenry, Nathaniel Journey, Thomas E. Craig, and William Boon were respectively commanders.

If there were wanting any evidence to vindicate the judgment of the governor regarding the hostile intentions of the savages, and the necessity for making vigorous preparations for defence, it was soon furnished by the massacre of the garrison of Fort Dearborn at Chicago, August 15, 1812. The story of this unprovoked collision, the bloodiest that ever occurred between the whites and Indians in Illinois, is as follows:

Chicago was a designation applied indifferently by explorers to rivers, posts, and routes, as early as 1675. A French trading-post, mission, and fort existed under that name before 1700, but their precise location can not be now determined. By the treaty of Greenville, the Pottawatomies ceded six miles square of territory at the mouth of the Chicago River, "where a fort formerly stood." This is the first official connection of the name with a definite locality of which we have any record. It was a favorite trading-post of the Indians, and in 1803–4 the United States built a fort on the south side, and near the mouth of the Chicago River, which was called after a general of the army and then secretary-of-war, Fort Dearborn. It consisted of two block-houses, with a parade-ground and sally-

* Edwards' "Illinois," 68.

port, surrounded by a stockade. In July, 1812, the garrison was composed of seventy-four men commanded by Capt. Nathan Heald. The other officers were Lieut. Linai T. Helm, Ensign George Ronan, and Surgeon Isaac V. Van Voorhis; John Kinzie being the principal trader.

During the preceding April, much alarm had been excited by a hostile demonstration against some settlers at a farm known as "Lee's place," about four miles from the fort up the south-branch of the river, which had resulted in the killing of Liberty White, the tenant, and a French employé.

Perceiving the growing animosity of the savages, and fearing that it would not be possible to hold the fort in the event of an attack, Gen. William Hull, in command at Detroit, directed its evacuation, and, as is generally stated, the distribution of the property among the Indians as a peace-offering. Capt. Heald, however, in his report on this point says, "leaving it to my discretion to dispose of the public property as I thought proper." These orders were brought to the fort Aug. 9,* by Winnemeg, a friendly Pottawatomie chief, who was well informed in regard to the hostile plans of the Indians, and it is said strongly urged, that as the fort was well provisioned and in good condition to stand a siege, that the order be disregarded; and further that if the fort were evacuated, that it be done at once, leaving everything in *statu quo*, before the Indians could concentrate and prepare for an attack. But Capt. Heald, who it would now seem, was singularly blind to his perilous situation, decided to notify the neighboring tribes of the order to abandon the fort, and of his intention to divide the goods among them. This action of the commandant, it is asserted, was strongly opposed by the other officers, and by John Kinzie, who pointed out the danger of such a proceeding. The Indians upon being notified of the order became insolent and unruly, entering the fort in defiance of the sentinels. They had been advised by Tecumseh of the fall of Mackinac, July 17, of the proposed attack upon Detroit, and had been urged by that chief with whom they had already acted, and in whose judgment they had great confidence, to take up arms against the Americans, and the garrison at Fort Dearborn afforded them the opportunity.

* Capt. Heald's "Report"—Mrs. Kinzie says Aug. 7.

Aug. 12, the Indians having assembled in council, as invited by the commander of the Fort, it was agreed that in consideration of the delivery to them of the goods in the fort, the Indians should furnish the garrison an escort and safe passage to Fort Wayne. In this conference, entirely distrusting the sincerity and good faith of the Indians, it is claimed that the other officers refused to participate; Aug. 13, Capt. William Wells, who was an uncle of Mrs. Heald, arrived from Fort Wayne with thirty friendly Miamis, to aid in escorting the garrison to that place.

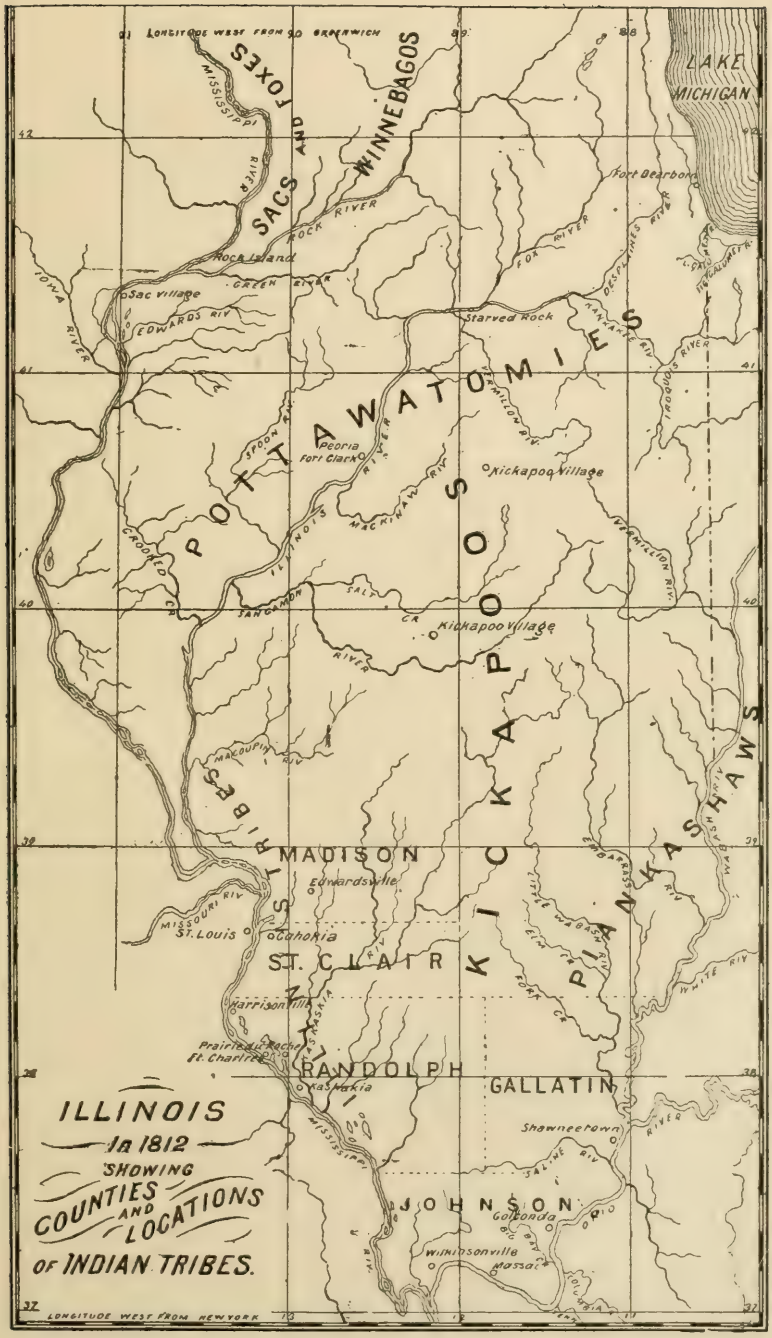
The next day (14th), when the property, consisting mostly of broadcloth, calico, and paints, was distributed, the Indians did not fail to notice that a large portion of the supplies promised, according to their understanding, had been withheld. Their suspicion of bad faith on the part of the whites having been thus aroused, was confirmed, and their indignant resentment inflamed to the highest pitch when while prowling around the fort during the following night they saw the muskets which they so much coveted broken and destroyed, and the casks of spirits which they still more desired, rolled to the river bank, the heads knocked in, and the liquor poured into the stream. Capt. Heald on this point remarks: "the surplus arms and ammunition, I thought proper to destroy, fearing they would make bad use of it, if put in their possession. I also destroyed all liquor on hand, soon after they began to collect."

The violation of what is supposed was the original agreement, had been insisted upon, it is said, by the other officers, and willingly assented to by Capt. Heald, who saw when too late, how dangerous it would prove to carry it out in its fullest extent. The wrath of the Indians on being thus deprived of the coveted stores was deeply felt and vehemently expressed; and Black Hawk who passed by the fort soon after, in speaking of the transaction said: "that if they [the whites] had fulfilled their word to the Indians, I think they would have gone safe."

While the destruction of ammunition, guns, and liquor was undoubtedly an aggravating circumstance, which was made use of by the Indians as a justification of their own bad faith, it is more than probable that the attack which followed would have been made in any event. It had been fully determined upon

Black Partridge, a Pottawatomie chief who had been on terms of friendship with the whites, appeared before Capt. Heald and informed him plainly "that his young men intended to imbrue their hands in the blood of the whites"; that he was no longer able to restrain them, and surrendering a medal he had worn in token of amity, closed by saying: "I will not wear a token of peace while I am compelled to act as an enemy."

In the meantime the Indians were "rioting upon the provisions," and becoming so aggressive in their bearing that it was resolved to march out the next day. The fatal 15th arrived. To each soldier was distributed twenty-five rounds of reserved ammunition. The baggage and ambulance wagons were laden, and the garrison slowly wended its way outside the protecting walls of the fort—the Indian escort of five hundred following in the rear. What next occurred in this disastrous movement is narrated by Capt. Heald in his report, as follows: "The situation of the country rendered it necessary for us to take the beach, with the lake on our left, and a high sand-bank on our right, at about three hundred yards distance. We had proceeded about a mile and a-half when it was discovered [by Capt. Wells] that the Indians were prepared to attack us from behind the bank. I immediately marched up with the company, to the top of the bank, when the action commenced: after firing one round, we charged, and the Indians gave way in front and joined those on our flanks. In about fifteen minutes they got possession of all our horses, provisions, and baggage of every description; and finding the Miamis did not assist us, I drew off the few men I had left, and took possession of a small elevation in the open prairie out of shot of the bank or any other cover. The Indians did not follow me but assembled in a body on the top of the bank, and after some consultation among themselves, made signs for me to approach them. I advanced toward them alone, and was met by one of the Pottawatomie chiefs, called Black Bird, with an interpreter. After shaking hands he requested me to surrender, promising to spare the lives of all the prisoners. On a few moments consideration I concluded it would be most prudent to comply with his request, although I did not put entire confidence in his promise." The troops had made a brave defence, but what could so small a force do against such over-


Longitude West from Greenwich
LAKE MICHIGAN
Fort Dearborn
SACS AND FOXES
WINNEBAGOS
Mississippi River
Rock River
Rock Island
Sac village
Green River
Iowa River
Edwards Riv
Starved Rock
Illinois River
Spoon River
Peoria
Fort Clark
Kickapoo Village
POTTAWATOMIES
Crooked Cr
Mac River
Vermilion Riv
Salt Cr
Kickapoo Village
Macoupin Riv
ILLINOIS
KICKAPOOS
Wabash River
Embarras River
MADISON
Edwardsville
Missouri Riv
St. Louis
Cahokia
ST. CLAIR
Kaskaskia River
Harrison Hill
Prairie du Rocher
Fort Charlfre
RANDOLPH
Kas Kakia
GALLATIN
Shawneetown
Saline Riv
JOHNSON
Golconda
Wilkinsonville
Massac
Ohio River
Longitude West from New York
ILLINOIS
In 1812
SHOWING
COUNTIES AND LOCATIONS
OF INDIAN TRIBES.

whelming numbers? It was evident with over half their number dead upon the field, or wounded, further resistance would be hopeless. Twenty-six regulars and twelve militia, with two women and twelve children were killed. Among the slain were Capt. Wells, Dr. Van Voorhis, and Ensign Geo. Ronan. Capt. Wells,* when quite young, had been captured in Kentucky by the Miamis and adopted into their tribe. He had lived with them, taking an Indian woman for his wife, until manhood, when he decided to return to his friends and relatives, and adopt the customs of civilized life. He was familiar with all the wiles, strategems, as well as the vindictiveness of the Indian character, and when the conflict began he said to his niece, by whose side he was standing, "We have not the slightest chance for life; we must part to meet no more in this world. God bless you." With these words, he dashed forward into the thickest of the fight. He refused to be taken prisoner, knowing what his fate would be, when a young redskin cut him down with his tomahawk, jumped upon his body, cut out his heart, and ate a portion with savage delight.†

The prisoners taken were Capt. Heald and wife, both wounded, Lieut. Helm, also wounded, and wife, with twenty-five non-commissioned officers and privates, and eleven women and children. The loss of the Indians was fifteen killed. Mr. Kinzie's family had been entrusted to the care of some friendly Indians, and were not with the retiring garrison. The Indians engaged in this outrage were principally Pottawatomies, with a few Chippwas, Ottawas, Winnebagos, and Kickapoos. Fort Dearborn was plundered and burned on the next morning.‡

* Capt. Wells, a brother of Gen. Samuel Wells of Kentucky, was twice married to Indian women, one of whom was a daughter of Little Turtle—his adopted father. When the captain decided to sever his connection with the Indians, he said to Little Turtle, "Father, we have been long friends. I now leave you to go to my own people. We will be friends until the sun reaches its midday height. From that time we will be enemies; and if you want to kill me then, you may; and if I want to kill you, I may." He was afterward joined by his wife and children, who were well educated, and after the peace of Greenville, by Little Turtle, who resided with him.—"Fort Dearborn," by Hon. John Wentworth.

† Lossing's "Field-Book of 1812."

‡ Without exception, historians have relied for their facts in regard to the Massacre at Chicago, which ought to be more properly described as the massacre of Fort Dearborn, upon the account given of the event by Mrs. Juliette A. Kinzie, wife of

The declaration of war against Great Britain by congress was made June 19, 1812. The Pottawatomies, with portions of other tribes in Illinois, openly sided with the British. Their success at Chicago had increased their self-confidence and deepened their hostility. Gov. Edwards decided to anticipate further attacks, by himself assuming the offensive. Although his experience as a military commander had been limited to a brief service as major in a Kentucky militia regiment, he determined to take the field in person.

Constructing a fort at Camp Russell, near Edwardsville, where he made his head-quarters, he collected a force of three hundred and fifty mounted volunteers; and was soon afterward joined by Col. William Russell with portions of two companies of rangers, numbering one hundred officers and men. Having sent out small detachments which had successfully attacked and driven off several bands of the enemy from the immediate frontiers, on Oct. 18, he began his march to Peoria. He expected to coöperate with Gen. Hopkins, who, with a force of two thousand troops from Kentucky, had been ordered to disperse the Indians and break up their villages on the Wabash and Illinois rivers.

The governor organized his force into two regiments, one of which was commanded by Col. Charles Rector, and the other by Col. Benjamin Stephenson; Col. Wm. Russell was placed second in command. In addition to the two companies of rangers, Capt. Samuel Judy had an independent company of spies. The governor's staff consisted of Secretary Nathaniel Pope, Nelson Rector, and Robert K. McLaughlin.

John H. Kinzie, who was the son of John Kinzie. This embodies the facts as understood by them, and as reported by Mrs. Margaret Helm, a step-daughter of John Kinzie. Naturally the accounts of any military movement which resulted disastrously, is colored against its commander, by those who have suffered from it, either the loss of property or friends. Of course it was for the pecuniary interest of Mr. Kinzie as sub-Indian agent, to have the troops remain and hold the fort, and he would be inclined to criticise the actions of the officer in command, which were opposed to his own views. While this is so, it must be admitted that the statements in Mrs. Kinzie's narrative bear upon their face the appearance of truth and fairness. It was not published however until twelve years after the death of Capt. Heald, who never had the opportunity of replying to its strictures.

For interesting information concerning Fort Dearborn, the Massacre, and fate of the prisoners, consult "Fort Dearborn," an address by Hon. John Wentworth, No. 16, Fergus' Historical Series; also, "The Massacre of Chicago," by Mrs. John H. Kinzie, No. 30, Fergus' Hist. Series.

After a march of five days, having burnt two Kickapoo villages *en route*, the army came in sight of the enemy at the head of Peoria Lake. Here an Indian and his squaw, approaching for an interview, were mercilessly shot down by the spies, the leader exclaiming that they had not left home to take prisoners.

It is a deplorable fact in connection with this and other campaigns against the Indians, that the innocent were made to suffer with the guilty. The hostile bands lived in the same villages with those who were really friendly toward the whites, and it was impossible to discriminate between friends and foes. The village, which was the object of this attack, was that of Black Partridge and Gomo, who had done all in their power to prevent their warriors from arraying themselves against the United States, and knowing their own friendly feelings, had evidently no apprehension of being thus attacked. When the town was first seen the Indians were preparing breakfast, and the "children playing on the green." Upon seeing an armed force approach, they proceeded to get away hurriedly, on foot and on horseback, as best they could, but, as was supposed, to form in order of battle. But there was really no resistance to the assault, the whites shooting down all of the fleeing inhabitants that came within their range. Thirty of the redskins were reported killed and several wounded. Their town with its valuable stores, was burned. Four prisoners, and eighty head of horses were captured. The loss of the assailants was one man wounded. Among the rangers in this expedition were John Reynolds and Thomas Carlin, both afterward governors of the State. It is to be hoped, for the sake of humanity, that the blood-curdling report of the governor, with his centre, and right and left wings, charging upon an unprepared and defenceless Indian village, with the terrible array of "killed, wounded, and missing," which he is careful to state, however, was, according to the reports of the Indians, altogether too-highly colored.

Not meeting with, or hearing from Gen. Hopkins, who had decided to abandon the expedition after reaching the headwaters of the Vermilion, Gov. Edwards returned to Fort Russell, after an absence of thirteen days.

In the meantime, Capt. Thomas E. Craig had been dispatched

with a company and two boats to capture the ancient French village of Peoria. It had been represented to the governor as being a seditious place, whose inhabitants were in sympathy with the Indians. They were traders, hunters, and *voyageurs*, as were the dwellers in other French villages, and were estimated to number over two hundred.

The captain was an energetic, uncouth frontiersman, whose characteristics were those of a fighter rather than a diplomat. His hatred of the red men obscured every other feeling. Arriving at the town, he and his men visited the houses in search of evidence to establish the disloyalty of the owners. Especially was he suspicious of and prejudiced against, the well-known Indian agent, Thomas Forsyth, who was not only thoroughly reliable, but whose relations with the government were of a confidential nature. Early on the morning of November 8, his boat having been blown ashore in a storm, he heard several shots, as many as ten, he says in his report, which in fact had been fired by some hunters at game. Craig, however, supposing that they came from an attacking party, shelled the woods, and prepared for battle; but on advancing no enemy was found. Reporting the incident to Forsyth and others who made light of it, he became enraged, and charged them all with being in league with the Indians. He therefore made prisoners of every one he could find in the town, men, women, and children, seventy-five in all, including Forsyth, whose commission was shown Craig, but which he pronounced a forgery—and "burnt down about half the town."

With his prisoners, including men, women, and children, he started down the river, but finally released them, landing them on the east bank of the Mississippi, just below Alton, thence to make their way home in the middle of winter as best they could. The brutality and ignorance of this officer may be inferred from his report to the governor, which he concludes as follows: "Forsyth appeared sulky and obstinate. He claimed property, after refusing to receive it, at Peoria. He got all his property, and I am afraid more. He and the rest of the damned rascals may think themselves well off that they were not scalped." *

* "Edwards Papers," p. 86.

The year 1812 closed with but few victories over the Indians. The savages continued their midnight raids and murderous assaults against the white settlements without successful opposition. Block-house stations and stockades were repaired and strengthened, yet many of the inhabitants, venturing to expose themselves, were either taken prisoners or killed — the latter numbering sixteen in February and March, 1813.

In 1813, another expedition was sent against the Pottawatomies and Kickapoos on the Illinois River. The forces were commanded by Gen. Benjamin Howard, formerly governor of Missouri. The regiment of Illinois troops was commanded by Col. Benjamin Stephenson. Leaving Camp Russell in August, they were joined by a force from Missouri at Fort Mason on the Mississippi below Quincy. Arriving at Gomo's village, the present site of Chillicothe, no enemy was to be found. Returning to Peoria, Fort Clark was built, and several fruitless attempts were made from there to find the foe. The expedition returned to Camp Russell, October 23, without the accomplishment of any important results.

In 1814, no very severe punishment having been inflicted upon the savages, they continued their attacks upon exposed settlements with renewed ferocity. Marauding bands hung around the outskirts of remote settlements, and the unerring bullets of the redskins laid low many a head, whose scalp hung, as a prized trophy, from the belts of the savage assassins. The perpetrators of these depredations escaped the vengeance of the white settlers by precipitate flight, when attacked even by an inferior force.

The first organized expedition sent out in 1814, was under Lieut. John Campbell, to strengthen Prairie du Chien. Two companies of this small army were commanded by Captain Stephen Rector, and Lieut. (John ?) Riggs. After reaching Rock Island, and while passing up the river in boats, a severe engagement took place, the Indians being commanded by the renowned Black Hawk. The barge of Lieut. Campbell having been blown ashore by a gale, he was placed at the mercy of the foe. Seeing his perilous situation, Rector and Riggs, who had passed in safety, endeavored to return to his assistance. The boat of Riggs was stranded on the rocks; but Rector having anchored

opened an effective fire upon the enemy. The barge of Lieut. Campbell, who was badly wounded, caught fire, when the heroic Rector, having raised his anchor, in full view of the infuriated savages, and within easy range of their deadly rifles, floated down to the burning barge and succeeded in transferring to his own boat not only the survivors, but also the killed and wounded. The loss of the Americans was nine killed and sixteen wounded. The expedition then returned to St. Louis—Lieut. Riggs, whose stranded boat was so exposed as to afford little hope of his safety, escaping also under cover of night.*

Another expedition was sent up the Mississippi this year, commanded by Maj. Zachary Taylor, afterward president, and with it were Capts. Nelson Rector, and Samuel Whiteside, commanding the Illinoisians. At Rock Island, it was discovered that the British had a detachment there with artillery, and that the force of Indians was very large. Some severe fighting occurred. An assault ordered by Taylor upon the upper island was successful, many of the enemy being killed. Another assault by Capt. Rector upon the lower island, failed in consequence of the Indians having been largely reënforced. In his efforts to reach his boat, which had grounded, a desperate hand-to-hand encounter took place; but Capt. Whiteside came to his support and saved the day. Major Taylor, finding his force insufficient to contend successfully with the enemy, withdrew down the river, and, on the present site of Warsaw, constructed Fort Edwards. From this point also, the whites were compelled to retreat, and the Illinois rangers and volunteers returning home, were discharged from service, October 18. The result of this year's operations were as unsatisfactory and unfavorable as had been those of the two preceding. The Indians remained in complete and defiant possession of the upper Illinois country. It may be said to have been exceedingly fortunate for the people of the Territory of Illinois that the issues of the war of 1812 were not dependent upon the success which crowned their efforts to subdue the foe which was at their own doors.

Although the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States was signed at Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814, no formal treaty with the Indians was concluded until the following year,

* Reynolds', "My Own Times," 2d Ed., 100.

when articles between the United States and the hostile tribes were signed at a point on the Mississippi River, below Alton in July, 1815, the American commissioners being Govs. William Clark of Missouri and Edwards of Illinois, and Auguste Chouteau. Most of the Northwestern tribes, including the Pottawatomies, were represented.*

In these frontier wars of 1812–14, the names of William and Samuel Whiteside, James B. Moore, Jacob Short, John Moredock, William and Nathan Boon, William, Nelson, and Stephen Rector, Nathaniel Journey, Willis Hargrave, Jacob and Samuel Judy, Benj. Stephenson, and Wm. McHenry were conspicuous as commanders of either companies or regiments. The records of those times show that they bore themselves with most distinguished bravery and heroism. They had themselves at the hands of the hostile redskins suffered the loss of property and friends. In addition to the impulses of patriotism, therefore, they were influenced by the recollection of personal injuries; and it is somewhat surprising that in no published report of the governor is any mention made of their services or even of their names.†

* "American State Papers."

† The following were among the casualities during the war not mentioned in the text: 1812—Andrew Moore and son, on Big Muddy; Barbara at Jordan's Fort; 1813—Two families on Cash River—several killed and wounded; François Young at Hill's Ferry; Joseph Boltenhouse, near Albion; Hutson, wife, and four children, on the Wabash; the Lively family (seven) in Washington Co.; 1814—Mrs. Reason Reagan and six children on Wood River, Madison Co.; Henry Cox and son, on Shoal Creek; Mrs. Jesse (Jane Bradsby) Bayles and Miss Bradsby, on Sugar Creek. —Reynolds', "My Own Times."

Authorities: Capt. Nathan Heald's official report, from "Niles' National Register"; "Wau-Bun," by Mrs. J. H. Kinzie; "Fort Dearborn," by Hon. John Wentworth; Edwards' "History of Illinois"; Reynolds' "My Own Times" and "Pioneer History of Illinois."

CHAPTER XVII.

As a Territory of the Second Grade—First General Assemblies—Territorial Laws—Officers and Members of the Territorial Legislatures.

BY the Act of congress dividing the territory of Indiana, it was provided that so much of the Ordinance of 1787 as related to the organization of a general assembly therein, should be and remain in full force and effect in the Illinois Territory, whenever satisfactory evidence should be adduced that such was the wish of a majority of the freeholders, notwithstanding there might not be five thousand free white male inhabitants therein of the age of twenty-one years and upward, as required in the ordinance.

The people of the Territory began early in the year 1812 to agitate the question of the election of their own law-makers; and having petitioned the governor to that effect, he, on March 14, ordered an election to be held in April for the purpose of taking the sense of the freeholders on that subject. The vote was nearly unanimous for the proposed change.

Owing to the fact that but few of the settlers had as yet acquired any legal title to the lands occupied by them, there were not more than three hundred voters in the Territory possessing the required qualification of freeholders, as prescribed by the ordinance.

These facts being reported to congress, that body by the act of May 21, not only raised the territory to the second grade, but also extended the right of suffrage to all white male inhabitants of twenty-one years of age, who paid taxes, and had resided one year in the Territory.

In pursuance of the provisions of this act, the governor issued his proclamation ordering an election to be held in each county of the Territory—the counties of Madison, Gallatin, and Johnson having been added to those of St. Clair and Randolph—on Oct. 8, 9, and 10, 1812, for the purpose of electing five members of the council, and seven representatives to the general assembly.

This first general election in the Illinois Territory, held during the existence of a war, in which the people felt a greater interest, was quietly conducted and resulted in the choice of the following persons: for members of the council: Pierre Menard, merchant, from Randolph County; William Biggs, farmer, from St. Clair; Samuel Judy, farmer, from Madison; Thomas Ferguson, from Johnson; and Benjamin Talbot, from Gallatin. For members of the house of representatives: George Fisher, physician, from Randolph County; Joshua Oglesby, a Methodist minister, and Jacob Short, farmer, from St. Clair; Wm. Jones, a Baptist minister, from Madison; Col. Philip Trammel, ranger, and Alexander Wilson, tavern-keeper, from Gallatin; and John Grammar, farmer, from Johnson. It will be noted that none of them were lawyers; all, however, had been enrolled as their country's defenders. The general assembly met at Kaskaskia, November 25, and organized by the choice of Pierre Menard, president of the council, and John Thomas, secretary. George Fisher was elected speaker-of-the-house, and Wm. C. Greenup, clerk. One doorkeeper was sufficient for both bodies; and all the members, it is said, were entertained at one tavern.

The message of the governor was principally devoted to a discussion of the war, and proposed changes in the militia and revenue laws. An omnibus bill was passed December 13, reënacting all the laws passed by the Indiana legislature, and by the governor and judges of Illinois Territory, which were then in force.

The people soon began to perceive that they could not hope to enjoy an increase of political power without having to submit to a corresponding increase in public expenses. The revenue for the support of the government was raised by taxing lands at the rate of seventy-five cents on the one hundred acres. County-revenue was raised by a tax on personal property, and by licenses—merchants being required to pay a fee of from ten to fifteen dollars for the privilege of carrying on business. Owners of horses were required to pay fifty cents per head, and each head of cattle was taxed ten cents. The legislature continued in session thirty-two days.

At this same election Shadrach Bond was selected as the first delegate to congress from the new territory of Illinois. This

was considered then, as now, a desirable position; but not on account of the salary attached—which was but eight dollars per day and mileage, the annual session averaging about 140 days—nor because Washington was within easy reach, or an attractive place of residence. The mode of travel was on horseback and by stage-coaches, and it required thirty-five days to make the trip from Kaskaskia to the capital. Washington then contained only a few houses, and these so far separated as to entitle the incipient city, to the sobriquet of "the city of magnificent distances," which it has maintained to this day.

The office seemed to be prized rather for the opportunity it afforded to secure what were then regarded as higher posts of honor, in other words as a stepping-stone to other positions of influence, emolument, and power. Gen. St. Clair and Capt. Wm. H. Harrison were transferred from congress to territorial governorships, and later, Jesse B. Thomas and Nathaniel Pope were made United-States circuit-judges; and Capt. Shadrach Bond and Benjamin Stephenson were nominated to receiverships in the land-office—all of them securing their new appointments before the expiration of their term of service in congress.

The relationship of the territories to the general government clothed the office with unusual importance at this time. Troops to aid in the defence of the settlements were to be raised, organized, equipped, and paid. Questions relating to land-titles were yet unadjusted, and required attention. In regard to all these matters, Capt. Bond rendered laborious and able service. Especially was he entitled to great credit for securing the passage of the first preëmption law of the Territory, which was a very popular measure, effecting most desirable results.

The second territorial general assembly convened at Kaskaskia, Nov. 14, 1814. The council having been elected for four years was unchanged. Of the lower house, however, but one member, Philip Trammel, was reëlected.*

The legal profession had its first representative in the legislative councils of Illinois this year in the person of Thos. C. Browne.

* Second territorial general assembly—Council the same. House of representatives: Risdon Moore, speaker, and James Lemen jr., St. Clair; Wm. Rabb, Madison; James Gilbreath, Randolph; Philip Trammel and Thomas C. Browne, Gallatin; Owen Evans, Johnson; Wm. Mears, clerk. Second session: Jervis Hazelton, vice Gilbreath, expelled; John G. Lofton, Madison; Daniel P. Cook, clerk.

Now that peace was once more assured, the people again turned their attention to politics, and found it a more pleasing, if less exciting and dangerous occupation than Indian warfare. One subject which early engaged their consideration was the organization of the courts. This was a never-failing source of agitation and dispute. To be sure, there was hardly anything for the courts to do; their sessions were generally merely nominal; and it would not have made the slightest difference, so far as the welfare of the people was concerned, which of the plans proposed should be adopted. Still the question provoked as much discussion as though their very safety and existence as a people depended upon the particular form of their judicial system. This legislature passed a law establishing what it called the supreme, in place of the general court, and required the judges to hold circuit-courts. The judges opposed the law. The governor favored it, and wrote a voluminous message in support of his view, which was spread upon the journals of both houses. The dispute was carried to congress, and that body finally disposed of the question by sustaining the legislature. This harmless but exciting controversy, which continued for years, afforded a convenient yet ever-present ground of political discussion, to the exclusion, sometimes, of more important issues.

The second general assembly had two sessions. Among its most important acts were those relating to the judiciary, and providing for the formation of the counties of Edwards, Jackson, and White.

The third general assembly, elected in 1816, met Dec. 2, and adjourned Jan. 14. A second session began Dec. 1, 1817, and ended Jan. 12, 1818.*

Among the laws passed, were those for the incorporation of the Bank of Illinois; dividing the Territory into judicial circuits; abolishing the office of county-treasurer; incorporating the City

* Members of the third general assembly Council—Pierre Menard, president, Randolph Co.; John G. Lofton, Madison; Abraham Amos, St. Clair; John Grammar, Johnson; Thomas C. Browne, Gallatin; Joseph Conway, secretary; and house of representatives—George Fisher, speaker, Randolph; Charles R. Matheny and Wm. H. Bradsby, St. Clair; Nathan Davis, Jackson; Joseph Palmer, Johnson; Seth Gard, Edwards; Samuel O'Melveny, Pope; R. K. McLaughlin, clerk. At the second session, Willis Hargrave succeeded Nathan Davis, and M. S. Davenport, Seth Gard. Daniel P. Cook, clerk.

and Bank of Cairo; establishing the counties of Franklin, Union, and Washington; and to incorporate medical societies—under the provisions of which no one was permitted to practise medicine or surgery without obtaining a license from the society.

The laws adopted in the Northwest Territory were generally continued in force in the territory of Indiana, and those of the latter in Illinois, as has been pointed out. Among these, it is of interest to mention the following as illustrating the changes in public sentiment which have since occurred—especially relative to punishments for crime:

Treason, murder, arson, and rape, were punishable by death. Burglary and robbery, by whipping, fine, and imprisonment not exceeding three years. Forgery, by fine in double the sum of which the party had been defrauded; the culprit being incapacitated from giving testimony, serving as juror, or holding office, and to be "set in the pillory not exceeding three hours." Bigamy, by whipping, fine, and imprisonment, and in 1803, the penalty was death. Perjury, by fine, and whipping, and standing in the pillory. Larceny, by fine, whipping, and being required to restore the stolen property. Sabbath-breaking, by a fine of from fifty cents to two dollars, for which distress might be levied. Profanity, that is, "swearing by the name of God, Christ Jesus, or the Holy Ghost," same penalty as sabbath-breaking. Disobedience of children or servants, by being sent to the house of correction; and for assaulting parent or master, whipping. Drunkenness, for the first offence, a fine of five dimes, and for each succeeding offence, one dollar; on a failure to pay the fine, the delinquent was to be placed in the stocks for one hour. Cock-fighting, gambling, or running horses in the public highway, by fine. Duelling, when death resulted, was made murder, and those who aided and abetted the principal were made equally guilty; the sending or accepting of a challenge incapacitated either party from holding office. Bribery, the procuring of votes by treating with meat or drink, by any candidate or other person for him, was punishable by rendering the offender ineligible to a seat in the general-assembly for two years. In case the defendant was unable to pay the fine imposed, the court might order him to be hired out or sold for a period not exceeding seven years, to any "suitable" person who would engage to pay the fine.

In the collection of debts, all the debtors' property whether personal or real, was liable to sale under execution, and if land failed to sell for want of bidders, the creditor had the privilege of taking it at its appraised value—if there was not sufficient property found to satisfy the execution, the body of the debtor might be taken and committed to the county-jail.

To defray the expenses of the territorial government, a tax was levied on land, which was divided into three classes, the first of which paid 37½ cents, the second, 75 cents, and the third, one dollar on each hundred acres.

County revenue was raised by taxing horses, cattle, slaves, town-lots, out-lots, houses in town, and "mansion houses in the country," valued at two hundred dollars and upward, and by licensing ferries, billiard-tables, and merchants.

By a law of 1809, commissioned officers, federal or territorial, except justices-of-the-peace and militia officers, were rendered ineligible to a seat in the general-assembly; but the law being very unpopular was repealed in 1814.

The feeling of the people toward the aborigines was displayed by an act passed in 1814, which offered a reward of fifty dollars for each Indian taken or killed in any white settlement, and of one hundred dollars for any "warrior, squaw, or child taken prisoner or killed in their own territory."

In 1816, the Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown, with branches at Edwardsville and Kaskaskia, were incorporated as banks of issue and deposit; and to sustain their circulation the people were required to receive their bills for all debts or submit to a postponement of their collection. The bank at Shawneetown was said to be well managed, and the people sustained no losses thereby; but the general government lost $54,000 by the bank at Edwardsville.

The supreme or general court held by the federal judges had concurrent, original jurisdiction in "all cases, matters, and things pertaining to property: real, personal, and mixed"; and exclusive original jurisdiction of the higher criminal offences, and in all cases in equity where the amount in controversy exceeded one hundred dollars. It possessed appellate jurisdiction in all causes from the inferior courts, and the power to examine, correct, and punish the contempts and omissions of

any justice-of-the-peace, sheriff, clerk, or other civil officer, within their respective counties.

By act of 1814, the general court was superseded by the establishment of the supreme court, composed of the same judges, who were also required to hold circuit-courts. At this same session the court of common pleas was abolished, and county-courts, with inferior jurisdiction, established in its place.

The federal judges first appointed continued in office until 1813, when Wm. Sprigg succeeded Obadiah Jones. In 1815, Thomas Towles was appointed in the place of Stanley Griswold, who had been transferred to Michigan Territory, and of whom Reynolds says: "Was a correct, honest man; a good lawyer; paid his debts; and sung David's psalms."

In 1818, territorial circuit-courts were established, upon which was conferred the same original jurisdiction as that which had been exercised by the supreme court, but no appellate. Under this act the following judges were appointed: Daniel P. Cook, John Warnock, John McLean, (declined), Elias Kent Kane, William Mears, and Jeptha Hardin.*

The attorneys, at one time, were required to take and subscribe the following oath, before they could be permitted to practise: "I swear that I will do no falsehood, nor consent to the doing of any, in the courts of justice; and if I know of any intention

* The Territorial officers were: Governor—Ninian Edwards, April 24, 1809 to Dec. 6, 1818; Secretaries—Nathaniel Pope, March 7, 1809 to Dec. 17, 1816; Joseph Phillips, Dec. 17, 1816 to Oct. 8, 1818. Auditors of public accounts—H. H. Maxwell, 1812 to 1816; Daniel P. Cook, Jan. 13, 1816 to April 1817; Robert Blackwell, April 5, 1817 to Aug. 1817; Elijah C. Berry, Aug. 28, 1817 to Oct. 9, 1818. Attorneys General—Benj. H. Doyle, July 24, 1809 to Dec. 1809; Thomas T. Crittenden, April, 1810 to Oct. 1810; Benj. M. Piatt, Oct. 29, 1810 to June, 1813; Wm. Mears, June 23, 1813 to Feb. 17, 1818. Treasurer—John Thomas, 1812 to 1818. Delegates to congress—Shadrach Bond, Dec. 12, 1812 to 1814, resigned; Benj. Stephenson, Sept. 29, 1814 to 1817; Nathaniel Pope, 1817 to 1818. Adjutants General—Elias Rector, May 9, 1809 to July 18, 1809; Robert Morrison, July 18, to May 28, 1810; Elias Rector, May 28, 1810 to Oct. 25, 1813; Benj. Stephenson, Dec. 13, 1813 to Oct. 27, 1814; Wm. Alexander, Oct. 27, 1814 to Dec. 1818. Territorial Judges—Obadiah Jones, March 7, 1809 to 1815; Alexander Stuart, March 7, 1809, resigned; Jesse B. Thomas, March 7, 1809 to 1818; Stanley Griswold, March 16, 1809 to 1816; William Sprigg, July 29, 1813, to 1818; Thomas Towles, Jan. 16, 1816 to 1818. Circuit judges—all in 1818, Daniel P. Cook, John Warnock, John McLean, (declined), Elias Kent Kane, Wm. Mears, Jeptha Hardin.

The salary of the governor was $2000; secretary $1000; territorial judges, appointed by the president, $1200 each.

to commit any, I will give knowledge thereof to the justices of the said courts, or some of them, that it may be prevented. I will nor willingly or wittingly promote or use any false, groundless, or unlawful suit, nor give aid or counsel to the same; and I will conduct myself in the office of an attorney within the said courts, according to the best of my knowledge and discretion, and with all good fidelity, as well to the courts as my clients, so help me God.'*

Among other duties devolving upon the governor was that of superintending United-States salines. The salt-works of the government in Gallatin County were extensive and profitable. By the terms of the leases not less than 120,000 bushels were to be made annually, and the price fixed at from seventy cents to one dollar per bushel; the rent to be paid was at the rate of 36,000 bushels for every 120,000 bushels manufactured. It was the duty of the superintendent to make all contracts for leasing the works, collect the rent, and provide for shipping the proceeds. The greater portion of the labor at these works was performed by slaves, mostly brought from Kentucky and Tennessee. All the salt required by the people of the Territory and surrounding country was supplied from these works. By the act enabling the people to form a constitution and state government all the salt-springs within the State, and the land reserved for their use were granted to the State for its use on such terms, conditions, and regulations, as the legislature might prescribe. The salt-springs in Vermilion County, included in this grant, in 1824 from eighty kettles produced sixty to eighty bushels of salt per week. The leasing and disposition of the salt-works was a never-failing subject of legislation for thirty years. The receipts from rents were not large nor satisfactory. In 1827, provision was made for the sale of thirty thousand acres of these lands, one-half the proceeds arising therefrom in Gallatin County being appropriated to the erection of the first penitentiary in the State, and the balance to the improvement of Saline Creek, of the road across Maple Swamp, the building of a bridge across Eagle Creek, and to improve the navigation of the Little-Wabash River. The proceeds arising from the Vermilion-County sales were appropriated to improve the Great-Wabash River.

* Dillon's "Historical Notes," 324.

In 1829, the legislature provided for the sale of the entire reservation in Vermilion County, the proceeds of which were appropriated to the improvement of various streams, and roads, and the building of bridges. In 1833, provision was made for the disposition of the saline-lands in Bond County. Further provision was made for the sale of the salines in Gallatin County in 1836, and $12.000 of the proceeds appropriated for the erection of a bridge across Saline Creek, and the balance for other bridges and roads. In 1847, an act was passed authorizing the sale of the salt-wells and coal-lands in Gallatin County not already disposed of. No report of the quantity sold, or the amount received from any of these sales, appears among the published reports made to, or proceedings of the legislature.

The receipts and expenditures, in gross, of the territorial government, were, as nearly as can be ascertained, as follows:

Total amount of revenue from Nov. 1, 1812, to Nov. 1, 1814	$4875
Total amount collected	2516
Amount uncollected in hands of sheriffs	$2359
(No returns published for 1815, and 1816).	
Received by treasurer in 1817	1508
Received by treasurer in 1818	2471
	$3979
Amount paid out	4039
Deficit	$60

Authorities: "Laws of Congress;" Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois;" Edwards' "History of Illinois;" Laws and Reports of Illinois.

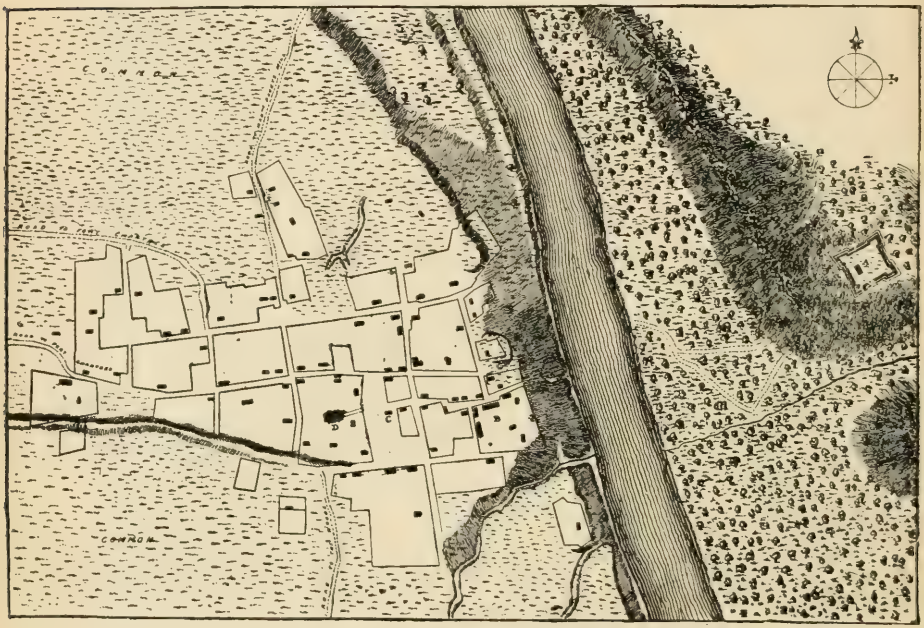
CHAPTER XVIII.

Early Territorial Towns—Growth, Population—Politics.

THE oldest town in Illinois is Cahokia, on whose site, near the villages occupied by the Tamaroa and Cahokia Indians, Father Pinet established a mission in 1699, where many French were found settled the following year,* as heretofore stated. It is situated on the eastern bank of the creek of that name, three-fourths of a mile east of the Mississippi, and four miles from St. Louis. There is no evidence to support the statement that some of LaSalle's followers, or Tonty, made a settlement at this place or at Kaskaskia prior to this time; but a continuous occupancy by the priests, traders, and *voyageurs* can be traced from 1699. A house of worship and other buildings were erected, and to each new-comer was given a lot three hundred feet square, which continues to be the size of the town-lots to this day. Owing to the natural disadvantages of location it remained a mere trading-post and mission-station with but little growth for many years. In 1722, this village was granted two tracts of land, one for the use of the inhabitants as "common fields" and one for "commons," the latter four leagues square; which was subsequently confirmed by congress. In 1766, it contained, according to Capt. Pittman, forty-five houses. After the Revolution its growth was more marked, and in 1795, it was designated as the county-seat of the county of St. Clair, which it remained until 1814. In 1800, its population was about 400, which in 1818 with 100 houses had increased to 500. During this latter decade, the place was really prosperous and a large amount of business was transacted. It was greatly damaged by the flood of 1844, and thereafter gradually fell into decay, its trade and some of its best citizens having been attracted to St. Louis, and later to East St. Louis, so that at this time it is a mere hamlet, rejoicing, however, in the recent restoration of its post-office, of which it was deprived some years ago.

* *Vide* Chapter IV, page 85.

Kaskaskia, the largest of these first villages, was situated on the right bank of the Kaskaskia River, six miles north of its junction with the Mississippi and four miles east of that river. It is at the southern extremity of the American Bottom, the bluff upon which Fort Gage was erected overlooking it from the east.



A Plat of Kaskaskia, 1765.*

It was known as a thriving and populous village long before the founding of New Orleans, Pittsburg, or St. Louis. It is half a century older than Cincinnati, and had passed the meridian of its fame, and into the sere and yellow leaf of decadence before Chicago was even dreamed of. Old as the town really is, it must be admitted, however, that it is neither so old nor was it ever so large as some authorities have claimed. The evidence is conclusive that there was no village known by that name in that locality prior to A.D. 1700.

The journals of Fathers St. Cosme and Gravier, and the nar-

* Reduced from a plate in Philip Pittman's "Present State of European Settlements on the Mississippi" (London, 1770). Key: A, the fort; B, the Jesuits' residence; C, formerly commanding-officer's house; D, the church. Used by permission from Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History" (W. F. Poole's chapter on the West, Vol. VII).

rative of Pierre LeSueur, of expeditions down and up the Mississippi about this time, conclusively establish this fact.*

According to the traditions of the inhabitants, the village of Kaskaskia was founded in 1707, it being conceded that the settlement of Cahokia was some years earlier.† In 1710, M. Penicaut informs us that near the village of the Illinois (Kaskaskias) Indians there were three mills for grinding corn; "one wind-mill owned by the Jesuits, and two horse-mills belonging to the Illinois;" and that they had a very large church in their village, which was well arranged in the interior; besides the baptismal fonts, there were "three chapels, ornamented with a bell and belfry,"‡ which statement was confirmed by Father Marest in 1711, who stated further "that many French had arrived there and established themselves." It is said to have become an incorporated town in 1725;§ and in 1743, a grant of land for a commons, previously made by Boisbriant in 1722, was confirmed to it by Gov. Vaudreuil. The decade from 1740 to 1750 constituted the halcyon period of its existence, when the villagers enjoyed all the blessings of peace and contentment and a prosperous trade; and the village had a steady growth. In 1765, according to Capt. Pittman, it contained sixty-five families of whites, "besides merchants and casual people." In 1771, as stated by Thomas Hutchins—afterward the government geographer, it contained eighty houses, "many of them well built, several of stone, with gardens and large lots adjoining," and a population of 500 whites and 500 negroes.‖

Although the largest village therein, Kaskaskia did not become the capital of the Illinois country until 1772, after the abandonment of Fort Chartres by the British, as before related. Before this time, however, it is supposed that one-third of the

* "Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi." "Magazine of American History," Vol. VI, 161, article by E. G. Mason.

† Historical Sketch, page 7, by William H. Brown, who formerly resided at Kaskaskia. Also confirmed by Pittman, p. 83.

‡ French's "History of Louisiana," VI, 108.

§ "History of Randolph County," p. 304.

‖ The statement of Maj. Bowman, with Col. Clark, that Kaskaskia contained 250 houses at the time it was captured, in 1778, was undoubtedly erroneous, probably a typographical error, as was that placing the number of inhabitants at 8000 at one time, an extra cipher making all the difference.

French inhabitants had removed to Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis rather than become subjects of British rule. After its capture by Col. Clark, the town still further declined in population, as well as in wealth, until the American immigration began after the Revolution. From this time its growth steadily increased, receiving a new impetus from the arrival of the territorial officers in 1809. In 1816, the number of houses had increased to 160.* Judge Breese, who became a resident of the place in 1818, and continued to live there for several years, says, that the population did not exceed 800 whites "in its palmiest days."

With the removal of the State capital in 1821, the fame of Kaskaskia began to wane. It still continued to be the county-seat of Randolph County, however, until 1847. The loss of this prestige, following the great overflow of 1844, was the finishing-stroke to its greatness. The first brick-house built west of Pittsburg, in 1792, still stands, and the dwelling occupied by Gov. Coles; but the old academy, or convent as it was sometimes called, which cost $30,000, and the mansions of Edgar and Morrison have long since gone to decay. It is now a still-declining and out-of-the-way village, whose final destruction the mighty Mississippi, which has already made an island of its site by cutting its way through to the Okaw, threatens soon to accomplish.

For over half a century, however, it was the metropolis of the Upper-Mississippi Valley, and during this period it was the Mecca of all explorers, and the focus of commerce in the Northwest Territory. The most interesting associations cluster around its historic name.

Here resided John Edgar, Wm. and Robert Morrison, Pierre Menard, Ninian Edwards, Shadrach Bond, Edward Coles, Dan'l P. Cook, Nathaniel Pope, E. K. Kane, Jesse B. Thomas, Benj. Stephenson, Thomas Mather, Sidney Breese, David J. Baker, Richard M. Young, Philip Fouke, William H. Brown, James Shields, and Thomas Reynolds, all of whom have borne a distinguished part in the formative political movements of the State. Some of them were married there, and the remains of others are there buried. The old-church bell, memento of a dim past, cast expressly for the Church of the Illinois, and which

* Brown's "Gazetteer," p. 27.

first pealed forth its glad or solemn sounds a hundred and fifty years ago, still swings in the belfry, calling to matins or vespers as of yore; but all those who walked the streets of the old town, and carved high their names upon the roll of fame, are now in their silent graves, and today the old bell seems only to chant the solemn requiem of the past.*

Prairie du Rocher, another of the ancient French villages, having a church and a store at this early period, being more isolated than Cahokia and Kaskaskia, did not experience the adverse fortunes of those towns, but pursued the even tenor of its way, and at this time contains a population of over 300.

Peoria, an ancient French and Indian village of this name, was situated on the west bank of Peoria Lake, at a very early day; it was called by the French Opa, and was first occupied by them it is said, in 1711. This village was abandoned by the French about 1775, for a healthier and more convenient location, near the outlet of the lake, the site of the present city. From 1778, when the first house was built, this village was continuously occupied until 1812, when the place was taken by Capt. Craig, the inhabitants to the number of seventy-five forcibly removed therefrom, and the village destroyed. At this time it contained a population of about two hundred.† No attempt was made to re-occupy the town from that time until 1819 when a colony, consisting of Abner Eads, J. Henry, Seth Fulton, Josiah Fulton, S. Dougherty, J. Davis, and T. Russell immigrated to the place, then called Fort Clark, from Shoal Creek in Clinton County.‡ From the rude log-cabins of these hardy pioneers has arisen the present beautiful and growing city of this name.

Shawneetown, which was laid out in 1808, had by 1818, grown to be one of the largest towns in the Territory. Then as now, it was the county-seat of Gallatin County, and was for years the

* This old bell, the first of any size in the Upper-Mississippi Valley, weighs about six hundred and fifty pounds—height about twenty-eight inches—ornamented on one side with three groups of *fleur-de-lis* in relief; on the other by a cross and pedestal, the top and arms of cross terminating in grouped *fleur-de-lis*. The following inscription is cast in the bell: "Pour l'eglise des Illinois. Par les Soins du Sr. Dutreleau, L.B.M., Normand, a la Rochele, 1741." O. W. COLLET.

† Gov. Coles, in Edwards' "Illinois," 66.

‡ Ballance's "History of Peoria," 45.

first stopping place for immigrants to Illinois. It boasted of a bank, a printing-office, a land-office, 100 dwelling-houses, and a population of 500. It was in some respects a rival town to Kaskaskia. Here resided, John McLean, Thomas C. Browne, Joseph M. Street, Michael Jones after 1814, Wm. J. Gatewood, and Adolphus Frederick Hubbard.

Upper Alton was founded in 1816, and two years later contained nearly one hundred houses. The inhabitants were chiefly enterprising immigrants from the Eastern States.

Alton was laid out in 1818, and grew rapidly. It very soon assumed a leading place among the growing towns of the State. Having a fine steamboat-landing, and inexhaustible beds of coal and limestone of superior quality in its immediate vicinity, large amounts of capital were attracted to the place, and business of a considerable volume transacted.

Belleville was situated in the flourishing settlement called Turkey Hill. It was selected as the site of the county-seat of St. Clair in 1814, and by 1818, contained a population of 500, priding itself on the possession of a court-house, jail, an academy, and a public library. At different periods in its history it has been the home of three of the State's executives—Edwards, Reynolds, and Bissell.

Edwardsville was founded in 1815, and three years thereafter, it contained seventy dwellings, besides a number of public buildings, among them a land-office, court-house, jail, and a brick market-house. Gov. Edwards, in whose honor the town was named, resided here at one time, as did also Gov. Coles.

The towns of Carmi, Fairfield, Waterloo, Golconda, Lawrenceville, Mt. Carmel, Harrisonville, and Vienna, had just sprung into existence. Neither Springfield, Jacksonville, Carrollton, or Quincy, had as yet been thought of, and Chicago was mentioned in "Beck's Gazetteer" as "a village in Pike County."

With the close of the war in 1815, the inhabitants of Illinois Territory entered upon a new era of peace and prosperity. During that dark period many settlers, discouraged in their efforts to protect themselves from the attacks of the Indians, and finding only a precarious security for their possessions, had packed up their "plunder" and turned back whence they came. These, with large additions, now returned to the "beautiful

country of the Illinois." No more glowing accounts of its attractive features could have been given than those of the soldiers who had lately traversed its prairies and groves in battle array. Their praise of its rich soil, its forest-fringed streams, and agreeable climate, was carried back not only to their own neighborhoods, but to other states, and as a result old settlements were henceforth continually enlarged and new ones formed.

The passage of the preëmption law in 1813, by which the settler was given an opportunity to secure a title to his home, the tenure to which had been before uncertain, disposed of one of the gravest objections to removing to the Territory. When immigrants realized that they might acquire a title in fee to the soil whereon they lived, and provide permanent homes for their families, both old and new settlers conceived a stronger attachment as citizens to the country of their choice.

During the four years of unprecedented territorial growth which followed the close of the war, to the counties of St. Clair, Randolph, Madison, Johnson, and Gallatin, which had been organized prior to 1814, there were added the following: Edwards and White, taken from Gallatin; Jackson, from Randolph and Johnson; Monroe, from Randolph and St. Clair; Pope, from Gallatin and Johnson; Crawford, from Gallatin; Bond, from Madison; Franklin, from Gallatin, White and Jackson; Union from Johnson; and Washington from St. Clair; making in all at the close of the territorial period, fifteen counties, covering the southern one-fourth of the State, and in each of which were sparse, but rapidly-increasing settlements and communities.

The old familiar French names in the counties of St. Clair, Randolph, and Monroe, gradually disappeared from the lists of officers and juries. American ideas, with the introduction of American laws and customs, began to predominate. Yet the two classes were not antagonistic, but rather mingled harmoniously, and formed a society, at once agreeable and lively, and conducive to the growth and importance of the towns formerly nearly all French.

Although parties were not then organized as they came to be after 1832, they existed nevertheless in all their fulness and strength. The cry of "Measures not men" had not yet been

evoked from political chaos, but on the contrary, party-lines and divisions were formed altogether upon personal predilections for public men. It thus frequently happened that a candidate's warmest supporter was a friend with whom on public questions he was as likely to differ as to agree. Or while there might be some point of agreement on a particular question upon which there had been a union of interest, upon all others their views would be widely separated.

Inconsistent as was this division of voters, it was not without its advantages to the people. A public man was required to possess certain qualifications, without which no road to success was ever opened to him. One of these was a prepossessing personal appearance; another was the ability to make a speech. He must also be good natured, generous, witty, and brave. He was the focus of all eyes, and the constant object of the critical watchfulness of his opponents. Woe be to the candidate for official preferment, who was known or even suspected of doing a mean or cowardly act; for this the judgment was sudden and severe, and there was no forgiveness. Mistakes, unless committed by a sufficient number to form a party, met with as swift, and unrelenting condemnation, as crimes. A man might be known to be fond of cards or the turf, or to indulge too freely in his cups, without detriment, but to support and vote for an unpopular measure was an offence not to be overlooked or forgotten—it was ever after "thrown up to him."

During the territorial period of Illinois, and for some ten years thereafter, parties thus constituted were divided as follows: on the one side were arrayed Gov. Edwards, Judge Pope, D. P. Cook, Judge Browne, George Forquer, and others of less note; on the other Gov. Bond, Judge Thomas, Michael Jones, John McLean, E. K. Kane, and Wm. Kinney. John Reynolds so managed as to be friendly with and receive support from both sides, but was generally found with the Edwards party.

The people were no mean politicians, and were not uninformed in regard to all public questions. Although they possessed but few books, and the one or two newspapers of but four pages in the Territory contained only advertisements and official publications; with the mails only bringing them a few documents now and then, and the most of the voters being

barely able to read "coarse print," and sign their names, they had a thorough comprehension of the status of parties, a keen appreciation of the arguments by which their measures were sustained, and a clear insight into the lives and characters of all public functionaries. Having no occupations demanding much time or attention, they devoted the largest portion of both to the gaining of information through oral discussions at their firesides, and all public gatherings.

The contests at elections with parties thus constituted, during these many years, as may well be imagined, were full of interest and attended by great excitement. The success of a personal friend, or of an admired public man was at stake; and every effort was put forth to secure him votes at the polls.

Period V.—Under the First Constitution, 1818–1848.

CHAPTER XIX.

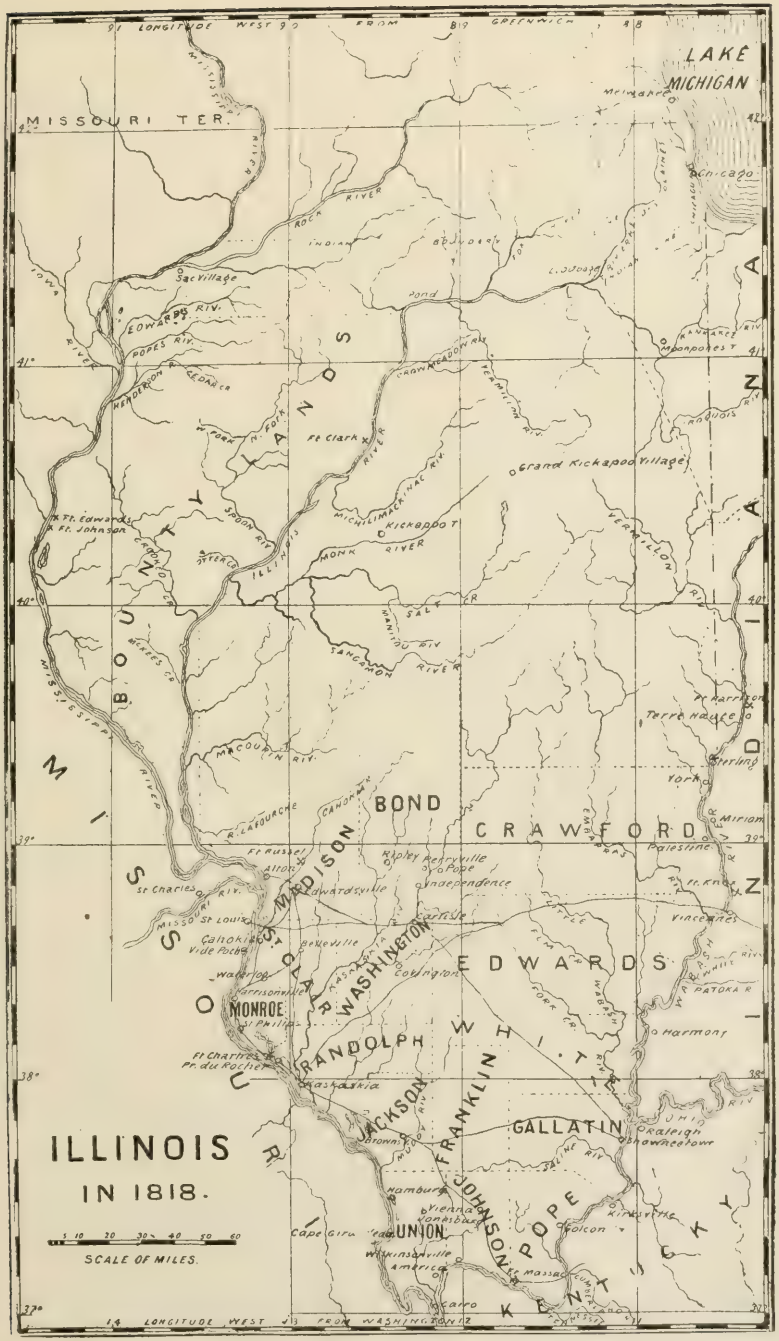
Admission as a State—The Enabling Act—Constitutional Convention—First Constitution—Action of Congress.

NEITHER the Ordinance of 1787 nor the constitution prescribes any form of procedure for the organization and admission of new states. Each application has been considered solely upon the merits of the particular case inviting congressional action, according to the facts. Nor have the enabling acts of congress shown any uniformity in either the rules laid down, or the limitations and restrictions imposed; and indeed the following-named states: Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maine, Michigan, Arkansas, Florida, Iowa, California, and Oregon, were admitted into the Union without the preliminary passage by congress of any enabling act whatever.

At the January session, 1818, of the Illinois territorial legislature, so greatly had the population increased, that a resolution was adopted directing Congressional-delegate Nathaniel Pope, who had been elected in 1817 to succeed Benjamin Stephenson to present a petition to congress requesting the enactment of a law to enable the people to form a state government; and a bill for that purpose was introduced, April 7, 1818.

The Ordinance of 1787, in fixing the limits of the three states to be formed out of the Northwest Territory, provided that congress should have authority to form one or more states out of so much of that portion of the territory set apart for the western state therein "which lies north of an east-and-west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan."

With this provision in view, in the bill as reported by the committee, the northern boundary of the proposed new state was fixed on the north parallel of 41° 39′. The house having resolved itself into a committee of the whole to con-


LAKE MICHIGAN
MISSOURI TER.
INDIANA
ILLINOIS
KENTUCKY
BOUNTY LANDS
Chicago
Sac Village
Grand Kickapoo Village
Ft. Edwards
Ft. Johnson
Terre Haute
Vincennes
Kaskaskia
Cahokia
Vide Poche
Ft. Chartres
Ft. du Rocher
Cape Girardeau
Shawneetown
Harmony
Palestine
Hamburg
Vienna
Golconda
Falcon
Wilkinsville
America
Cairo
Massac
Mt. Carmel
Harrisonville
Waterloo
Belleville
Edwardsville
Kaskaskia
Carlisle
Hicks Ville
Hopley
Pope
Independence
Coffington
Brownsville
Raleigh
Yorkville
Sterling
Miriam
MONROE
RANDOLPH
WASHINGTON
MADISON
BOND
CRAWFORD
EDWARDS
WHITE
GALLATIN
JACKSON
FRANKLIN
JOHNSON
POPE
UNION
ILLINOIS
IN 1818.
SCALE OF MILES.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
91 LONGITUDE WEST 90 FROM GREENWICH 89
88
87
42°
41°
40°
39°
38°
37°
14 LONGITUDE WEST 13 FROM WASHINGTON

sider the same, Mr. Pope moved to amend by striking out the lines defining the boundary of the new state and inserting the following: "Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash River, hence up the same, and with the line of Indiana to the northwest corner of said State, thence east with the line of the same State to the middle of Lake Michigan, thence north along the middle of said lake to north latitude 42° 30′, thence west to the middle of the Mississippi River, and thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio River, and thence up the latter river along its northwest shore to the beginning."

Mr. Pope explained the object of his amendment, and urged its adoption for the following reasons: that the proposed new state by reason of her geographical position even more than on account of the fertility of her soil, was destined to become populous and influential; that if her northern boundary was fixed by a line arbitrarily established rather than naturally determined, and her commerce was to be confined to that great artery of communication, the Mississippi, which washed her entire western border, and to its chief tributary on the south, the Ohio, there was a possibility that her commercial relations with the south might become so closely connected that in the event of an attempted dismemberment of the Union, Illinois would cast her lot with the Southern States. On the other hand to fix the northern boundary of Illinois upon such a parallel of latitude as would give to the state territorial jurisdiction over the southwestern shores of Lake Michigan, would be to unite the incipient commonwealth to the states of Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York in a bond of common interest well-nigh indissoluble. By the adoption of such a line, Illinois might become at some future time the keystone to the perpetuity of the Union.

The feasibility of opening a canal between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River, was admitted by every one who had inspected the location, and given the subject consideration. If the port of Chicago were included within the boundaries of the proposed state, the attention of the inhabitants of the latter would naturally be directed to the opening up of a water-way, between the river named and the great fresh-water sea, and the

early improvement of the entire region. The successful prosecution of such an enterprise, would not only open up new channels of trade, but would tend to bind together the East and West by a chain whose links would be welded together not only by friendship but by a community of interest. And thus with common ties, and interests reaching out to the East as well as the South, an equilibrium of sentiment would be established, which would forever oppose the formation of separate and independent confederacies on the north, south, east, or west.

The arguments adduced by Mr. Pope were deemed conclusive, and his amendment was adopted without a division. By this well-timed action, thus wisely forecasting future events, and indeed anticipating a contingency which actually occurred less than fifty years thereafter, there was secured to Illinois an additional strip of territory, fifty-one miles in width, extending from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River, out of which afterward were formed fourteen populous and wealthy counties.

Had the line originally proposed by the committee been adopted, Chicago would not have grown into the imperial city she now is, because the building of the Illinois-and-Michigan Canal, and the Illinois-Central Railroad, which have contributed so largely to her progress and prosperity, and which were wholly the offspring of Illinois enterprise and statesmanship, would never have become accomplished facts.

Mr. Pope "builded even better than he knew." But for the vote of these counties since 1854, Illinois would have been as thoroughly a democratic state as Missouri; the legislature elected that year would have sustained Stephen A. Douglas in his Kansas-Nebraska bill, and Lyman Trumbull would not have been elected to the U.-S. senate. It was the vote of these counties that elected the republican state-ticket in 1856, which secured the State to that party, and rendered possible the candidacy of Abraham Lincoln for the presidency in 1860. And the whole train of momentous events wrought out by his election, would never have occurred but for the fact that these fourteen northern counties were included within the limits of Illinois, rather than those of Wisconsin.

While Mr. Pope was aware of the fact that the place of indefinite locality called Chicago, including the country around

the southwestern shores of Lake Michigan, had always been considered as a part of the legitimate territory of Illinois, and that the project of the canal referred to by him was purely an Illinois measure, yet the securing of the adoption of the above important amendment, fraught with such material results was of his own motion, and on his own responsibility, without the instruction or advice of his constituents.

Subsequent attempts were frequently made to restore the northern boundary-line as originally reported, and as late as 1842 an effort was put forth in that direction by Gov. Jas. Duane Doty of Wisconsin Territory, who addressed a communication to the residents within the district in Illinois covered by the terms of Pope's amendment urging them to avail themselves of their supposed right to form an independent government. And strange as it may now appear many of the inhabitants in the middle and western portions of the disputed territory were strenuously in favor of being set off to Wisconsin. Meetings were held, resolutions condemning the change of line as a violation of the Ordinance of 1787, and in favor of the proposed action were adopted, and a committee appointed to secure the coöperation of the Wisconsin authorities. Chicago, however, had a clearer conception of her interests, and although she was offered a United-States senatorship in exchange for her support of the Wisconsin project, her citizens gave it no countenance.*

The legislative council of Wisconsin in February, 1842, reported a bill referring the question of forming a state government to the people at the next election, and invited the inhabitants of the disputed territory to hold an election at the same time on the question of uniting with the people of Wisconsin in forming such state government. D. A. J. Upham, a member, insisted upon this action, and in a speech stated that "with legal and immutable justice on our side, the moral and physical force of Illinois, of the whole Union, can not make us retrace our steps." But the house did not sympathize with this belligerent spirit, and refused to adopt the proposed measure. Gov. Doty, however, in the following June, officially notified Gov. Carlin that the fourteen northern counties of the State of Illinois were not within the constitutional boundaries of

* Hon. John Wentworth's MS.

that State; and that its exercise of judisdiction therein was "accidental and temporary." To this communication no reply was made. In the following August, Gov. Doty issued a proclamation, on his own responsibility, calling on all the people within the "ancient limits of Wisconsin" to vote on a day named, on the question of forming a state government; to which but little attention was paid. This he repeated the following year with a like result—the general assembly having refused to make such a call.

The legislature of 1843–4 adopted an elaborate address to congress on the subject, which that body failed or refused to act upon, and the controversy thereupon ended, until the admission of the state, in 1848, when the line of 42° 30″ was confirmed—not however without an unsuccessful effort to revive the question of its validity in the constitutional convention.*

Whether the action of congress in establishing the northern boundary-line of Illinois was an infraction of the Ordinance of 1787, was a question to which Pope had undoubtedly given very careful consideration before he ventured on proposing it. He was an able lawyer himself, and there were many other members of congress familiar with the subject, who would not have consented to the proposition if there had been any doubt in regard to its constitutionality.

The proviso of the ordinance in question (Art. 5) has already been given. The legal question involved, and the argument to sustain the constitutionality of the action of congress, have been by no one more clearly stated than by Gov. Ford, who was one of the ablest of Illinois' early judges, and whose attention was directed to it in consequence of his official relations to the controversy, as the executive of Illinois. "There is nothing," says the governor, "in the ordinance requiring such additional state (or states) to be formed *of* the territory north of that line; another state might be formed *in* that district of country, but not *of* it; it need not necessarily include the whole. By extending the limits of Illinois north of the disputed line, congress still had the power to make a new state *in* that district north of it, not including the portion given to Illinois."† As

* "Wisconsin Historical Collections," XI, 498–500.

† Ford's "History of Illinois," 21.

notwithstanding all the efforts of those who advocated the other view, congress refused to disturb its former action, it is fair to conclude that the opinion thus expressed was considered sound; and indeed it has never since been seriously questioned by any competent authority.

The bill as originally presented provided that the State's proportion of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands should be appropriated to the construction of roads and canals. Mr. Pope offered the following amendment: "that two-fifths of said proceeds be disbursed under the direction of congress in making roads leading to the State; the residue to be appropriated by the legislature of the State for the encouragement of learning, of which one-sixth part shall be exclusively bestowed on a college or university."

In support of this amendment he remarked: that the application of this fund to the construction of roads, in other states, had not been productive of the good results anticipated, but that the importance of education in a republic was universally acknowledged. He pointed out the fact that the want of roads in new communities, being immediate and local, might safely be left to the inhabitants to provide for as their existing interests might require; but that education being a more remote benefit might be neglected. This important amendment was also adopted without objection. It brought to the permanent school fund of the State a sum which now amounts to $156,613.

Another vital point calling for consideration in the enabling act, was the question of population. The Ordinance of 1787 provided that "whenever any of said states shall have 60,000 free inhabitants therein such state shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the congress of the United States, * * and so far as it can be, consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the state than 60,000." Mr. Pope well knew that the Territory did not contain the required 60,000, and he succeeded in fixing in the act the number of 40,000 as being sufficient.*

The bill as thus variously amended became a law, April 18, 1818. No man ever rendered the State a more important ser-

* "Abridgment of the Debates of Congress," VI, 173.

vice in congress than did Nathaniel Pope, to whom the people of Illinois are indebted for securing the passage of this enabling law, upon which he succeeded in ingrafting the important provisions above set forth. And if political rewards were meted out in proportion to the merits of the service rendered, the people's representatives would with one accord have selected him as their senator in congress, at one time when he had signified his willingness to accept that position; bright and steady as was his fame as a jurist, it would have paled before the brilliant lustre of his career as a statesman.

The taking of the census of 1818 was certainly liable to objection as to the exceedingly doubtful methods adopted to swell the figures. The admission as a state that year depended upon the fact that the population numbered 40,000; and when it began to appear that it might fall short, the marshal stationed his deputies on the large thoroughfares, and instructed them to count everybody that passed, explorers as well as movers; nor were any inquiries to be made of immigrants as to their ultimate destination. Thus entire families were sometimes counted not only when they entered the Territory, but repeatedly after as they passed through on their way to their journey's end.* In this way the returns were made to foot up the requisite 40,000, but as corrected and subsequently ascertained, the population really amounted to but 34,620.† Illinois was therefore admitted into the Union with the smallest population of any of the thirty-eight states of which it is now composed—that of Ohio was 45,365, Indiana, 63,897, Arkansas, 52,240, Nevada, 40,000, and all the others still larger.

The way being now made clear by the completion of the census, an election was held, as provided for in the enabling act, on the first Monday in July (6), 1818, and the two following days, for the selection of delegates to a convention to frame a constitution.

The delegates thus elected assembled at Kaskaskia, on the first Monday in August (3), and the body organized by the election of Jesse B. Thomas as president, and Wm. C. Greenup, secretary. There is no official record of its proceedings, among

* William H. Brown, in "Fergus' Historical Series," No. 14.

† Senate doc. 49. Congressional Report 15.

the State archives. If any was made or published, neither the original nor any copy has been preserved. It was composed of thirty-three members, chiefly farmers of limited education, but many of whom were not without fine natural abilities, sound judgment, and experience in public affairs. The bar was slimly represented, having only five members, Messrs. Thomas, Hubbard, Hall, Kitchell, and Kane. The latter it is generally admitted was its leading spirit, and to him must be awarded the credit of the arrangement, as well as of the composition, wherever original matter was introduced into the instrument adopted. The article relating to slavery was the subject of warm debate, and furnished the only exciting topic of discussion during the session.* The convention concluded its labors August 26, and a copy of the constitution was immediately transmitted to congress for approval.†

When John McLean, who had been elected to congress, presented himself in the house with the instrument, and asked leave to take his seat as a representative from Illinois, objection was made on the ground that congress had not concluded the act of admission. Gen. Harrison, then a member from Ohio, insisted that according to precedent, the house had taken it for granted that the requirements of the enabling act had been complied with, and that the member elect should be admitted without question. But the request was denied by a decisive majority, and the constitution at the same time was referred to a select committee composed of Richard C. Anderson, jr., of Kentucky, George Poindexter, and William Hendricks. On November 20, the committee reported a resolution in favor of the admission of the State on an equal footing with the original thirteen; which was read twice and ordered to a third reading. On November 23, it was read a third time, and on the question of its passage, James Tallmadge, jr., of New York, opposed its adoption on the following grounds: first, there was not sufficient evidence before congress that the Territory contained the requisite population; and secondly, and chiefly because the principle of slavery, if not positively sanctioned, by the constitution, was

* William H. Brown, "Fergus' Historical Series," No. 14.

† The pay of the members was $4 per day, and the entire amount expended for stationery was $74.55.

not sufficiently prohibited. During the discussion he read the provision relating to this subject and called particular attention to the clause reading that slavery "shall not *hereafter* be introduced into the State." He urged his objections at some length.

Mr. Poindexter of Mississippi, in reply, stated that while he agreed with what had been said as to the evils of slavery, and that it would be a blessing if some wise plan could be devised to get rid of it, and that he hoped that neither Ohio, Indiana, nor Illinois would ever permit its introduction within their limits, yet he could see no reason to find fault with the provisions of this constitution on that subject.

Mr. Anderson also spoke in favor of the resolution, taking the ground that the people of the State, after it was admitted, had the right to change its constitution and permit slavery without the interference of congress.

Gen. Harrison also favored the adoption of the resolution, and remarked that as one of those who was opposed to the further extension of slavery, he thought the restriction was satisfactory. Tallmadge replied, and others participated in the debate, the question of the binding force of the Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery, entering largely into the discussion.*

The vote upon the passage of the resolution when finally reached showed a favorable majority of 117 yeas to 34 nays.

The first constitution of Illinois was, in its principal provisions, a copy of the then existing constitutions of Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. The bill of rights is almost identically the same in each, with the exception of the clauses relating to slavery. Many of the articles are exact copies in wording although differently arranged and numbered. As will be seen by reference to the instrument, provision was made for the election by the people of the following officers only: governor, lieut.-governor, sheriff, coroner, and county commissioners. In Ohio and Indiana, the office of justice-of-the-peace was also elective. The secretary of state, treasurer, auditor of public accounts, public printer, and supreme and circuit-court judges were to be appointed by the governor, or general assembly.

It was not yet deemed advisable to place too much power in the hands of the people—they were not even permitted to have

* "Abridgment of the Debates of Congress," VI, 205.

a voice in the adoption of their fundamental law, no provision being made for the submission of the constitution to popular ratification or rejection. Neither were the constitutions of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, or Tennessee, nor indeed, subsequently those of any slave-state submitted to the people. The first constitution thus ratified was that of Maine in 1820, and the precedent thus established was followed by Michigan in 1837, Iowa in 1845, Wisconsin in 1847, and indeed by all the free-states admitted since that time.

Instead of vesting the executive with the veto power as in Kentucky and Indiana, the governor, and the judges of the supreme court were constituted what was termed a Council of Revision, with authority to pass upon the validity of the laws as they were enacted. The return of an act with their objections rendered necessary its reconsideration, when a majority of all the members elected was required again to pass or approve it.

The section relating to imprisonment for debt, providing that when there was not strong presumption of fraud, the person of a debtor should not be detained in prison after delivering up his estate for the benefit of his creditors, was the same as that in the constitutions of Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana.

The elective franchise was granted to all white male *inhabitants*, above the age of 21 years, who had resided in the State six months. No salaries were fixed except that that of the governor should not exceed $1000, nor that of the secretary of state $600, prior to 1824.

The most objectionable feature of the instrument was the vesting of the legislature with the appointing power. As originally framed, this power was committed to the executive, but as it was expected that Shadrach Bond would be elected governor, and that he would not appoint a particular candidate who had secured the suffrages of the members, to the office of state auditor, a provision was inserted in the schedule that "an auditor of public-accounts, an attorney-general, and such other officers of the State as may be necessary, may be appointed by the general assembly." At first the legislature limited its exercise of this power to the appointment of the above-designated officers, the governor appointing the state's-attorneys,

recorders, and other officers and agents provided for by law; but whenever it happened that the governor was not in accord with the general assembly, it would deprive him of his patronage. Thus there was a continual liability to a change of powers, which produced not only uncertainty and embarrassment, but was fruitful of intrigues and corrupt combinations.

The defects of this first constitution, are even more clearly apparent on account of the absence of necessary limitations and restrictions of the legislature, than for its prodigal grants of power to that department, as the administration of the state government subsequently proved.

Such was the first constitution, and the circumstances and proceedings under which the sovereign State of Illinois was admitted into the sovereign Union of states, on Dec. 3, 1818. It was the eighth new state added to the old thirteen, and had a greater area than any other state then in the Union excepting Georgia.*

* Table showing the date of admission of new states into the Union, from what territory acquired, population, and area:

NAME OF STATE.	FROM WHAT TERRITORY.	DATE OF ACT ADMITTING.	POPULATION.	SQUARE MILES.
Kentucky,	Virginia,	Feb. 4, 1791,	73,677	40,400
Vermont,	New Hampshire and New York,	Feb. 18, 1791,	85,425	9,565
Tennessee,	North Carolina,	June 1, 1796,	67,000	42,050
Ohio,	Northwest Territory,	April 30, 1802,	45,365	41,060
Louisiana,	French Purchase,	April 8, 1812,	76,556	48,720
Indiana,	Northwest Territory,	Dec. 11, 1816,	63,897	36,350
Mississippi,	South Carolina, Georgia, and France,	Dec. 10, 1817,	70,000*	46,810
Illinois,	Northwest Territory,	Dec. 3, 1818,	34,620	56,650
Alabama,	South Carolina, Georgia, and France,	Dec. 14, 1819,	110,000*	52,250
Maine,	Massachusetts and Great Britain,	March 3, 1820,	298,269	33,040
Missouri,	French Purchase,	March 2, 1821,	66,557	69,415
Arkansas,	French Purchase,	June 15, 1836,	52,240	53,850
Michigan,	Northwest Territory,	Jan. 26, 1837,	70,000*	58,915
Texas,	Annexed,	March 1, 1845,	143,000	268,780
Iowa,	French Purchase,	March 3, 1845,	78,819	56,025
Florida,	Spain,	March 3, 1845,	64,000*	58,680
Wisconsin,	Northwest Territory,	March 3, 1847,	180,000*	56,040
California,	Mexico,	Sept. 9, 1850,	92,597	158,360
Minnesota,	Northwest Territory and France,	May 4, 1858,	120,000*	83,365
Oregon,	Ceded by France,	Feb. 14, 1859,	50,000*	96,030
Kansas,	Ceded by France and Texas,	Jan. 29, 1861,	107,206	82,080
West Virginia,	Virginia,	Dec. 31, 1862,	350,000	24,780
Nevada,	Mexico,	March 11, 1864,	40,000*	110,700
Nebraska,	Ceded by France,	Feb. 9, 1867,	100,000*	76,855
Colorado,	France and Mexico,	March 3, 1875,†	100,000*	103,925

As will be seen, up to 1850, with the exception of the compromise state of Missouri, the states were admitted in the order of first a slave-state and then a free-state.

* Estimated. † Took effect Aug. 1, 1876.


Edward Coles

CHAPTER XX.

First State-Election—Gov. Bond—First General Assembly—Officers—Laws—Election of United-States Senators—Congressional Election—Cook vs. McLean—Removal of the Capital.

THE first election for State-officers, and members of the general assembly under the constitution of 1818, was held on the third Thursday (17), and the two following days in September. The mode of voting was by ballot, which was continued until 1829, when a return to the *viva-voce* method was determined upon.

Shadrach Bond was elected the first governor of the State by a practically unanimous vote. He came to the Territory from Maryland in 1794, having barely passed the age of twenty-one, and resided at first with his uncle, of the same name, on the American Bottom, in what is now Monroe County. He was raised a farmer, and so continued. He received only a common-school education. His hand-writing was poor, and his acquaintance with the spelling-book was not intimate; yet in the school of experience, and of every-day intercourse with his fellow-men, he acquired a large stock of useful knowledge and practical information, which was of even greater value to a public man in those early days than the learning to be derived from schools. His person was erect, compact, and formed with perfect symmetry; his bearing was noble, dignified, and commanding. His complexion was dark, and his hair a glossy jet-black. He had a high forehead, indicating a large brain, and a countenance expressing rare intelligence. He was a great admirer of and favorite with the ladies; "yet" says Gov. Reynolds, "his gallantries, though many, were always circumscribed with propriety"—a remark which can not be truthfully repeated of all his successors in the executive chair. He kept his horses and his hounds, and was fond of racing and hunting. Being of a jovial and convivial spirit, in society as in public life, he was personally agreeable and popular. He was decided in his opinions

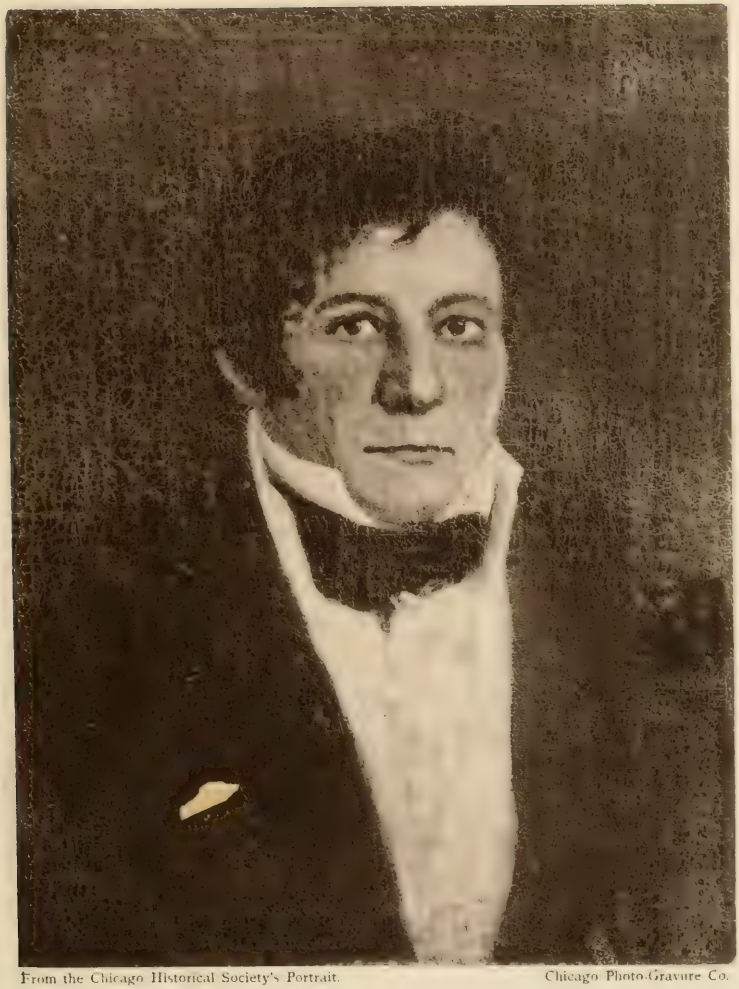
and faithful to his friends and allies. He participated prominently in the political controversies of his day, one of which resulted in the sending and accepting of a challenge to fight a duel with Rice Jones. After the parties had taken their position in the field, the pistol of Jones, a hair-trigger, was accidentally discharged. Bond's second promptly declared it a fire, and insisted upon the right of his principal to return it. But Bond, with characteristic magnanimity, at once exclaimed "it was an accident," and refused to take advantage of a purely technical right, even at the hazard of his life, declaring that Jones was entitled to the stipulated shot. This magnanimity on the part of Bond led to an honorable adjustment of the quarrel.*

Gov. Bond had been a member of the territorial legislatures of Ohio and Indiana, a captain in the war of 1812, and was the first delegate elected to Congress from Illinois Territory, taking his seat Dec. 3, 1812. The latter position he resigned in 1814, to accept the appointment of receiver of public moneys; when he removed from his farm in St. Clair (now Monroe) County to another just west of Kaskaskia, on which, in sight of that ancient village, he erected a large, and as was thought at that time, palatial brick-residence, where he spent the remaining years of his life.

In congress, he faithfully represented the interests of his constitutents, securing the passage not only of the law providing for raising and equipping three companies of rangers for the protection of the infant settlements, but also of that important and popular measure known as the preëmption law of 1813.

In 1816, upon the election of Nathaniel Pope to congress, Col. Bond was a candidate for the office of territorial secretary, and requested the support of Gov. Edwards, which was refused; and from this time the antagonism between these distinguished officials marked more plainly the dividing line between their

* Unfortunately, however, the affair was not destined to be without bloodshed. The bad feeling engendered between Bond's second—James Dunlap, and Jones, a short time after, resulted in the assassination of the latter by Dunlap in a public street of Kaskaskia. The killing is characterized by Gov. Reynolds as having been unprovoked and cowardly—Dunlap firing at his victim from behind. The murderer escaped the vengeance of the indignant citizens by flight to Texas, and was never brought to justice.



From the Chicago Historical Society's Portrait. Chicago Photo-Gravure Co.

Pierre Menard

Oct. 7, 1766.—June 13, 1844.

respective adherents. At this first election, however, it seems that a truce had been agreed upon between the warring factions, by the terms of which Bond was to be elected governor and Edwards United-States senator.

The governor was fortunate in his appointment of Elias Kent Kane as secretary of state, of whose able assistance he freely availed himself in the preparation of his state-papers.

Pierre Menard, the lieutenant-governor elect, was born at St. Antoine, thirty-five miles from Montreal, October 7, 1766, and came to Kaskaskia, from Vincennes, in 1790, where he engaged in business as a merchant. He soon became active in public affairs, however, and was elected a member of the territorial legislature of Indiana. He was president of the council of the territorial general assembly of Illinois during the entire period of its existence. His height was below the average, his manners quick and abrupt, his temperament nervous, and his nature kind-hearted, though impulsive. He seemed to know instinctively how to manage the Indians, over whom he wielded great influence. As a government agent his popularity was equalled only by his success in negotiating important treaties. He was the most distinguished of those French emigrants who came to Illinois during and after the Revolution, nearly all of whom were enterprising, patriotic, and intelligent—a very different class from those who had preceded them, to whom they were far superior.

His command of the English language was limited and his speeches though pointed were of the shortest. But he had a sound judgment, and comprehensive mind.*

His hospitality was boundless, embracing every comer, white or red. Unlike the class of merchants described by Burke—"their counting-house is their church, their desk is their altar, their ledger is their bible, and their money is their God," his heart went out to the care of his slaves, and the suffering poor around him. At one time there was a great scarcity of salt in

* When the proposition came up in the senate to memoralize the treasurer of the United States to receive the bills of the Bank of Edwardsville in payment for lands, believing it to be iniquitous, he refused to put the question. Upon being shown that it was his duty to put it to vote, he said, "Gentlemen, if I mus', I mus'. You who are in favor of dis resolution, will say aye; but I bet you one thousand dollar congré never make him land-office money; you who are opposed, will say no."

the country, and Menard held the only supply outside of St. Louis. A number of his neighbors called upon him to engage what they wanted; he declined to let them know whether he could supply them or not, but told them to come to his store on a certain day, when he would inform them. They came at the appointed time, and were seated; Menard passed around among them, and inquired of each one, "You got money?" Some said they had, and some that they had not, but would pay as soon as they killed their hogs. Those who had money he directed to range themselves on one side of the room, and those who had none on the other. Of course those who had the means expected to get the salt, and the others looked very much distressed and crestfallen. Menard then spoke up in his brusque way, and said, "You men who got de money, can go to St. Louis for your salt. Dese poor men, who got no money shall have my salt, by gar."* Such was the man—noble-hearted, and large minded, if unpolished and uncouth, who was now to preside over the first State senate.†

In the apparently complex system of the distribution and correlation of powers between the federal and state governments of this country, while the prosperity of the Nation largely rests upon the administration of its affairs in relation to foreign governments, the raising of revenue, its coinage and currency laws, and the management of its war, naval and interior departments by congress; so also does the growth and progress of a state depend very much upon the character of the legislation framed, within constitutional limitations, under which the administration of its domestic affairs is conducted. A wide field is here opened for the adoption of such measures of internal policy as are best calculated to develope its resources, amelior-

* Joseph Gillespie, in "Fergus' Historical Series," No. 13.

† He retired from public life at the expiration of his term of office, and died at Kaskaskia, June 13. 1844. He left a large estate; and among his papers were found many notes of his friends upon which his name appeared as endorser, and which he had paid. He also left a large number of uncollectable accounts due from those to whom he had too trustingly parted with his goods. The county of Menard was named after him; and a monument to his memory—the generous and munificent gift of Charles Pierre Chouteau of St. Louis, whose father was formerly Menard's partner in business—has been erected at the east front of the capitol, in the grounds of the State-house at Springfield.

ate the condition of the people, and improve their industries; in which field, untried legislators, and embryo statesmen, may and do often venture upon the passage of ill-advised laws, which retard rather than advance the highest interests of the commonwealth. Instances of this kind, as will be seen, have frequently occurred in the history of this State, which have seriously impeded its growth, and hindered the welfare of the people.

The first general assembly of the State, composed of thirteen senators and twenty-seven representatives, convened at Kaskaskia, Oct. 5, 1818. The State-house in which the body assembled, and which had been previously occupied by the territorial legislature, was built of limestone, surmounted by a gambrel-roof of unpainted boards and shingles, in which were placed dormer-windows. The lower floor was fitted up for the house, and the chamber above for the senate. Only two of those who had served in the territorial legislature were honored with seats in this, namely, Willis Hargrave in the senate, and Risdon Moore in the house. Five senators and an equal number of representtatives had been members of the recent constitutional convention. The house was organized by the election of John Messenger, speaker, and Thomas Reynolds, clerk. Messenger was a native of Massachusetts, and had become a resident of Illinois in 1802. His occupation was that of a surveyor, in which capacity he was known and distinguished throughout the country. He was a cartographer of no mean pretentions, as is shown by his map of Illinois. He had been a member of the constitutional convention, where he displayed marked ability as a politician. His preference, however, was for the chain and compass, and the more attractive home-life on his farm, where he resided until his death in 1846.

Thomas Reynolds, a younger brother of Gov. John Reynolds, was an active politician in this State until 1828, when he removed to Missouri, of which commonwealth he was elected governor in 1840. William C. Greenup was elected secretary of the senate.

The governor's first message to the general assembly was a modest, brief, and clearly-written document. After acknowledging his obligations to the people for their confidence and support, he referred to the depleted condition of the treasury,

and the necessity of providing means to meet the expenses of the State government. He recommended a revision of the laws, and called attention to the subject of education, remarking, that "it is our imperious duty, for the faithful performance of which we are amenable to God and our country, to watch over this interesting subject." He advised that provision for the leasing of the salt-springs should be made; and urged upon the attention of the legislature the importance of a canal to connect Lake Michigan with the Illinois River. His message devoutly closed as follows: "and may that almighty Being from whose goodness and bounty all the blessings we enjoy have emanated, be present in your councils, and bless the measures of your adoption."

After the delivery of the governor's inaugural the general assembly at once proceeded to elect two United-States senators, and the remaining State-officers, and judges of the supreme court, the latter to serve also as circuit-judges. The two senators elected were: Ninian Edwards on the first ballot, receiving thirty-two votes, and Judge Jesse Burgess Thomas on the third ballot, receiving twenty-one votes, to eighteen for Leonard White and one for Michael Jones; John Thomas was elected State-treasurer; Elijah C. Berry, auditor of public accounts; Daniel P. Cook, attorney-general; Joseph Phillips, chief-justice of the supreme court; and Thomas C. Browne, William P. Foster, and John Reynolds, associate-justices.

Elias Kent Kane, having been appointed by the governor, was confirmed as secretary of state; and the firm of Blackwell & Berry was elected public printers.

Jesse B. Thomas, one of the senators elect, had been a prominent figure in Illinois from the time of its territorial organization. He was born in Hagerstown, Md., in 1777, and claimed direct lineage from Lord Baltimore. He located in Lawrenceburgh in 1803, and in 1805 was elected to the Indiana territorial legislature, of which he was chosen speaker. Having been elected to congress on the issue of a division of Indiana Territory, as heretofore related, upon the organization of the territory of Illinois he removed to Kaskaskia. He was a delegate to the constitutional convention, over which he presided. He was finely proportioned physically, being

in stature fully six feet, with a florid-brown complexion, dark-hazel eyes, and dark-brown hair. He was not regarded as a great lawyer, and made no pretentions as a public speaker—acting rather upon one of his proverbs, that "you could not talk a man down, but you could whisper him to death." But he more than compensated for these deficiencies by his dignified bearing, his agreeable address, and refined manners.* He was the author of the celebrated Missouri compromise of 1820, and was instrumental in securing its adoption.

Judge Phillips, elected chief-justice, had been a captain in the regular army, and secretary of the Territory. He was a good lawyer and an able man.

John Reynolds for the first time made his appearance in the political arena at this session. He visited the seat of government, as he remarks, at the solicitation of friends, out of mere curiosity; and the proposition to elect him one of the supreme-judges "broke upon him like a clap of thunder."† But the taste for public life which this office created, remained with him ever after.

Thomas C. Browne, another of the justices of the supreme court elected, became a resident of the State at Shawneetown in 1812, and had been a member of the territorial legislature, and also prosecuting attorney.

The career of Foster, another of the judges elect, affords a striking illustration of the possible success of a polished but unscrupulous adventurer, in a new country. An entire stranger in the Territory, a lawyer by neither profession nor practice, in a few weeks, through his plausible address and skilful manipulations of credulous members, he succeeded in capturing one of the highest judicial offices in the gift of the legislature. He never took his seat upon the bench, and after drawing a year's salary for services not rendered, he left the State. His subsequent career was that of an accomplished swindler who traveled from city to city, numbering his victims by the score. Foster was succeeded by William Wilson, then a talented young lawyer, who worthily occupied the bench for many years.

The interest in the first election under the constitution cen-

* Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," 2d ed., 402.

† "My Own Times," 35, 2d edition.

tered in the race for congress, although the term of the office would expire on the third of March, following. The candidates were John McLean of Shawneetown, and Daniel Pope Cook of Kaskaskia. They were both lawyers, young, talented, and ambitious, having immigrated to the Territory the same year, 1815, and attached themselves to rival political factions. Mc Lean was born in North Carolina in 1791, and raised in Kentucky. He belonged to the family of Ewing, which has produced so many distinguished men. Cook was born in Kentucky in 1794. He was a member of the influential Pope family of that State, being a nephew of Nathaniel Pope, the first secretary of Illinois Territory. He entered successfully into the practice of the law, attending the courts in nearly all the organized counties. In 1816, he combined with his practice a part ownership and management of the *Illinois Intelligencer*, the first, and at that time, the only newspaper in the Territory. His rise in public life was unexampled; he was elected clerk of the second and third territorial houses of representatives; auditor of public accounts from January, 1816 to April, 1817; appointed circuit-judge in 1818, and then attorney-general. He found time also to discharge the responsible duties of a bearer of dispatches to our minister at the British court, where he made the acquaintance of John Quincy Adams, with whom his relations were ever afterward intimate. The Missouri question was then the absorbing subject of discussion and agitation from one end of the country to the other. The admission of that Territory as a slave-state would have a serious if not controlling influence upon the question whether Illinois should not also adopt the same policy. McLean was on the side of slavery, and Cook on that of freedom. Both being singularly well-equipped by study, experience, and inclination, for public debate, and each of them feeling confident in the justice of his respective side, joint discussions were held by them in all the principal counties. Hon. Orlando B. Ficklin, who heard these, as also, many years afterward, the debates between Lincoln and Douglas, involving the same questions, "awarded the palm" for oratory and interest to the former. McLean, though of lighter complexion, was said to resemble the great Charles Fox in person, and in his style of oratory. Cook on the other hand was small

in stature, and of delicate physique, being an exception to the rule in those early days that a public man to be successful must have an imposing and prepossessing personal appearance. But Cook held his rare gift of eloquence well in hand; and with clearness of thought, boldness of expression, and intensity of purpose, made an impression upon an audience at once deep and lasting. So sincere and defiant was his advocacy of liberty for all, slavery for none, among those whose prejudices were on the side of "the peculiar institution," that his opponents gave him the nick-name of "that d——d little Yankee." His habits were abstemious, his manners charming, his voice strong and melodious.

The contest in 1818 resulted in the success of Mc Lean by the small majority of fourteen. The following year, when the same race was repeated, with added interest and excitement, Cook was successful by a majority of 633—the poll standing in the nineteen counties, for Cook 2192, McLean 1559.

Further than the election of officers, the general assembly did not propose to proceed until the result of the application to congress for the admission of the State had been ascertained; and after a session of eight days the body adjourned to meet the following January. As has already been seen, this application was successful and Illinois assumed its position as the twenty-first state in the sisterhood of the "United States of America."

At the reassembling of the legislature, January 4, 1819, law-making began in earnest. A code was adopted which for the most part was copied from the statutes of Virginia and Kentucky, including the law concerning "negroes and mulattoes" so long continued on the statute books of this State. Mr. Kane, who in addition to his duties as secretary of state, acted as clerk of the judiciary committee, was the compiler of the greater portion of these laws, in the performance of which task he manifested great care and intelligence. This code, however, in its entirety, had but a very short and feeble existence. Its provisions were altered by each succeeding general assembly with a regularity and persistency wonderful to behold. A session of the legislature was like a great fire in the boundless prairie: it consumed everything. But it was also like the

genial breath of spring, making all things new.* This insatiate desire to tinker the laws became, so to speak, an epidemic, the ravages of which were not checked until the winter of 1826–7, when the revised code, framed by the justices of the supreme court was adopted.

This was the longest session of the general assembly held prior to that of the eighth in 1832. The revenue law enacted provided for the raising of money for State purposes by taxing the lands of non-residents, which were divided into three classes, whose respective values were fixed in the act at two, three, and four dollars per acre. County revenue was to be derived from taxation of personal property and real estate of residents.

The salaries of State-officers were fixed as follows: governor $1000, judges the same, state auditor $700, secretary of state $600, State treasurer $500, attorney-general $250, circuit-attorneys $150, adjutant-general $100.

The penalties affixed to specified offenses by the code of the territory were all reënacted, including those of whipping, confinement in the stocks and pillories, as well as that of death by hanging, for the crimes of rape, arson, horse-stealing, and murder.

Not the least important of the acts passed was that providing for the removal of the seat of government. It does not appear that there was any popular demand for such a measure. The movement grew out of the mania for speculation, then so rife, by which the members of a certain coterie hoped to realize great fortunes. Kaskaskia, the leading commercial town of the State, and the most populous, as well as the most readily accessible by steam navigation and post-roads, might have remained the capital had it not been that some of its most influential citizens had become interested in a project for making money out of the choice of a new location. The scheme first showed its head in the constitutional convention, by the adoption of an article as far-reaching in its scope as it was harmless on its face, which provided that the seat of government should remain at Kaskaskia until the general assembly should otherwise determine; and that that body at its first session should petition congress for a grant to the State of four sections of land for the seat

* Ford's "History of Illinois," 32.

of government, and if the prayer was granted a town should be laid out thereon which should remain the capital for the period of twenty years. Under this provision, the legislature at its first session adopted the petition as directed, which was duly presented to congress and upon which favorable action was secured by the new senators on March 3, 1819, by the passage of an act granting the four sections of land as requested.

At this second session, five commissioners were appointed to make the selection of land, to lay out the town, and erect a temporary two-story building for a State-house. They were limited in their choice of a location to the Kaskaskia River and "as near as might be east of the third principal meridian on that river." The place selected was known as "Reeve's Bluff," a high, heavily-timbered tract, beautifully situated on the right bank of the river. It was eighty-two miles northeast of Kaskaskia, fifty-seven miles nearly due east of Alton, and twenty miles north of any settlement—the county of Fayette not having been established until February, 1821.

There are two accounts of the origin of the name given to the prospective capital, which are substantially the same. The commissioners were anxious to fix upon a cognomen which should be at once euphonious and historic—their preference being for one which would not only please the ear but perpetuate the memory of the aboriginal inhabitants. A wag who was present gravely suggested that the Vandals had once been a powerful tribe of red men living on the Kaskaskia, and that Vandalia a word derived from their name would preserve the memory of that once renowned, but now extinct race. The commissioners were delighted with the suggestion, which was adopted without a dissenting voice.* However this may be, it was symbolically appropriate in one respect at least, as those who laid out the town suffered not a single one of the many noble forest trees which covered its site to remain standing to adorn its public-square and streets.

The selection of a town-site for a capital from the lands of the government, without in the least regarding their interests, proved a death blow to the speculators, and a sad disappointment to those citizens of Kaskaskia who had favored a change.

* Ford's "History of Illinois," 35.

But the location having been irrevocably fixed, the next best thing that offered in the way of speculation was to "boom" the town-lots. Of these, the number to be sold by the commissioners was limited to one hundred and fifty. So great was the anxiety thus created to secure a foothold in a city which everyone regarded as destined to become a centre of commerce and influence, that the prices realized for lots were simply astounding. The lowest price bid was $100, while for more elegible locations in this wilderness, as high as $780 was willingly agreed to be paid—the average price being $234, and the aggregate proceeds reaching the sum of $35,234. Sales were made on time, and as might have been foreseen, many purchasers failed to meet their contracts, and the property thus forfeited was subsequently sold for about one-tenth of the price originally agreed upon.

As required by law, the commissioners proceeded to erect a temporary building to be used as a State-house; it was a two-story frame of the plainest description of architecture. To this humble structure, which stood in the midst of a forest, the State officers removed in December, 1820. The archives of the State, in the care of Sidney Breese, making in all one small wagon-load, were transported at a cost of $25. It was indeed a pioneer trip, and the roadway had frequently to be cut through dense forests before the new capital was reached.

To return to the proceedings of the first general assembly: in the legal lottery between the two recently-elected United-States senators, Gov. Edwards had drawn the short term, which would expire March 3, 1819; and it therefore became necessary to elect his successor. He had hardly taken his seat in Washington before his opponents began to intrigue against his reëlection. One of the schemes to accomplish this result, was a proposition to divide the State into two senatorial districts, which was only defeated in the house by a majority of three. Michael Jones, then a senator from Gallatin County, was the opposing candidate. He was from Pennsylvania, and had been a very active member of the anti-Edwards party ever since his incumbency of the registry of the land-office in 1812–15. He was a man of no mean ability, of good address, but having a violent temper, which he was not at all backward in showing

as occasion might require. All the hostility to the ex-governor which his ten years of public service had engendered was developed in Jones' favor. Edwards had been led to suppose that Gov. Bond would remain his friend and supporter; what was his surprise, then, when he received a letter from him in which, incidentally referring to the pending senatorial election, doubtless intended to prepare him for news of his defeat, he read as follows: "it has been stated by some that you are willing to serve again. Col. Jones is also a candidate. I can not say who will be elected, for there is considerable division among the members."* The senator might well have exclaimed, "call you this backing your friends?"

The Edwards men after a careful canvass confidently reckoned on his receiving at least twenty-six votes, but when the ballots were counted at the joint session on February 8, it was found that he had received only twenty-three, to nineteen for his opponent—leaving but a small margin in his favor.

The second session of the first general assembly adjourned March 31, after sitting eighty-seven days.

* "Edwards Papers," 153.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Second General Assembly—State Bank—Synopsis of Laws—Resources and Expenditures.

DURING the two years which elapsed between the admission of the State and the meeting of the second general assembly at Vandalia, December 4, 1820, the expectations of the advocates of a state government had been fully realized. The population had increased from the more than doubtful 40,000 reported by the census-takers to the unquestionable number of 55,120. Four new counties had been organized, namely: Alexander, Clark, Jefferson, and Wayne. New towns had been laid out, and settlements commenced as far north as Greene County, and were rapidly extending.

With the exception of the hold-over senators, the second general assembly was composed almost entirely of new material, only three members of the last house being reëlected, namely, Samuel McClintock, Risdon Moore, and Alex. Phillips, besides Conrad Will, of the last senate. John McLean from Gallatin, was elected speaker, and Thomas Reynolds, clerk. James Turner was chosen secretary of the senate.

The message of the governor was as unpretentious and brief as had been his inaugural address. He recommended the adoption of a liberal policy in regard to the improvement of the capital, and the erection of suitable public buildings, among which he included a "seminary of learning." This institution he naively argued ought to be at the seat of government, "because by an occasional visit at the houses of the general assembly, and the courts of justice, the student will find the best specimens of oratory the State can produce; imbibe the principles of legal science, and political knowledge, and by an intercourse with good society his habits of life would be chastened, and his manners improved." He referred to the fact of the extinguishment of the debt of the territorial government, and called attention to the scarcely less gratifying circumstance that the State treasury was in a healthy condition. He recom-

mended a revision of the laws against gaming, and as if incited to an unusual glow at the moral aspect of the discussion, and with a reverence, even greater than that shown in his first message, closed as follows: "may the Almighty God, to whose kind providence we are indebted for the safe and tranquil condition of our common country, and the plentiful harvest of the year, teach us to distrust ourselves, and to rely firmly upon Him, that we may live to His glory, and die in His love."

The most exciting subject of discussion at this session was the law to incorporate a State bank. The times were hard. Over-trading and speculation induced by the too-abundant issue of paper currency by the banks of adjoining states had brought everyone in debt. Lands and goods had been purchased, and houses erected, not demanded by the legitimate growth and trade of the country. The banks in Ohio and Kentucky failed, and those at home and in St. Louis ceased to do business. The currency had driven specie out of the country, and when the former became worthless there was no money left; and but little commerce to bring it in. The people began to collect their debts by law, but as there was more property than money, a very little of the latter would purchase a large amount of the former. It would take a large farm to pay a small debt.

To provide a way to escape the existing evils, the legislature chartered the State Bank, based entirely upon the credit of the State. The principal bank was to be at Vandalia, with branches at Shawneetown, Edwardsville, and Brownsville. One, two, three, five, ten, and twenty-dollar notes were authorized to be issued—bearing two per cent interest per annum payable by the State in ten years; and the bank was directed to loan its bills to the people in sums of not less than $100 on personal security. The bills were made receivable in payment of state and county taxes, and of all costs and fees, and the salaries of public officers; and if a creditor refused to indorse on his execution his willingness to receive them in payment of his debt, the debtor might replevy or stay its collection for three years, by giving personal security.

There was strenuous opposition to the bill, led by Speaker McLean. By a singular provision of the rules, the speaker was not permitted to participate in the debates except when the

house had resolved itself into a committee of the whole, nor, indeed to vote on any question, except when a tie occurred. In order to deprive the eloquent speaker from exposing the objectionable features of the proposed measure, the house, which contained an assured majority in its favor, refused to go into a committee of the whole. McLean, indignant at such treatment, resigned his position, and upon the floor of the house made a powerful argument against the bill, in which he prophetically predicted all the evils which ultimately resulted from the operations of the bank. But the bill passed nevertheless; and when the council of revision returned it pointing out the objections to its provisions, and showing that it was inexpedient and unconstitutional, it was again enacted by the requisite majority. It was championed in the house by Richard M. Young, with regard to whose subsequent election to the United-States senate Gov. Ford remarks, "he was one of the very many examples in our history of the forgiving disposition of the people, to such of their public servants as have been so unfortunate as to be in favor of bad measures, or opposed to good ones."

The subsequent history of the operations of this bank will only be briefly alluded to. At first, it was a very popular institution, everybody that wanted money, which included nearly the entire population, was accommodated, without much regard being paid to the kind of security offered. In this way $300,000 was soon put in circulation. As there was not enough silver in the country for change, the bills were cut to serve the purpose of fractional currency. In the meantime payments to the banks of their loans were slow and uncertain. No such thing as redemption was thought of, and the bills began to fall below par—first the depreciation was twenty per cent, but the value of the currency gradually decreased until it was worth but thirty cents on the dollar. The derangement of business, and the difficulties of carrying on a government, with such a system of currency, for the five or six following years, need not be particularly described. They fully justified the state of things presaged by those who had tried so hard to prevent the passage of the law. The State in issuing auditor's warrants, as it did in 1825, at the rate of three dollars for one, to defray

current expenses, lost $75,000; and this expensive system must have cost the State altogether a sum at least equal to the amount of bills issued by the bank—$300,000.

Another law passed by the second general assembly, only less ill-advised than the banking-law, because it covered less ground, was the stay-law, by which all previously-issued executions on judgments were to be stopped or returned, and no new ones issued until after November 20, following, unless there was danger of losing the debt, in which case it might be stayed by giving bond with security. This was also reënacted over the objections of the council of revision; as were also the laws providing for the trial of rights of property; and to establish a court of probate.

As if not satisfied with their action in antagonizing the governor and supreme court, the two houses of the general assembly were decidedly outspoken in the interchange of mutual compliments when, as was supposed, their own dignity was at stake. The senate had adopted a joint resolution authorizing the secretary of state to give his certificate, and the auditor his warrant, for the payment to the proper parties, of the same amount for returning the vote for president and vice-president, as for other elections. Instead of acting upon this resolution, the house passed a bill for that purpose and sent it to the senate in the usual way for its concurrence. The senate at once passed a resolution of inquiry regarding the disposition of their joint resolution, "believing," as therein expressed, "that they are entitled to decorous and parliamentary treatment and attention from the house!" In reply to this the house promptly passed and transmitted to the senate a resolution setting forth "that they had laid said resolution on the table to be acted upon when they forgot the constitution and fundamental laws of the State." The issue was becoming decidedly interesting, and the senate not to be over hasty in its action referred what was considered a belligerent message to a select committee, which without unnecessary delay made a report as follows: "We see no cause to regret the conduct of the senate, and that although we feel every disposition to pass over the subject as lightly as possible, making at the same time any reasonable allowance for the passions of the moment, and the frailties of

human nature; yet we believe that it behooves the senate as an independent branch of the government to maintain their rights. Therefore, resolved, that the resolution of the above alluded to lie *under the table*, there to remain until the senate forget their rights, or the house of representatives adhere to the joint rules for the government of both houses of this general assembly."

No regular elections were to be held at this session, but vacancies were to be filled in the offices of associate-justice of the supreme court, and attorney-general. For the former, Wm. Wilson was elected; and for the latter, Samuel D. Lockwood, on the fourteenth ballot, his opponents being Henry Dodge and Theopholis W. Smith. Following this came the extraordinary election for the newly-created bank officers, and judges of probate, with the attendant button-holing and log-rolling. So that this legislature did not adjourn without passing through all the different phases of excitement incident to these early sessions.

Although the second general assembly contained some members of ability and good law-making talent—such men as McLean, Young, Slade, Eddy, Mather, and Alexander, it must be admitted that the aggregate of its work was very bad—so bad in fact that it was many years before the State recovered from the unwise legislation for which it must be held responsible.

The administration of Gov. Bond outside of the political controversies which were never permitted to sleep or rest, and which in many of their aspects were transferred to Washington, was quiet and uneventful. The change from a territorial to a state government had been effected without friction or disturbance. There was really not much for the executive to do—no railroads — no state institutions requiring attention, no asylums, not even a penitentiary. The Indians were quiet and peaceable —in fact the most of them had removed from the settled portion of the State. His clemency was invoked to stay the execution of William Bennett, who had in 1820 killed Alphonso Stewart in the first and last duel ever fought in the State; but the governor would yield to no entreaties, and Bennett was hung in the presence of a large crowd. It was thought that the firmness of the governor in insisting upon the execution of the

law had much to do with making duelling unpopular and discreditable in the State.

The governor was not required by the first constitution to reside at the capital, except during the sessions of the legislature. These over, Gov. Bond returned to the more congenial pursuits of his farm, the raising of stock, and the enjoyment of hunting. Upon the expiration of his term as governor he was again appointed to the office of register of the land-office—at that time the most lucrative position in the State, the salary being $3000. In 1824, Bond became the Crawford candidate for congress against Daniel P. Cook, who was understood to be the friend of J. Q. Adams, but certainly opposed to Crawford. It was a presidential year, and the friends of the ex-governor entered warmly into the contest, bringing every possible consideration of a personal or political nature to bear in his favor, but all without avail against his more popular competitor —the result being for Cook 7460, Bond 4374. This was Gov. Bond's last appeal as a candidate directly to the people; thereafter he confined his attention to the duties of the land-office, and the entertainment of his friends at his mansion, where, upon its broad verandas, the old battles were fought again, and new combinations made for future contests. His death occurred April 12, 1832. His old residence, long since surrounded by bushes and weeds, has gone to decay. But the State in 1881, mindful of the faithful services of its first governor, provided for the removal of his remains to Chester, and the erection of a monument over his grave.

The expenditures of the state government at this time were certainly economical and were mainly confined to the ordinary expenses of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments. The bills for stationery for the second general assembly amounted to $97.50, among the items being, 5 cork inkstands, $1.87; 2 pewter inkstands, $1.25; 1 china inkstand, $1.50; 2 reams writing-paper, $13.50; English quills, per 100, $1.25; ink, per bottle, $1.00. Fire-wood cost $1.50 per cord, of which seventy cords were consumed; 150 copies only of the governor's message were ordered printed. The members of the first general assembly received $4.00 per day and mileage, and those of the second, $3.50 and mileage.

The entire State receipts and expenditures during Gov. Bond's administration were as follows:

Receipts from Oct. 18, 1818, to Dec. 31, 1820,	$53,362.22
Expenditures, as ascertained from auditor's report,	$35,655.00

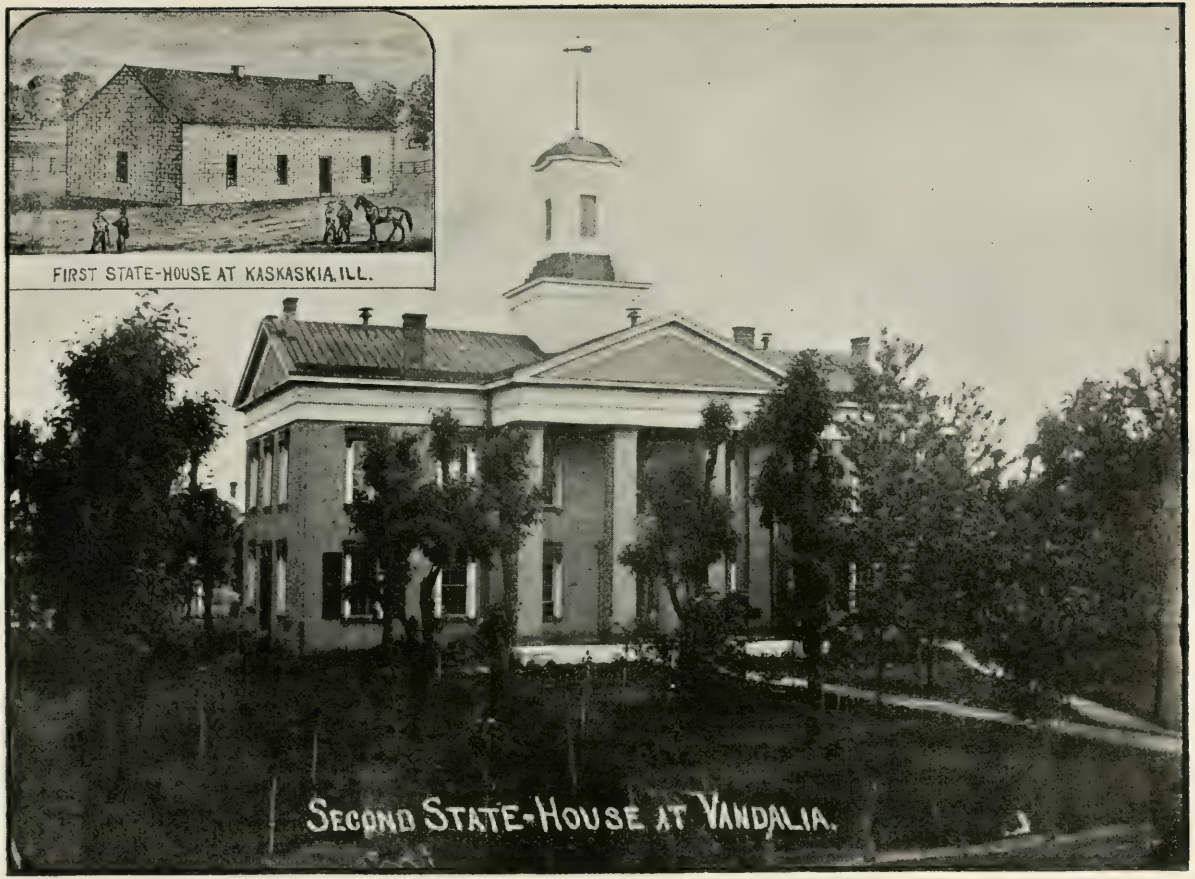
Receipts from Dec. 31, 1820, to Dec. 31, 1822:

Cash on hand	$17,707.22
Collected from sheriff	7,268.23
Taxes received from non-residents	38,437.75
Non-resident bank-stock	97.77
From salines on Ohio and Muddy rivers	10,763.09
From sales, Vandalia lots	5,659.86
	$79,933.92

Expenditures Dec. 31, 1820, to Dec. 31, 1822:

Legislative department	$14,966.18	
Executive department	6,940.06	
Judicial department	7,932.33	
Prosecuting-attorneys	1,531.08	
Contingent fund—Printing, etc.	3,976.36	
Ohio saline	1,800.00	
Repairs and furnishing state-house	1,101.57	
Militia	748.00	
Postage for state officers	234.10	
Special appropriations (including boundary-line expenses $784, state bank $2000, Pike County $1500)	7,915.57	47,145.25
		$32,788.67

The receipts of the State of Indiana during the same period were $102,102 and the expenditures $102,168.


FIRST STATE-HOUSE AT KASKASKIA, ILL.
SECOND STATE-HOUSE AT VANDALIA.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Election of Gov. Coles—Third General Assembly—The Struggle to make Illinois a Slave-State—Election of United-States Senator—1822-1826.

THE career of Edward Coles in Illinois constituted a remarkable episode in his own life, and an era in the history of Illinois signalized by a series of events as imposing as they were important in their results. Of the fourscore years which his span of life exceeded, only thirteen were passed in the State; but these were years of unexampled industry, and heroic conflict, in which he made a record as valuable as it is imperishable.

He was born in Albermarle County, Virginia, Dec. 15, 1786; and was descended from a prominent and influential family. After attending the college of Hampden Sidney a short time, he entered that of William and Mary, where he remained two years, but was compelled to leave before graduation on account of a severe fracture of his leg. He was nearly six feet in height, of a slender build, with brilliant eyes, and strongly-marked but agreeable features. After two years study at home, President Madison tendered him the appointment of private secretary, which position he acceptably filled six years; when, at the urgent request of the president, he accepted the appointment of special messenger to Russia, in which capacity, to use the language of James Monroe, "he discovered sound judgment, united to great industry and fidelity."

He first visited Illinois in 1815, while making a tour of the western country, seeking a location; and again in 1818, stopping a while at Waterloo. He was at Kaskaskia while the convention to form a constitution for the new state was in session. Although an hereditary slave-holder he had determined to remove from Virginia and no longer remain an owner of human chattels. Impressed with the advantages which Illinois offered to new settlers, he became deeply interested in the deliberations of the convention on the subject of slavery, and

exerted his influence to secure the adoption, in the organic law of the commonwealth where he intended to make his home, of the anti-slavery article in pursuance of the requirement of the Ordinance of 1787.

Having finally decided to remove to Illinois, his preparations all completed, on April 1, 1819, he set out from his Virginia plantation for the more inviting fields of the Prairie State. The little caravan which he headed was of modest proportions, consisting of canvas-covered wagons, which conveyed his ten negroes, with their offspring, and his household effects; himself riding on horseback. Arriving at Brownsville, Pa., he purchased two flat-boats in which the journey was continued to a point below Louisville, where the party disembarked, and continued their way by land to Edwardsville.

Mr. Coles had carefully refrained from giving his slaves any intimation of his intention to enfranchise them until after they had passed Pittsburg. The manner of its announcement, and the dramatic scene which followed, are best portrayed in his own language. He says: "Being curious to see the effect of an instantaneous severing of the manacles of bondage, and letting loose on the buoyant wings of liberty the long pent-up spirit of man, I called on the deck of the boats which were lashed together all the negroes and made them a short address; in which I commenced by saying, that it was time for me to make known to them what I intended to do with them, and concluded my remarks by so expressing myself that by a turn of the sentence I proclaimed in the shortest and fullest manner possible that they were no longer slaves, but free—free as I was, and were at liberty to proceed with me, or to go ashore at their pleasure. The effect was electrical, they stared at me as if doubting the accuracy or reality of what they heard. In breathless silence they stood before me, unable to utter a word, but with countenances beaming with expression, which no words could convey, and which no language can now describe. * * After a pause of intense and unutterable emotion, bathed in tears, and with tremulous voices, they gave vent to their gratitude, and implored the blessings of God on me."

His former vassals having expressed a desire to remain with him until they had seen him "comfortably fixed" in his new

home, he kindly but firmly declined the offer, and to their further bewilderment assured them that upon arriving at their destination—now the Eldorado of their hopes—as a reward for their past services, and as a stimulant to future exertions in the struggle for self-support, it was his intention to give each head of family one hundred and sixty acres of land; which promise he redeemed to the letter, against the protests of his beneficiaries.

Upon arriving at Edwardsville, Mr. Coles at once entered upon the discharge of the duties of the office of register of the land-office, to which position he had been appointed, March 5, by President Monroe, before leaving Virginia, and which he filled not only faithfully, but to the satisfaction of the public.

As the period approached for the election of State officers in August, 1822, candidates for gubernatorial honors began to multiply. They were definitely announced as follows: Joseph Phillips, chief-justice of the supreme court, supported by the friends of ex-Gov. Bond, who was not eligible to reëlection; Thomas C. Browne, a justice of the supreme court, supported by the followers of Gov. Edwards; Gen. James B. Moore, a noted Indian fighter, supported by the old rangers; and Edward Coles.

While the direct issue of making Illinois a slave-state was not raised in the canvass for governor, "it was in the air," and its consideration undoubtedly exercised more or less influence upon the choice of candidates. It was felt that the question could not long be deferred, and indeed was even then being agitated by some aspirants for the legislature. Of the candidates, Phillips and Browne were known to be pro-slavery, while the action of Coles had identified him very squarely with the anti-slavery party.

His position as register had brought him into direct personal contact with his fellow-citizens from all sections of the State, and the acquaintances thus formed proved to be of no small advantage to his political prospects. When the time came for voting, he found that he could count upon the support of many of those rough, plain farmers, clad in homespun, whose interests he had protected and who had found him attentive in the discharge of his duties, courteous in manner, and, if somewhat stiff and angular, intelligent and sympathetic.

It was supposed that the contest lay between Phillips and Browne, and that Coles had but very little chance of success. The result was one of those political surprises which have not been infrequent in elections in this State, when the candidate least expected came out ahead in the race. The canvass showed that Coles had received 2854 votes, Phillips 2687, Browne, 2443, and Moore, 622—Coles plurality being only 167, while on the total vote cast he was in a minority of 4752.

Under the circumstances it was a great triumph. Coles had not been identified with either the Edwards or Bond factions, and was opposed by both. He had no official patronage, nor the advantage of any "machine." But, which was much better, he had the sympathy and cordial support of the anti-slavery element among the voters, who remembered with gratitude the practical and generous evidence he had given of his abiding faith in free soil and free men.

To the discharge of his duties as governor, Coles brought an unimpeachable integrity, an unswerving fidelity to honest convictions, and a conscientious solicitude for the welfare of the people. At the same time he lacked that experience in public affairs which might have enabled him to tide over more than one of those stormy waves which at times threatened to engulf his administration. Prior to his appointment as register, as has been seen, his life had been uneventful and but little calculated to develop those qualities indispensable to an executive management, at once wise and popular in a young and growing state. Without previous training in either the executive or legislative departments of such a commonwealth, he entered upon the discharge of his grave duties at a serious disadvantage.

The candidates for congress at this election were Daniel P. Cook, and John McLean, who made the race against each other for the third time; the former was again successful, by a majority of 876 votes.

The slavery question was by no means a new one in Illinois. It had been the subject of frequent and always exciting discussion in and out of the legislature from the time of the territorial organization. African slaves were first introduced, as heretofore stated, by Renault in 1722; and in 1724, the government of, police over, and traffic in negro slaves in Louisiana of which

Illinois was a part, was regulated by ordinance of the King of France. When Louisiana was transferred to Great Britain in 1763, that government by proclamation of Gen. Gage, declared that the late subjects of France should enjoy the same rights and privileges, "the same security for their persons and effects," as the old subjects of the king. As slavery was at that time recognized in her colonies by Great Britain, there was no interference in Illinois with slave-property. Negroes were continued in servitude as before. It was also expressly stipulated in the Virginia deed of cession to the United States "that the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages who have professed themselves citizens of the State of Virginia, shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in their rights and liberties,"—which was understood and interpreted at the time to mean that the right of property in slaves should be recognized and protected. And in pursuance of this stipulation, while slavery was prohibited in all that territory by the Ordinance of 1787, that instrument contained a clause as follows: "saving however to the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them relative to the descent and conveyance of property." The effect of these provisions was considered by the inhabitants, and construed by Gov. St. Clair to mean that while the extension of slavery was prohibited, existing property relations, including slavery, were recognized and upheld—that is that the slaves in the Territory, and their descendants, should remain in their previous condition, but that no more slaves should be imported into the Territory. This was the conservative view; others, and among them Gov. Edwards, went still farther, and contended that the Ordinance of 1787 was unconstitutional, congress having exceeded its power in adopting the sixth article. Others again claimed that the children of all slaves born after 1787 became free by virtue of the ordinance.

Slaveholders began to exhibit uneasiness on the subject of their tenure, and as early as 1794 the question was raised of repealing or superseding the prohibitory clause of the ordi-

nance, and a number of persons petitioned congress at least to suspend its operation. So widespread had this feeling become by 1802, that Gen. Harrison was induced to call a delegate convention, which assembled at Vincennes, December 20, to consider the question. The members from Illinois were Shadrach Bond, John Moredoch, and Jean F. Perry, from St. Clair County; and Robert Morrison, Pierre Menard, and Robert Reynolds, from Randolph. A memorial to congress was adopted, setting forth the great benefits which would flow to the people from slaveholding, and praying for the repeal or modification of the sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787. This document was transmitted to congress, and was referred to a committee of which John Randolph was chairman, who in March, 1803, presented a report in which were set forth with great clearness the following advanced views: "that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region. That this labor, demonstrably the dearest of any, can only be employed to advantage in the cultivation of products more valuable that any known to that quarter of the United States; that the committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants will, at no very distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and immigration."

This adverse report submitted at the close of the session was not acted upon. At the next session, the memorial was referred to a new committee of which Cæsar A. Rodney of Delaware was chairman, and a report was presented recommending the granting of the memorialists request, and the suspension of the obnoxious article for ten years, but no action was taken thereon.

In the territorial legislature of 1805 the question was again brought forward, and another memorial to congress was adopted of similar import to that already forwarded. This was also favorably reported upon in congress but no action thereon followed. But still persistent, Gen. Harrison transmitted another legislative petition to the next congress, with like result.

In 1807, a largely-attended meeting of influential citizens was held in Clark County, Indiana, at which a remonstrance against the proposed introduction and continuance of slavery was extensively signed; this also was forwarded to congress, and doubtless had its effect, as the committee to whom this subject was again referred, reported adversely to the memorial; and thus terminated the efforts in congress to abrogate the article prohibiting slavery in the Northwest Territory.

Having been unsuccessful in their appeal to congress, the advocates of slavery in the Territory determined to evade the restrictive provision of the Ordinance of 1787 and accomplish the desired result in another way. This was by the enactment of a law by the first territorial legislature, and revised in 1807, entitled "an act concerning the introduction of negroes and mulattoes into this Territory." It provided that any slaveholder might bring his chattels over fifteen years of age into the Territory and have them indentured and registered, and continued in servitude upon certain conditions. Slaves under that age might be brought in and held—the males until thirty-five years and females until thirty-two years of age if properly registered. Children born of indentured slaves must serve the master of the mother—males until thirty years and females until twenty-eight years of age—the scope of which act virtually legalized slavery in the Territory to a certain extent.

In all the efforts put forth to effect the nullification of the sixth article of the Ordinance, nearly all the leading men in the counties of Randolph and St. Clair—Bond, Menard, Edgar, Fisher, Perry, and the Morrisons—heartily concurred and assisted; and the Indenture Law received their cordial support. In fact, in 1796, Edgar, Wm. Morrison, William St. Clair, and John du Moulin had forwarded the first petition to congress praying for the repeal of the anti-slavery article. And although public sentiment against slavery, under the leadership of such men as Jonathan Jennings and James Beggs, had grown so strong in the territory of Indiana as to enable the friends of freedom to repeal the obnoxious Indenture Law in 1810, there was no voice of any strength raised against it in Illinois; where among the first acts adopted by Gov. Edwards and the judges was this one, which was also reënacted by the first territorial legislature in 1812.

Under this law the number of slaves rapidly increased. In 1800, there were but 133 reported in the territory of Indiana, which then included Illinois. Ten years later there were 168 in Illinois alone, and in 1820 the number had risen to 917.

Meanwhile the constitution of 1818 had been adopted, in which it was provided that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall *hereafter* be introduced into this State." This article met with serious opposition from the slaveholding element, and as a concession to their views the section recognizing indentured slavery was adopted. Further than this the majority did not deem it prudent to go and run the risk of the rejection of the instrument by congress.

The opposition to the admission of Missouri as a slave-state had a quieting effect, but the introduction and advocacy by a senator from Illinois of the pro-slavery compromise, which was afterward adopted, revived the discussion and gave renewed confidence to the hope of slave-owners and other pro-slavery advocates that with proper efforts Illinois might yet be made a slave-state. To further this end, during the winter of 1819–20 the friends of slavery extension had conceived the project of establishing a party organ at Edwardsville, which failed only because the person selected as editor had previously found a more lucrative employment in another field.*

Senator Thomas, who was a candidate for reëlection, and known as a pro-slavery champion, naturally interested himself to secure the election to the legislature of those who were in sympathy with him on this subject, and whenever it could be done safely, the issue was made.

Adolphus Frederick Hubbard was elected lieutenant-governor; and as will be seen there was a large majority returned of those who proved to be pro-slavery or pro-convention members in both houses of the general assembly, some of them succeeding in districts where, if the question had been squarely presented, they would have been defeated. Such, briefly outlined, was the previous history of slavery agitation, and such the influences at work to make Illinois a slave-state, when the contending forces "locked horns" at the opening of the third general assembly, Dec. 2, 1822.

* Edwards' "History of Illinois," 184–5.

The house organized by the election of Wm. M. Alexander as speaker, and Charles Dunn, clerk. Thomas Lippincott was elected secretary of the senate, and Henry Dodge enrolling and engrossing clerk.

In his inaugural address, delivered in person before the joint assembly of the legislature, after alluding to the deranged financial condition of the State, and pointing out some objectionable features of the existing banking-law, Gov. Coles urged upon the members the importance of establishing a navigable waterway between the Mississippi and the great northern lakes. Had he studied the temper of the body he was addressing and closed his communication at this point, the antagonism of those opposed to him who were still smarting under the humiliation of unexpected defeat, would not have been so strongly aroused. But he was a man of strong convictions, and oblivious of the fact that the majority was in no humor to submit to the dictation of a minority executive, he took the risk of still further widening the breach between himself and them, by boldly entering upon a discussion of the slavery question, which he made the emphatic and prominent feature of his address. He called attention to the fact that despite the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 slavery still existed in the State, and he earnestly recommended its extinction, declaring that "justice and humanity required a general revisal of the laws relative to negroes, in order the better to adapt them to the character of our institutions and the situation of the country." He also advised the enactment of more effective laws to prevent the kidnapping of free blacks—a crime at that time frequently committed with impunity, and which he regarded as a disgrace not only to the State, but to christian civilization as well.

This was bearding the lion in his den. To say that the address evoked all the latent hostility to the governor, which needed only a breath to kindle into a flame, is to state but mildly the storm of opposition which beat around him. His course was doubtless impolitic, but subsequent events have shown that if this enthusiastic Virginia abolitionist precipitated a conflict which had been long delayed, perhaps no better period in the history of the State could have been

selected nor could more favorable circumstances have existed under which to bring it to a decisive issue. It formed the distinguishing feature of Gov. Coles' administration, "and involved consequences to the State and Union which can not be measured by human ken."

Before narrating the proceedings of the legislature following the governor's message, however, it will be proper to note the result of the animated contest for the office of United-States senator, which first engrossed attention, and for the time being subordinated all other questions. The candidates were Jesse B. Thomas to succeed himself, John Reynolds, Leonard White, then a senator, and Samuel D. Lockwood. All of these except the last named favored the calling of a convention. Reynolds supposed that if the election could be delayed until spring the elements opposed to Thomas would be enabled to unite and accomplish his defeat.* But the effort put forth in this direction failed. Thomas had his forces so well trained that he was able to hold them together, and succeeded in fixing January 9 as the day for the election. The result was, Thomas received twenty-nine votes, Reynolds sixteen, White six, and Lockwood two, insuring the election of the former by a majority of five.

State officers were appointed or elected as follows: Samuel D. Lockwood, secretary of state; Elijah C. Berry, auditor; Abner Field, treasurer; and James Turney, attorney-general.

There being no further matters requiring preliminary action the special committee to which had been referred that portion of the governor's message relating to slavery, presented majority and minority reports.

Messrs. Beaird, Boon, Ladd, Kinney, and White reviewed the entire question from a pro-slavery stand-point, and after stating that "your committee are clearly of opinion that the people of Illinois have now the same right to alter their constitution as the people of Virginia or any other of the original states, and may make any disposition of negro slaves they choose without any breach of faith, or violation of compact, ordinance, or act of congress," they recommended the adoption of a resolution that the electors at the next general election vote for or against a convention to amend the constitution.

* "Edwards' Papers," 204.

Messrs. Moore and Emmet in their minority report, recommended the entire abolition of slavery; and Conrad Will made a separate report.

By the terms of the constitution that instrument could not be altered or amended unless the question of a convention for that purpose should be submitted to the people by a joint-resolution of the general assembly, adopted by a two-third vote. The advocates of a convention had the necessary two-thirds in the senate, but lacked one vote in the house. Confident of success at the polls, and that all that was necessary to accomplish their design was to adopt the resolution calling the convention, this one vote they were determined to secure. It soon transpired that William McFatridge, formerly identified with the minority, had been induced through some occult influence to vote for the resolution.

No cause for further delay existing, the resolution was put upon its passage in the house, having previously passed the senate, February 11, 1823. After so much labor and the employment of so much diplomacy the hopes of the convention men were about to be realized. But when the roll was called, to the surprise and dismay of the majority, Nicholas Hansen of Pike County, recorded his vote in the negative, and after all the resolution was lost.

The election of Hansen had been contested by John Shaw, but the committee on elections had reported unanimously in favor of Hansen, and he was seated by a majority of the members. His position on the absorbing question had undoubtedly been sounded and found satisfactory; and in the preliminary voting, he had ranged himself with the majority as had been expected. But it seems that there were "influences" at work on the side of freedom as well as slavery, and when the test came Hansen gave the decisive vote which defeated the resolution.

The conventionists were furious, and their indignation against Hansen was both deep and loud. Their watchword, however, had been "convention or death"; and they were ready for the adoption of any means, however desperate, to bring about the desired result. How was the situation to be changed—could another member be won over? It did not take long for unscrup-

ulous and determined managers to solve the problem. There was *one* palpable way to secure the much-needed vote. John Shaw, who had failed in his contest for Hansen's seat and gone home, although claiming to be anti-slavery in principle, was known to be in favor of a convention. What if the house had already decided the case against him? That one vote must be obtained. Accordingly when the body met the next morning, Alexander P. Field, afterward secretary of state for fourteen years, moved a reconsideration of the vote declaring Hansen entitled to his seat, and made a long speech in its favor, covering the ground already gone over, no new facts whatever being introduced. A strong effort was made by the minority to defeat the motion, but the edict had gone forth, and the subservient members dare not refuse to obey the mandates of their leaders. The vote was reconsidered, and the name of John Shaw having been inserted in place of that of Nicholas Hansen—eleven members having changed sides on the question—the resolution as amended was carried. A messenger was despatched in hot haste to Pike County, a distance of over a hundred miles, to inform Shaw of the unexpected honor which awaited him, and he responded to the call with equal alacrity.

There was still a hitch in the proceedings after Shaw's arrival. The speaker had previously decided that a member of a constitutional minority could not move a reconsideration. Now this action was reversed, and a motion by a member who voted on the losing side to reconsider the last convention resolution, was carried, the resolution again put on its passage and, receiving the requisite twenty-four votes, was finally passed.*

* Nicholas Hansen, whose name became so noted in connection with this controversy, was a graduate of Union College, and a member of the bar formerly of Albany, New York. He was probate-judge of Pike County in 1821–2, was elected to the legislature in 1822, and again in 1824. He was colonel of the Seventeenth Regiment Illinois Militia in 1821, and commissioned as brigadier-general in 1824; was judge of probate in 1826. He returned to New York in 1829, where he resided until his death in 1872 at the age of ninety-one years. He was a man of ability and superior education, but intemperate habits.

John Shaw was also an early settler in Pike County from which he afterward removed to Wisconsin. He was engaged in various kinds of business and had a fondness for politics. He had the reputation of being ambitious, restless, and enterprising. He died Aug. 31, 1871, aged 89.

Those who voted for the resolution were Messrs. Theophilus W. Smith, John Grammar, Thomas Sloo, jr., Martin Jones, William Boon, Samuel Crozier, Leonard

The triumph of the convention men was celebrated by a wild and drunken carouse. Forming themselves into a noisy and disorderly procession, headed by Judges Phillips, Smith, and Thomas Reynolds, and senator, afterward lieutenant-governor, William Kinney, followed by the pro-slavery members of the legislature and the sympathetic lobby, they marched to the music of horns and the beating of drums and tin-pans to the residence of the governor, and those of their more prominent opponents, whom they greeted with a contemptuous medley of cat-calls, groans, wailings, and derisive cheers; intending thus not only to humiliate the anti-convention men but to intimidate them, and crush out all opposition.* The little town of Vandalia indeed was practically handed over to the mercy of a howling mob—as Gov. John Reynolds characterizes it "a wild and indecorous procession by torch-light and liquor."†

The success of the pro-convention party though resisted heroically at every point, imparted to the situation an aspect of gravity which was fully recognized by the friends of freedom. But while discouraged, they were not disheartened, and determined to meet the issue thus tendered with all the means and resources at their command. No time was lost by either side in getting ready for the conflict. Addresses were issued to the people, private conferences and public meetings were held, organization perfected, money raised, and leaders selected. The high-handed and revolutionary proceeding of unseating a legally-elected member to obtain the lacking vote, and the subsequent riotous conduct of the pro-slavery leaders, which as Gov. Reynolds, himself a conventionist, says "was con-

White, Milton Ladd, William Kinney, Joseph A. Beaird, Michael Jones, and Lewis Barker, of the senate; and Messrs. Wm. M. Alexander, Wm. Alexander, Samuel Alexander, James A. Whitside, Emanuel J. West, Wm. Berry, Zadoc Casey, Thos. Dorris, J. G. Daimwood, James S. Davenport, John Emmett, G. R. Logan, R. C. Ford, Alex. P. Field, John McIntosh, William McFatridge, Alex. Phillips, John Shaw, Joseph Trottier, John McFerron, Thomas Rattan, James Turney, Conrad Will, and James Campbell, of the house. Those who voted against the resolution were Messrs, Stephen Stillman, Andrew Bankson, David Parker, William Kinkead, George Caldwell, and Robert Frazier, of the senate; and Curtis Blakeman, George Churchill, Abraham Cairnes, David McGahey, Wm. Lowrey, Risdon Moore, Jacob Ogle, Thomas Mather, Raphael Widen, Jonathan H. Pugh, Gilbert T. Pell, and James Sims, of the house.

* Ford's "Illinois," p. 53. † "My Own Times," 2d Ed., 153.

demned by all honest men," was fully set forth and published through the State, constituting one of the most effective campaign documents ever issued.

Of the five newspapers in the State, the *Edwardsville Spectator*, edited by Hooper Warren, was opposed to the convention, as was also *The Illinois Intelligencer* after it changed hands early in the campaign, edited by David Blackwell. *The Illinois Gazette*, printed at Shawneetown, managed by Henry Eddy, published articles on both sides, but was regarded as more friendly to that of freedom. *The Republican Advocate* at Kaskaskia, controlled by Elias K. Kane, afterward United-States senator, and Thomas Reynolds; and *The Republican* at Edwardsville, under the direction of Judge Theophilus W. Smith, Emanuel J. West, and Judge Samuel McRoberts, afterward United-States senator, were the organs of the convention.

The contest which followed these preparations and which continued for the long period of eighteen months, was not only the most exciting that had yet occurred in the State, but loomed up into national importance. With Illinois as a slave-state, the preponderance of the slave-holder's party in the national councils would be assured, and the eyes of the people of the entire country were turned toward the Prairie State with anxious looks. Missouri had been thus secured, would the effort be successful in Illinois? The aspects of the conflict in the State were most extraordinary. The popular interest was confined to neither age, sex, nor color—even the women and children entering earnestly the arena of party-strife. Other elections had aroused more or less activity and rancour, but into this campaign was infused a spirit of bitterness, if not of malignity which only the agitation of the slavery question could have generated. The press fairly sparkled with the sharpest of editorials, which were eagerly and sometimes laboriously perused by the light of "dip-candles" in border log-cabins. The hustings were occupied by the most eloquent speakers either side could produce; while the rude pulpit of those days, especially on the side of freedom, counting it as a christian virtue, thundered its anathemas against those who would pollute the soil by the spread of human slavery over the Prairie State. When reason failed to convince, resort was

not infrequently had to personal conflicts, and indeed every avenue through which the public mind might be reached and influenced was employed.

The advocates of the convention undoubtedly had the advantage in the number, official position, and personal and political influence of their leaders. Among these were Jesse B. Thomas, John McLean, Elias Kent Kane, John M. Robinson, Samuel McRoberts, and Richard M. Young, the former of whom then, and each of the latter subsequently, filled the office of United-States senator; Joseph Phillips, late chief-justice, John Reynolds, and Thomas C. Browne of the supreme court, A. F. Hubbard, then, and Wm. Kinney, and Zadoc Casey, afterward lieutenant-governors of the State, Gen. Willis Hargrave, Col. A. P. Field, T. W. Smith, afterward judge of the supreme court, Chief-Justice Thomas Reynolds, E. J. West, and ex-Gov. Bond.

At the head of the resolute opposition was Gov. Coles. He had cheerfully given the salary of his entire term, $4000, to the cause, and had thrown into the scale the weight of his official influence and personal ability. His efforts were untiring, covering not only every county in the State, but even reaching to leading statesmen in other commonwealths, who were induced to contribute their aid by both tongue and pen. Next to the governor, the man who labored in most hearty coöperation with him to stem the onslaught of slavery, and who perhaps accomplished better results than any other man in the State was the Rev. John Mason Peck, a Baptist minister of Rock Springs in St. Clair County. A native of Connecticut, he had come west in 1817 as a missionary. To a natural intelligence, far above the average, he joined the advantages of a collegiate education, and had been a tireless worker in the organization of churches, Sunday-schools, Bible and temperance societies throughout the State. When the question of calling a convention, which involved the possibility of making Illinois a slave-state, was presented, it aroused the deepest feelings of his nature. He entered the contest with an enthusiasm, intense energy, and holy zeal for freedom equalled only by his love for the success of the gospel of Christ. Fearlessly, with unsurpassed ability, and skill in argument, he denounced slavery as a crime against God and

man. In log-churches, in private houses, where meetings were frequently held, everywhere, by day and by night, he proclaimed the right of liberty, and the glory of a free-state. Especially was he influential with his brother preachers, many of whom he fired with an ardent kindred to that which animated his own breast, and among whom a most effective organization was perfected. Though one of the despised Yankees, he comported himself with such shrewdness and tact as to escape the odium which in those days attached to anyone from New England. He lived long to enjoy the fruits of his efficient and self-denying labors.

The ablest man on the stump against the convention was D. P. Cook, who was more than a match for any speaker that could be brought against him. When he returned from Washington in 1824, he devoted himself exclusively to his own campaign against ex-Gov. Bond for congress, and the defeat of the convention resolution. He was a host within himself, and brought his personal influence to bear to secure the support of others.

The fact that the advocates of a change in the organic law had the advantage of the active coöperation of the leading politicians of the State was in some measure counterbalanced by the circumstance that the anti-slavery party had rallied to its standard the best literary talent of the commonwealth. In this sort of conflict "the pen is mightier than the sword," and this inoffensive-looking implement was wielded with potent effect. Among those who were most active in its use, and who also bore the brunt of battle in other ways, were Samuel D. Lockwood, Geo. Forquer, Morris Birkbeck, Geo. Churchill, Thomas Mather, and Rev. Thomas Lippincott. The writings of Mr. Birkbeck especially were of marked power. He was a regular contributor to the papers, and published a pamphlet which is said to have contained the best arguments presented against slavery. Robert Vaux, the noted quaker philanthropist of Philadelphia also lent his able pen, as did also William H. Crawford.

Gov. Edwards had been claimed by both sides of the controversy. He was then a slave-holder, and had voted while in congress for the admission of Missouri as a slave-state, while

his able son-in-law, Cook, had voted against it. If the ex-governor wrote "the scratch of a pen" to indicate on which side he stood it has not been published among his voluminous papers. Sidney Breese was another of those who held slaves at Kaskaskia, and who failed to leave any record showing which side of this question he favored.

The settlement of Missouri at this time by wealthy and respectable immigrants from the South, passing through Illinois with their flocks and herds and slaves and their well-equipped wagons drawn by fine horses, who would doubtless, as it was asserted, remain in Illinois but for the constitutional anti-slavery restriction, was used as a strong argument in favor of its abrogation.*

Another argument, shrewdly advanced in favor of the convention was, that the constitution required amendment in other respects, and that the calling of a convention need not necessarily result in making Illinois a slave-state. Quite a number of votes were undoubtedly gained for the call by this consideration, from the anti-slavery ranks. But as the time for the election drew near the mask of the pro-conventionists was dropped, and the real issue became more and more distinctly defined.

At length arrived the eventful day which was to settle a question more momentous to the citizens of Illinois and to their posterity than any that had yet been submitted to the electors of the State. With the closing of the polls on the first Monday in August (2), 1824, terminated a struggle that for eighteen months had absorbingly engrossed the mind of every citizen and had awakened a partisan bitterness theretofore unknown. It was with a feeling of relief that both parties saw the sun set on the day which was to conclude a controversy wearisome through its very intensity.

How overwhelming was the majority against the convention,

* Even the poor immigrant from the slave-states, with his one old horse hitched to a broken-down wagon, in which was contained his worldly all, with his "old woman" and tow-headed children, and not enough "plunder" to buy a cat—who never owned a slave, nor expected to be able to do so, would talk in the same way. Judge Gillespie speaks of one of these on his way to Missouri, who, upon being asked why he did not stop in Illinois, answered, "well sir, your *sile* is mighty *fartil*, but a man can't own niggers *here;* gol durn you."

is shown by the table given below.* The battle had been fought and won.

That the election was on the whole a fair one was generally conceded. Some apprehension had been felt lest voters from the states of Kentucky and Missouri might be colonized in adjoining districts, but there is no evidence that this was attempted. The full vote was brought out, the aggregate poll being 47 more than that cast for congressman. As compared with that of the presidential election which followed, there was the startling falling off in the latter of 7080 votes.

It will be seen by the table that if left to the first-settled counties of the State the convention would have been called—the majority against it having been given in the seven northern counties last organized, namely, Bond, Edgar, Sangamon, Morgan, Pike, Greene, and Fulton. And it may be further remarked that so involved and identified did the question of slavery subsequently become with that of the success of a political party, it is very doubtful if there ever was a time after this election up to the period of the secession of the Southern States in 1860–1, when these seven counties would have given so large a majority, if any, against making Illinois a slave-state.

It is also a remarkable fact that the governor and the brilliant congressman who coöperated with him, as well as ten out

* Official vote (Aug. 2, 1824), corrected—first time printed—by counties, for and against the convention to alter or amend the constitution:

COUNTIES.	FOR.	AGAINST.	COUNTIES.	FOR.	AGAINST.
Alexander,	75	51	Madison,	351	563
Bond,	63	240	Marion,	45	52
Clark,	31	116	Montgomery,	74	90
Crawford,	134	262	Monroe,	141	196
Edgar,	3	234	Morgan,	42	432
Edwards,	189	391	Pike,	19	165
Fayette,	125	121	Pope,	273	124
Franklin,	170	113	Randolph,	357	284
Fulton,	5	60	Sangamon,	153	722
Gallatin,	597	133	St. Clair,	408	506
Greene,	164	379	Union,	213	240
Hamilton,	173	85	Washington,	112	173
Jackson,	180	93	Wayne,	189	111
Jefferson,	99	43	White,	355	326
Johnson,	74	74			
Lawrence,	158	261	Totals,	4972	6640

of the eighteen members of the legislature who voted and worked against the convention resolution were from slave-holding states.*

On the other hand, it is an equally singular fact that at least four of the leading spirits who were willing to make Illinois a slave-state and who were the most active among the advocates for a convention, were from free-states, namely, Elias Kent Kane, Judge T. W. Smith, both from New York, and John and Thomas Reynolds, of Irish parentage, born in Pennsylvania.†

This was also a presidential year, and while the anti-convention party was firmly united on that question, its members differed widely on all others especially in their preferences for president. The convention men on the other hand generally enrolled themselves under the banner of Andrew Jackson. The

* The names of the latter are as follows: Messrs. Moore, (Ga.); Frazier, Cairnes, and Lowrey, (Ky.); Kinkead, McGahey, Parker, and Bankson, (Tenn.); Ogle, (Va.); and Sims, (S. C.).

† It may not be uninteresting to the reader to show what have been the decisions of the courts on the question of slavery in Illinois. In the case of Winney *vs.* Whiteside (1 Mo. 427) the supreme court of Missouri, in 1827 held, that a negro woman who had been taken into the Illinois Territory since the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 by her owner, who resided there four years, thereby became free, and upon being afterward taken to Missouri was not again remitted to slavery; and that congress under the confederation had the power to pass the ordinance.

In another case (1 Mo., 725) the same court held that when the mother of the plaintiff had been held as a slave in Virginia, and taken to Illinois before the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 and held in slavery there before and after its passage, the plaintiff being born there after its passage was free.

In the case of Phoebe *vs.* Jarrot (Breese's "Illinois Reports," p. 268), it was decided that while that portion of the Indenture Law permitting the owner to bring his slaves into the Territory and hold them as such was void, that the other section providing for their indenture was valid, because the act of congress accepting the constitution of 1818, which recognized that kind of contracts, abrogated so much of the Ordinance of 1787 as was repugnant to it.

The supreme court of Louisiana (20 Martin, 699), 1830, held that the deed of cession by Virginia did not deprive congress of the power to pass the sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787, and that this ordinance fixed forever the character of the population over which it extended, and that a negro born in the Northwest Territory since the ordinance was free.

It was by virtue of the provision of the constitution of 1818 relating to indentured and registered slaves, and this alone, that the supreme court of this State held in the cases of Nance *vs.* Howard, Breese, p. 187; Phœbe *vs.* Day, Breese, p. 207; Boon *vs.* Juliet, 1 Scammon, p. 258; Choisser *vs.* Borders, 4 Scammon, p. 341, that colored persons could be held to a specific performance of their contracts and indentures under the act of Sept. 17, 1807, of the Indiana Territory (reënacted

falling off in the number of votes polled at the presidential election, however, was surprising, the whole number being only 4707 as against 11,787, cast at the previous general election in August. These were divided among the several candidates as follows: for John Quincy Adams 1541, Andrew Jackson 1273, Henry Clay 1046, Clay and Jackson, generally counted for the latter 629, William H. Crawford 218.* There was no choice of president by the people at this election, and the United-States house of representatives elected Mr. Adams, for whom the vote of Illinois was cast by Mr. Cook. The latter was the only representative in congress from the State at this time, having been again successful at the August election in his candidacy against Shadrach Bond by 3016 majority.

in Illinois in 1809–12), and that without that constitutional provision they would be entitled to their freedom, for the reason that the provisions of that act were void as being repugnant to the Ordinance of 1787. Jarrott *vs.* Jarrott, 2 Gillespie, 1, 1843.

In the last-cited case it was held that "the Ordinance of 1787 from the time of its first enactment became and has continued to be an organic regulation for the government of the whole Northwest Territory, of which Illinois forms a part, and still remains of binding influence, except only in such instances as it may have been repealed or abrogated by the parties to the compact;" and that the descendants of the slaves of the old French settlers born since the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787, and before or since the constitution of Illinois was adopted, can not be held in slavery in the State. It was also held that slaves were legally held in Illinois prior to the adoption of said ordinance.

The supreme court at this time was composed of the following judges: Wilson, Lockwood, Browne, Scates, Young, Shields, Thomas, and Treat; the last three of whom dissented from the opinion.

* Edwards' "Illinois." 265.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Fourth General Assembly—LaFayette's Visit to Illinois—Lieut.-Gov. Hubbard.

THE fourth general assembly was convened by proclamation of the governor, November 15, 1824, three weeks prior to the time fixed by the constitution, for the purpose of remedying a defect in the law providing for returns of the vote for presidential electors. The first State-house having been destroyed by fire, December 9, 1823, a new brick-building, much more roomy and convenient, had been constructed at a cost of $12,381.50,* and was now occupied for the first time.

Thomas Mather was elected speaker of the house, and Chas. Dunn, clerk. Emanuel J. West was elected secretary of the senate, and Benjamin Ogle sergeant-at-arms.

Joseph Duncan and Thomas Carlin were among the new senators. In the house, the following members were reëlected; Curtis Blackman, Zadoc Casey, George Churchill, Nicholas Hansen, George R. Logan, Thomas Mather, Risdon Moore, David McGahey, James A. Whiteside, and Conrad Will. Among the new members were Elias Kent Kane, David Blackwell, William B. Archer, and George Forquer.

The law regulating the returns of votes cast for electors, having been amended, the next subject which engrossed the attention of the legislature, was the election of two United-States senators; one to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Senator Edwards the previous March, whose term expired March 3, 1825, and the other for the full term beginning at that date. Ex-Gov. Edwards, who had resigned to accept the appointment of minister to Mexico, and becoming soon after involved in an unfortunate quarrel with William H. Crawford, then secretary of the treasury, had resigned that position also, having returned home, was now a candidate to fill out the remainder of his term. He was opposed by John McLean, William M. Alexander, and Nathaniel Pope. The contest was

* Toward which sum the citizens of Vandalia had contributed $3000.

close, the first ballot standing twenty-two votes for McLean, eighteen for Edwards, nine for Alexander, and three for Pope. On the third ballot nearly all the supporters of Alexander went over to McLean, giving him thirty-one votes, insuring his election, to nineteen for Edwards and two for Pope. This was on Nov. 23, and on the 30th, the two houses again met in joint session to choose the senator for the full term. McLean was again a candidate, as were also Elias Kent Kane, Samuel D. Lockwood, Edward Coles, and Thomas Sloo, jr. On the first ballot the vote stood for McLean 13, Kane 13, Lockwood 18, Coles 4, Sloo 4. Kane was elected on the tenth ballot which stood Kane 28, Lockwood 21, Coles 1, Sloo 2.

The result in both cases was inexplicable. An anti-convention legislature had elevated to the highest office within their gift, two of the leaders of the opposition whom they had most bitterly fought at the polls and overwhelmingly defeated; and this too in preference to their own able and deserving coworkers, Coles and Lockwood.

Elias Kent Kane, the successful candidate for the long term, was the youngest son of Capt. John Kane, a sailor by profession, who during the Revolution emigrated from Ireland to New York, where Elias was born June 7, 1786. His brother John K., was the father of the celebrated explorer, Elisha Kent Kane. Elias Kent was educated at Yale College, and after reading law decided to locate in the West; stopping first for a time at Nashville, Tenn., he finally determined to settle permanently in Illinois and arrived at Kaskaskia in 1814, where he soon after married Felicita Peltia, a descendant of an old French family. He was an able lawyer, and early distinguished himself as such, as well as a successful politician.

These elections having been thus disposed of, the perennial question of the composition of the courts next claimed the attention of the legislature, which proceeded thoroughly to reorganize the judicial system of the State. Five circuit-judgeships were created whose incumbents were required to hold the circuit-courts, and provision was made for the election of four supreme-court judges who were to hold two sessions of that court each year at the capital.

William Wilson was elected chief-justice of the supreme

court, and Thomas C. Browne, Samuel D. Lockwood, and Theophilus W. Smith, associates; John York Sawyer, Samuel McRoberts, Richard M. Young, James Hall, and James O. Wattles, were elected circuit-judges. The anti-convention party again exhibited a generous magnanimity in supporting from among the candidates for judicial honors some of those who had but lately been their most strenuous opponents.

The judges of the supreme court were directed to prepare a revision of the laws and report at the next session.

So little was the governor in accord with the legislature that but few of the measures recommended by him were adopted. There was, however, one notable exception, namely, the law introduced by Joseph Duncan relating to free-schools, whose scope will be more particularly explained and commented upon in another place.

An interesting incident during the administration of Gov. Coles was the visit of Gen. Lafayette to the State in 1825. The governor had formed the acquaintance of the distinguished French general in Paris, and while the latter was making his grand tour in the United States he was easily persuaded to include Illinois among the localities to be visited. The legislature had extended the invitation and had been liberal in making provision for defraying the expense of the entertainment, which, as subsequently ascertained, amounted to $6473, about one-third of the tax-receipts of the State treasury for that year.

A large delegation from Missouri accompanied the general from St. Louis to Kaskaskia, where the reception was held. The steamer *Natchez*, on which the trip was made, was gaily decorated for the occasion, and the landing was effected amid the strains of martial music and the booming of cannon. Gov. Coles delivered the address of welcome, to which a feeling response was made in very good English by the honored guest. A reception followed which was held at the residence of Gen. John Edgar, and after this came a sumptuous dinner at the tavern of Col. Sweet; the entertainment concluding with a grand ball at the stone mansion of William Morrison, in which all participated.

Gov. Coles accompanied Lafayette to Nashville, on a boat chartered by the State, and on the return trip, a stop was

made at Shawneetown, where an address of welcome was delivered by Judge James Hall. The General expressed himself as much pleased with his visit to Illinois, whose citizens were indeed among the foremost in showing honor to the man whom the entire Nation regarded as entitled to her gratitude and esteem for the glorious part he had borne in the war of the Revolution.

In pursuance of a resolution of the general assembly requesting that it be called together for the purpose of enacting an apportionment law under the census of 1825, Lieut.-Gov. Hubbard, in the absence of the governor from the State, issued his proclamation convening the body, Jan. 2, 1826. Samuel Smith and Gabriel Jones had been elected in Randolph County to succeed E. K. Kane and Thomas Mather, resigned, and Thomas James in Monroe County, vice George Forquer, resigned. David Blackwell was elected speaker of the house in place of Col. Mather. This special session was characterized by a spirit of harmony and mutual concession, little change being made in existing laws and but few new ones being passed aside from that of the apportionment. It adjourned Jan. 28.

In closing the narrative of Gov. Coles' administration, it may be not unjustly observed that he was the least popular of all those who have occupied the executive chair in this State. Being a bachelor, he was without that social influence and standing which are so frequently given by family ties and connections. Without a cohesive local party, he was unable to accomplish those political results which are effected only through party organization. In national affairs he had managed to antagonize many of those who had acknowledged him as their leader on the question of calling a convention—his choice for president, in 1824, being William H. Crawford, the least popular in this State of all the candidates. Gov. Coles had a plain, blunt way of springing his measures upon the legislature without consulting the public pulse, or making any effort to conciliate well-recognized opposition. Personally the antagonism to him was so great that every means was employed to annoy and humiliate him. One of the most contemptible of these measures, prompted by personal malice and prejudice, was the suit brought against him under the law of 1819, to recover a penalty

of $200 for each negro emancipated by him and brought into the State, he having failed to give security that he or she would not become a county charge; and this, notwithstanding the well-known fact that these people had been industrious, sober, correct in their habits and entirely self-sustaining. The prosecution was conducted with persistence and malignity, and a verdict of $2000 was obtained against him. Before any judgment was rendered, the legislature released him from the penalty; but when the act was pleaded in bar of the judgment, Samuel McRoberts, the circuit-judge, declared it void and unconstitutional, which decision, however, the supreme court promptly reversed.

Gov. Coles having published some strictures upon the rulings of McRoberts in the case, that judge went before the grand-jury of Madison County and secured his indictment for libel, and as though that were not likely to prove sufficiently annoying, commenced a civil suit againt him for $5000 damages. As the time approached for the trial and the facts became better known, the plaintiff concluded to dismiss the case and, at his suggestion it is stated, a *nolle prosequi* was entered in the criminal case, against the protest of the defendant who was ready and anxious for a hearing.

To add to the governor's troubles, about this time he had the misfortune to lose by fire, two-thirds of all the buildings and inclosures on his farm, together with about 200 apple-trees and as many peach-trees. Soon after this, the State-house having been burned and the governor refusing for good reasons to make a private subscription toward the erection of a new building, the friends of the project vented their spleen by inciting a mob against him, which paraded the streets till early dawn, making night hideous with their noise.

The pro-slavery senate of the fourth general assembly rejected the governor's nomination of Morris Birkbeck to the office of secretary of state—in which position he only served three months. The house at the same time voted down a resolution according the governor the privileges of the floor. During the closing days of the session, this same body, whether as a compliment to the governor or rebuke of the senate, or both, can not now be determined, adopted a resolution by a

nearly unanimous vote, thanking Morris Birkbeck "for the able, impartial, and satisfactory manner in which he had discharged the duties of the office of secretary of state."

Thus harassed by malicious law suits, the victim of prejudices as unreasoning as they were unjust, it is not surprising that Gov. Coles' occupancy of the gubernatorial chair was as painful as it was embarrassing, and that when the time came he yielded up the sceptre of State without regret.

No governor of the State ever gave closer personal attention to the details of the office than Gov. Coles. He wrote his own State-papers, and all of his official correspondence was in his own handwriting—even the copies of his letters being made by himself. He was not a public speaker, but as a writer he was clear and concise, stating his propositions tersely and being happy in the elucidation of his ideas. In recalling the stormy scenes of his administration, it must be admitted that he was the most conspicuous figure in unswerving loyalty to the cause of freedom, and that to him are the people most indebted for "saving the State then and forever from the black curse of African slavery." While monuments have been erected to the memory of other governors, who on this question were on the wrong side, is it not time that some expression should be made in honor of this intrepid champion of human rights at the mention of whose name posterity should bow its head in gratitude?

At the close of his term he retired to his farm near Edwardsville and devoted himself to its cultivation and improvement. He was fond of such pursuits, especially that of horticulture, and enjoys the honor of being the founder of the first agricultural society in the State.*

In 1831, supposing that the asperities of his gubernatorial career had been forgotten, upon the solicitation of many friends he consented to become a candidate for congress, but the result showed that his unpopularity still continued. The other candidates were Joseph Duncan and Sidney Breese, the former of whom received nearly as many votes as both of his competitors—the ex-governor bringing up the rear.

He now became convinced that it would be hopeless for

* E. B. Washburne's "Sketch of Edward Coles," 245.

him to seek further political preferment in Illinois. Having no home-ties, he divided his time between his former residence in Virginia and traveling in eastern cities. Becoming attached to Philadelphia, he decided to make that city his home, and thither he removed in the autumn of 1832. There, on Nov. 28, 1833, he was married to Miss Sallie Logan Roberts. And in that "city of brotherly love," possessed of an ample fortune, surrounded by an interesting family and sympathetic friends, he passed the residue of his days.

The financial condition of the State, as a result of previous legislation and political excitement, had steadily grown from bad to worse during Gov. Coles' administration. The public expenditures had nominally increased threefold by reason of the depreciation of the State-Bank paper. Besides this, there had been the extraordinary expenses of the additional judges, special session of the general assembly, the rebuilding of the State-house, taking the census, and the visit of Gen. Lafayette.

As near as can be ascertained the receipts of the State-treasury for the years 1823 and 1824 were - -	$81,966
Amount of warrants paid - - - - -	79,868
Amount outstanding not known.	
Receipts for 1825 and 1826 - - - -	$93,880
Amount of warrants paid - - - - -	111,612
Amount outstanding - - - - - -	34,015

No history of Gov. Coles' administration would be complete which failed to mention the part taken therein by the lieutenant-governor. The name of this shining light in the political firmament of those days, was Frederick Adolphus Hubbard, and Shawneetown enjoyed the distinction of being his place of residence. He seems to have been a lawyer by profession, of the kind which only the day and age in which he lived could have produced. It is related of him that while engaged in the trial of a lawsuit, involving the title to a certain mill run by Joseph Duncan, the opposing counsel, David J. Baker, then recently from New England, had quoted from Johnson's "New-York Reports," a case strongly against Hubbard's side. Reading reports of the decision of courts before juries

was a new thing in those days, and Hubbard to evade the force of the authority as a precedent, coolly informed the jury that Johnson was a Yankee-clock peddler, who had been perambulating up and down the country gathering up rumors and floating stories against the people of the West and had them published in a book under the name of "Johnson's Reports." He indignantly repudiated the book as authority in Illinois, and clinched the argument by adding, "gentlemen of the jury, I am sure you will not believe anything that comes from such a source; and besides that, what did this Johnson know about Duncan's mill anyhow?" Of course this was conclusive with the jury, and Hubbard gained his case.*

Hubbard had been a member of the constitutional convention, and if in his subsequent career he did not attain to the utmost height of his "vaulting ambition," the failure can not be ascribed to any lack of effort on his part. At one time, after repeated and annoying application, he obtained from Gov. Edwards what he had reason to believe was a recommendation for a certain office. The more he thought about it however, the greater became his distrust of the contents of the governor's letter. In speaking of it afterward, in his lisping manner, he said: "contrary to the uthage amongst gentlemen he thealed it up, and contrary to the uthage amongst gentlemen I broke it open; and what do you think I found? Instead of recommending me, the old rathscal abused me like a pick-pocket."

At the time when Gov. Edwards resigned his seat in the United-States senate in March, 1824, it happened that Hubbard was in Washington on a visit. Seeing as he supposed a splendid opportunity to advance his own political fortunes, he prevailed on the senator to allow him to deliver the letter of resignation to Gov. Coles in person. This he did, adding the gratuitous statement that Edwards and Cook had selected him as the bearer of the document, in the belief that the governor would either resign, in which case he (Hubbard) as his successor to the gubernatorial power would appoint him (Coles) to fill the unexpired senatorial term, or that if the latter preferred the governor's chair, then in return for the generous proposal, Coles should appoint no less a person than the aspiring Fred-

* Joseph Gillespie, in "Fergus' Historical Series," No. 13.

erick Adolphus Hubbard to represent Illinois in the councils of the Nation! To his astonishment and chagrin, Gov. Coles was by no means favorably impressed with the suggestion. In plain words, he indignantly and contemptuously spurned the proposition, informing the ambitious politician that he declined to become a party to any such dishonorable dickering.

"Time brings its revenges," and Hubbard's opportunity to repay what he considered the insolence of his superior came within the following year. In 1825, the governor notified the lieutenant-governor that circumstances would call him out of the State for a short period after July, and that during his absence the responsibilities of the executive office would devolve upon the latter. In the autumn, Gov. Coles returned, prepared to enter upon the discharge of his official duties. But Frederick Adolphus having once tasted the sweets of elevation to power, was loth to abandon the chair whose occupancy he had thoroughly enjoyed. Remembering the affront which he had suffered at the hands of Gov. Coles, his brilliant legal mind believed that it discerned an opportunity for gratifying at once his ambition and his desire for revenge. He therefore, under that clause of the constitution which provided that the lieutenant-governor should exercise all the power and authority appertaining to the office of governor in case of the latter's absence from the State "until the time pointed out by the constitution for the election of governor shall arrive," claimed that Gov. Coles by his absence had forfeited the office, and that he, the lieutenant-governor, had fallen heir to it. Finding a number of backers among those with whom he fraternized, he determined to bring the question before the courts, and November 2, he appointed W. L. D. Ewing, pay-master-general of the Illinois militia, and requested Secretary-of-State George Forquer to issue the commission therefor, which he refused to do. Ewing, as had been arranged, applied to the supreme court for a writ of *mandamus* to compel the secretary to sign and issue the commission, and the motion was gravely argued at great length before a full bench. Judges Lockwood and Smith delivered separate opinions in the case "of great learning and research," the court unanimously reaching the conclusion that there was no ground on which to award the writ.

Not satisfied with this judicial determination of his claim, the redoubtable lieutenant-governor appealed to the legislature, where his application was equally unsuccessful, there being but one member in each house favorable to his pretensions; although Gov. Coles stated that there would doubtless have been more had there been a reasonable prospect of ousting himself. The wonder now is that a claim so unfounded should have been so seriously considered.

The occupancy of the governor's office for ten weeks, and the proceedings incident to his contest for its retention, had made the name of Adolphus Frederick Hubbard quite noted and familiar in the State, of which celebrity, construing it to mean popularity with the people, he was not slow to take advantage, and accordingly offered himself as a candidate for governor in the general election of 1826. He canvassed the several counties and made speeches, a sample of which is given by Gov. Ford, as follows: "Fellow-citizens, I offer myself as a candidate before you for the office of governor. I do not pretend to be a man of extraordinary talents; nor do I claim to be equal to Julius Cæsar or Napoleon Bonaparte, nor yet to be as great a man as my opponent Gov. Edwards. Nevertheless I think I can govern you pretty well. I do not think it will require a very extraordinary smart man to govern you; for to tell you the truth, fellow-citizens, I do not believe you will be very hard to govern, no how."

The number of votes cast for him, no doubt to his great surprise and dismay, was only 580, and the smallness of his poll was unquestionably the first convincing intimation he had received that his great abilities and aptitude for office were so much underrated by the people.

From this time forward the name of the Honorable Adolphus disappears from the page of history; but though "lost to sight it will long remain to memory dear," as an illustration of that peculiar class of men which was the outgrowth of the primitive times in which he lived.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Election and Administration of Governor Edwards—National Politics—Fifth and Sixth General Assemblies—The Winnebago Scare—Banks and Taxes—Close of the Governor's Career.

THE contest which resulted in the election of Ninian Edwards to the office of governor in 1826, was protracted and exciting. The extended period of his public service had rendered him a conspicuous character in both the State and Nation. As a United-States senator he had commanded the respect and esteem of the most distinguished statesmen of all parties. He had made his mark as a writer and speaker high upon the roll of fame. But the strife for office in his State in which, as he claimed, he had not been able to secure a fair share of patronage for his friends whose interests he made his own, and the general political turmoil which existed among contending factions at Washington for the ascendency had so disgusted and annoyed him as to cause him seriously to contemplate retirement from public life.

When, therefore, President Monroe offered him the mission to Mexico, he willingly availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded to abandon the field of politics for that of diplomacy. Having resigned his seat in the senate and drawn his outfit, on his way home, whence he expected immediately to proceed on his mission, his attention was directed to a statement made by William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury, throwing discredit upon the testimony which Senator Edwards had lately given before a committee of the lower house of congress. He construed this statement as an imputation upon his standing as a senator and his character as a man. Feeling much incensed, upon the spur of the moment he forwarded a communication to the house, in which were contained charges against Mr. Crawford, of illegal and corrupt administration of the affairs of his department, especially in reference to the deposit of public funds in the Edwardsville

bank, which had proved a defaulter to the United States to the amount of some $40,000—the question being whether Edwards had notified the secretary of the insolvent condition of the bank—the former contending that he had done so, and the latter that he had not.

The feeling between the two men had been by no means friendly for some time, Senator Edwards having been opposed to the secretary's candidacy for the presidency. Of course the presentation of the charges occasioned a fresh outbreak of hostilities between the parties, which attracted wide attention. The fact of the delay in formulating the charges until after the senator had left the capital, as if he were afraid to urge them personally, excited much unfavorable comment even from his friends, among whom was Mr. Adams, who, although himself a candidate for the presidency, could not justify the manner in which the charges were preferred.

An investigation by a congressional committee being demanded, Mr. Edwards was notified to return to Washington and make good his accusations. This he failed to do in time, and the committee having heard the evidence as presented, made a report, in which the conclusion was reached, that while many of the matters of fact as stated in the charges were true as alleged, "nothing had been proved to impeach the integrity of the secretary, or to bring into doubt the general correctness and ability of his administration of the public finances." Neither did the committee find any reason to condemn Mr. Edwards; but on the point charged against him by Mr. Crawford, he was clearly acquitted, it appearing that the letter testified to by him was written as stated, although "there was no evidence that the same had been communicated to the secretary of the treasury."

This report was claimed, in a measure, as a vindication by both parties, and so far as congress was concerned, there the matter rested. But it was otherwise with the public, which was so deeply stirred over the controversy, that Senator Edwards, who had now returned to Washington in an enfeebled state of health, felt compelled to tender his resignation as minister to Mexico, rather than embarrass the administration by giving its enemies any further pretext for assailing it on

his account. It was also prompted, as claimed by his friends, by a determination to remain in this country in order to defend his course which had been bitterly assailed at home. Both parties to the quarrel suffered, however, in their national reputation to a greater extent than either of them could have foreseen. The effect of the blows dealt in Illinois by the ex-governor against his foe, in the presidential election of 1824, had been as gratifying to the senator as mortifying to the secretary. The effect upon himself remained to be discovered after he had announced himself as a candidate to fill out his own unexpired term in the United-States senate. This, combined with other causes, as has already been shown, he had found equally disastrous.

Gov. Edwards was now for the first time in over twenty years without an official position. He had served the State both at home and in congress with great faithfulness and ability, to the neglect of his private business and personal comfort. His stores and mills had been left to the management of agents who had not always proved trustworthy, and he had lost $50,000 in bad debts which he would have secured had he been able to give the matter his personal attention.* With a depleted purse and waning popularity, criticised by his friends and jeered by his foes, it began to appear as though the political sun of his life were about to set in a bank of lowering clouds through which no ray of light could penetrate.

He soon became satisfied however, that the vote of the legislature in the senatorial contest was not a fair exponent of his strength as a leader, and did not accurately reflect his popularity before the people. He therefore decided as early as June, 1825, to appeal directly to his fellow-citizens for an endorsement of his public career, and accordingly announced himself as a candidate for governor in 1826.

His candidacy was at first received with such favor by the rallying of old friends and supporters to his standard, that it seemed doubtful whether the opposition could find any one who would be willing to stand as his competitor at the polls. But as time went on the old feuds in which the governor had been engaged broke out afresh and the old party-lines were

* Vol. 50, Autograph Letters, Chicago Historical Society.

firmly drawn against him. To lead the opposing factions Thomas C. Sloo, jr, was chosen. He was a successful merchant at Shawneetown, and had served four years acceptably in the State senate. He had not taken a leading part in politics, and made no pretensions as a public speaker, but by his agreeable manners and admitted integrity had made many friends throughout the State.

In the campaign which now followed, Gov. Edwards showed that whatever other faults might be imputed to him, he was at least not deficient in the qualities of a fighter. In his first address he threw down the gauntlet, by making a vigorous attack upon the management of the State Bank, and of the State finances. By this step he awakened the united opposition, not only of the bank officials, but of all those members of the legislature who had favored the then-existing financial policy of the State. Not content with this, he attacked the circuit-court system on account of its extravagant costliness, and also the existing administration, many of whose friends had also been his.

Consulting only the policy marked out by himself, regardless whom it affected, and soliciting aid from none of the leading politicians, he conducted his campaign with the boldness of a Jackson, the persistence of an Adams, and the eloquence of a Clay. Despising the arts of the demagogues of those days—a species by no means extinct—who went about electioneering in old and shabby clothes to ingratiate themselves with the poorer classes; who drank whisky with the crowd and went unshaven and unshorn, he, on the contrary, arrayed himself in the style of an old-fashioned gentleman, in his broadcloth coat, ruffled shirt and high-topped boots, and traveled over the State in his carriage or on horseback attended by his colored servant, notwithstanding the anti-slavery prejudices engendered by the recent agitation.

The people, whom it was supposed would be driven away by his aristocratic appearance, were really attracted to him and claimed it an honor to have the privilege of supporting "such a high-toned, elegant old gentleman." His campaign speeches, if at times somewhat verbose and stilted, contained many telling points on the subject of government and reform, and were effectively delivered.

Replying to the charge that he was becoming too advanced in years to hold office, he said, "there are many things both in the moral and physical world, that grow better as time waneth: old whisky, old wine, old bacon, old servants, old acquaintances, and old friends are agreeable to us all, and I should not be surprised if you should even like some of the good old ways by which we contrived to get along while I had the honor of being your governor." In reply to the inquiry "is he to be trusted?" he remarked—"I have been tried for many years, and when, or where, or how have I deceived the people? Was it during those territorial times that tried men's souls? was it when our frontiers were smoking with the blood and strewed with the mangled bodies of our men, women, and children, indiscriminately slaughtered by ruthless savages? Did I then consult my own ease and comfort and interest, or shrink from the highest responsibility? Did I wait for authority to act, or did I not unhesitatingly act without it, and freely risk my commission, my property, and my life, to defend my fellow-citizens and punish barbarian aggression? Did I then betray or deceive you on any of those great questions which so vitally affected your interests?" Such appeals, which went home to the popular heart, made a strong impression and were not without their effect at the polls.

One of the most serious obstacles in the way of Gov. Edwards' success was the charge that himself and relatives had already held too many posts of high official preferment in the State, and, constituting a family oligarchy, had too long wielded a preponderating influence in public affairs—a charge which it must be admitted was not without foundation in fact. The governor and his son-in-law D. P. Cook, who was again a candidate for congress in his old district, had represented the State, the one in the senate and the other in the house, for the whole period of its existence. Judge Pope, his cousin, held the United-States judgeship; Abner Field, A. P. Field, and Benjamin Stephenson, all of them family connections, had also held important offices.

Notwithstanding the determined fight made against him, the verdict of the people at the polls was in his favor, but only by a small plurality—the poll standing for Edwards 6280; Sloo 5834; Hubbard 580.

Samuel M. Thompson, a Methodist minister, the candidate for lieutenant-governor on the same ticket with Edwards, was defeated by William Kinney by 365 votes. Daniel P. Cook was also defeated for congress by Joseph Duncan, an unexpected result. It had been found difficult to agree upon a candidate to oppose one so popular and so able as Cook, his old antagonists fearing to enter the race against him. His health was not good, and supposing that his success was certain, he had spent most of the time during the active canvass out of the district. Duncan, who announced himself as a candidate, had made a good record in the State senate and stood fairly well as a rising public man. He went over the district making short plain speeches as a supporter of Jackson, who was evidently the coming candidate for president. The fact that Cook had cast the vote of Illinois in 1825 for Adams, although he tried to explain it away, made many vote against him, and to the surprise of nearly every one, and the regret of many leading men in and out of the State, his opponent was elected —the vote standing for Duncan 6323, Cook 5629, and James Turney, also a candidate, 824.*

During his last sesssion in congress, Mr. Cook discharged the duties of chairman of the committee of ways and means, a position which involved so much labor as to overtask his physical powers, and the close of the session found him with health seriously impaired. With a view to the recovery of his strength he accepted the appointment of a special mission to Cuba, and embarked for that island expecting great benefit from its mild climate. In this he was disappointed, and returning to Illinois he spent a short time with his family, when there being no longer any hope of recovery, he resolved to return to Kentucky the home of his nativity, and die on the spot that gave him birth, where he breathed his last Oct. 16, 1827, and where his remains repose.

In public as in private life he commanded the affectionate regard of both political friends and foes, no less for his moral worth than for his mental acumen. John C. Calhoun said of him, "I have a genuine respect both for his talent and

* At this election a poll was opened in Chicago, then in Peoria County, where thirty votes were cast, all of them for Edwards, Cook, and Thompson.



Your friend &c
Daniel P Cook

character. He is honest, capable, and bold." Judge McLean spoke of him as follows: "he stands well with all parties, and is not excelled in weight of character, talents, and influence by any member from the West."

It is to him that Illinois is indebted for securing, after repeated efforts, the passage through congress of the act of 1827 granting to the State, without reservation, the alternate five sections upon each side of the Illinois-and-Michigan Canal, for the purpose of aiding in its construction, amounting to nearly three hundred thousand acres of land, including the original site of Chicago. In part acknowledgment of this debt, Cook County bears his honored name.

The fifth general assembly assembled December 4, 1826. William B. Archer, Zadoc Casey, and Timothy Gard had been transferred from the house to the senate. In the house, twenty-six of the thirty-six members were newly elected, those who had served previously being, David Blackwell, Geo. Churchill, Thomas W. Dorris, Alex. P. Field, William McHenry, John McLean, Jonathan H. Pugh, Charles Slade, and Conrad Will. John Reynolds, Thomas Reynolds, Robert K. McLaughlin, Alfred W. Caverly, James Hall, Henry I. Mills, appearing for the first time in the legislature as members of the house.

John McLean for the second time was elected speaker of the house, and Wm. L. D. Ewing, clerk. Emanuel J. West was again elected secretary of the senate.

The governor delivered his inaugural in person, and, true to those instincts of formal propriety, which formed so prominent a trait in his character, appeared before the joint session in a gold-laced coat. The message was devoted to the questions of taxation, State expenditures, and the alleged mismanagement of the banks; and recommended sixteen distinct propositions of legislative reform. But the governor soon discovered that a large majority of the members of the legislature were first and foremost Jackson men, and that his individual supporters were largely in the minority. But little attention was paid to his excellency's recommendations, and his first message was followed by others, until as was remarked, they became so "stale as not to be noticed." Becoming, however, more emphatic and aggressive in his statements, he finally charged specific

acts of corruption against the officers of the bank of Edwardsville, and a committee from the house of representatives was appointed to investigate the charges. A large mass of testimony was taken and a long time occupied in making the examination. The charges appear to have been instigated in no small degree by a feeling of irritation on the part of the governor. They certainly were hastily considered and altogether too sweeping in their denunciations. Embracing as they did, not a few of the most prominent men of the State, to whom no taint of suspicion could rightfully attach, they resulted in the formation of a powerful combination to defeat the investigation. Had the governor shown more discrimination in selecting those whom he accused, the ultimate result might have been different.

As it was, however, the unquestionably innocent and the possibly guilty found themselves forced to make common cause, and the fact that Gov. Edwards had before preferred equally grave charges against Mr. Crawford, which he had failed to sustain, was used against him with marked effect.*

While the testimony showed that there had been careless mismanagement of the bank, the committee felt warranted from the evidence in bringing in a report that "nothing was proved against the officers of the bank, *to-wit:* William Kinney, Shadrach Bond, Thomas Carlin, Abraham Prickett, Elijah Iles, and Theophilus W. Smith, which would justify the belief that they had acted corruptly or in bad faith in the management as officers of said bank."

Notwithstanding the governor had so signally failed in his onslaught upon the officers of the bank, he had the satisfaction of seeing his recommendation in favor of legislating the circuit-court judges out of office, adopted. The law of the previous session creating them was repealed, and the State being divided into four circuits, the judges of the supreme court were directed to hold the circuit-courts — Lockwood in the first, Smith in the second, Browne in the third, and Wilson in the fourth.

Another exciting subject which occupied the attention of this session was the election of State treasurer. The candidates

* Reynolds' "My Own Times," 173. Ford's "Illinois," 63.

were Col. Abner Field, the then incumbent John Tillson, Abraham Pricket, and James Hall, the latter of whom proved successful on the ninth ballot.*

Judge Hall was the distinguished pioneer author of Illinois, whose able contributions to the literature of this period, contributed very largely to the material and intellectual progress of the Prairie State. His writings, including favorable descriptions of its soil and climate, biographical sketches, and historical incidents, were voluminous, and read with great pleasure and interest by all who admire a style at once graceful, concise, and forcible.†

The most valuable as well as important work of this general assembly was the revision of the laws. The judges of the supreme court, who it will be remembered had been directed at the last session to perform this work, now made their report, which, with but very few changes, was adopted; and so thoroughly and wisely was this task executed that the most of the statutes thus reported, in their titles, method of arrangement, and in some instances the language, have been preserved in every subsequent revision.‡

Another important law enacted at this session was the pro-

* As soon as the result was known, before the members left the hall, Field walked in and administered personal chastisement to four of the largest and strongest of his opponents—the members generally breaking out of the chamber one way or another, like sheep from a fold invaded by a wolf.—Ford's "History of Illinois," 82.

† James Hall was born in Philadelphia, Aug. 19, 1793, served in the War of 1812, and being afterward admitted to the bar, removed to Shawneetown, Ill., in 1820. The next year he was appointed State's attorney, and in 1825 was elected one of the circuit-judges. Being with others legislated out of office he removed to Vandalia, where he resided until 1833, and was elected treasurer as above set forth; removing thence to Cincinnati, where he died July 5, 1868. He was the author of "Legends of the West," "Tales of the Border," "Notes on the Western States," "Statistics of the West," "Romance of Western History," etc. He also was the editor of the "Western Monthly Magazine."

‡ Judge Lockwood was the author of the criminal code, while he and Judge Smith jointly were said to have been the authors of the following titles: abatement, account, amendments, jeofails, apprentices, attachments, attorneys, bail, bill of exchange, chancery, conveyances, depositions, dower, evidence, forcible entry and detainer, *habeas corpus*, jail, jailors, limitations, *mandamus*, *ne exeat* and injunctions, oaths and affirmations, promissory notes, replevin, right of property, and sheriffs and coroners. Judge Samuel McRoberts prepared the act concerning frauds and perjuries; John York Sawyer the act concerning insolvent debtors; Richard M. Young concerning wills; and Henry Starr concerning judgments and executions.

viding for the construction of a penitentiary at Alton. This was a favorite measure of John Reynolds, who was opposed therein by the governor. The State treasury was empty, and as no one at that day had the temerity to propose a loan, the question arose how the funds were to be provided to erect the necessary buildings. The saline lands, of which only the use had been granted to the State, failed to produce that income which was anticipated from them, and there was difficulty in collecting the rents, some of which were lost. Now if these lands belonged to the State in fee, and were sold, the required means could be raised. Accordingly upon the memorial of the legislature to congress, the State was authorized to sell thirty thousand acres of the "Ohio Saline in Gallatin County and to apply the proceeds of the sale to such objects as the legislature may by law direct." The way was now opened, and a combination was made by which the eastern section of the State should have one-half of said proceeds to make certain improvements of roads and bridges; and the western portion the other half, to be expended in building the penitentiary. The law was proposed and the site selected by Reynolds. The first commissioners were Shadrach Bond, William P. McKee, and Gershom Jayne, who were authorized to superintend the work.*

Soon after the adjournment of the legislature occurred the first Indian disturbance in Illinois since the War of 1812. It was of very small proportions, although it has been dignified by the high-sounding title of the "Winnebago War." Wild rumors were carried in hot haste by terrified runners, of fearful massacres in the northwestern portion of the State, and the serenity of years of peace gave place to wide-spread alarm. The governor called out the militia, and the miners of Jo Daviess County were formed into companies and equipped for action. Gen. Nicholas Hansen, one of the parties to the famous case of contest in the third general assembly, was directed to call out one-fourth of the four regiments of his brigade for service; and a regiment (the 20th) was raised in Sangamon and Morgan counties under the command of Col. Thomas M. Neale, and ordered to proceed to the scene of anticipated danger. Gurdon S. Hubbard carried the alarming news from Chicago to

* Reynolds' "My Own Times," 2d Ed., 173. "Laws of Congress."

Danville, where was quickly raised the Vermilion-County "battalion" as it was called—a company of fifty men—which marched at once to Fort Dearborn.

In the meantime, Gen. Henry Atkinson of the United-States army appeared upon the scene with a force of about 600 infantry and 130 mounted riflemen.

The "head and front of the offending" of the Indians which caused these extensive preparations for war was as follows: an attack was made by the Winnebagos upon the Chippewas, who were by treaty regulations under the protection of the United States, in which a number of the latter were killed. The United-States commissioner at St. Peters, caused four of the offending Winnebagos to be arrested and delivered up to the Chippewas by whom they were shot. In the meantime a question had arisen involving the right of the Winnebagos to the possession of the land in the vicinity of the lead-mines at Galena, which had been intruded upon by the miners, some thousands of whom had lately arrived upon the ground. Out of this had grown several acts of reciprocal hostility between the red men and their white neighbors along the upper Mississippi. There were therefore, various sources of irritation to the Winnebagos which determined Red Bird, a noted chief of that tribe to renew his attacks upon the Chippewas and also the whites; in one of which near Prairie du Chien, two of the latter were killed. A few days after this, two keel-boats laden with supplies for Fort Snelling stopped at a camp of the Winnebagos on the Mississippi not far above Prairie du Chien. The Indians collected about the boat, as was alleged with hostile intentions, and for purposes of plunder. They were plied with liquor and made drunk, and six or seven squaws who had also become intoxicated, were captured, carried off and outraged. Realizing, when they became sober, the great injury they had sustained, several hundred infuriated warriors assembled to avenge their wrongs when their aggressors returned. On July 22, the boats came in sight, and knowing that their conduct would naturally stimulate the Indians to make reprisals, they had prepared for defence. One boat passed safely, but the other grounded and was savagely assailed, and after a severe struggle the Indians were repulsed. Two white men were

killed, and so many wounded that it was with difficulty that Capt. Allan Lindsay, the officer in charge at this time, and the remnant of his crew were able to reach Galena.

The arrival of Gen. Atkinson prevented any further outbreak. Red Bird, with six other Indians, voluntarily surrendered to save their nation from a war which could prove only disastrous to them. Some were acquitted and some convicted, but it was the fate of Red Bird, who died in prison, Feb. 16, 1828, and is described as one of the noblest of savage chieftains, having willingly sacrificed his liberty, the loss of which he could not survive, to his patriotic devotion to his race. After all, it was not much of a war.

The Winnebago "scare" having been disposed of, the people once more turned their attention to questions of state and national policy. The constitutent elements of party strife began for the first time to form themselves into that shape and consistency which soon afterward developed into the distinct divisions of the whig and democratic parties. There were but two candidates for the presidency in 1828, Jackson and Adams, and, as the vote of the four years previous had foreshadowed, the extraordinary popularity of the great military hero, carried everything before it. The fact that such a man was their leader, gave the democrats an advantage in national affairs which they easily maintained for the next twelve years. In Illinois, Joseph Duncan was again elected to congress defeating George Forquer by over 4000 votes.

The sixth general assembly, containing a large majority of Jackson men, convened Dec. 1, 1828. Robert K. McLaughlin and Conrad Will had been transferred to the senate, and among the large number of old members returned to the house were John Reynolds, George Churchill, A. P. Field, Thomas Mather, and John McLean. Peter Cartwright, Wm. L. May, and John Dement were among the new ones. John McLean was for the third time elected speaker—an honor he alone has achieved in the legislative history of the State. Wm. L. D. Ewing was elected clerk, and Emanuel J. West, for the third time also, secretary of the senate.

The message of Gov. Edwards—the longest ever delivered to any legislature in this State, occupying as it did thirty-nine

printed pages of the house journal—was principally devoted to a discussion of the right of the State to the public lands within its limits. A movement having been made at the previous session to memorialize congress to reduce the price of the public lands, and a committee having reported in favor of calling upon the United States to surrender the same "unconditionally," the governor set forth at great length and with much earnestness the arguments in support of the claim that they belonged to the State, founded upon the doctrine of state sovereignty. This was a master-stroke upon the part of the governor and awakened the liveliest interest. If his position were correct, and his reasoning sound, which but few believed, yet which no one had the temerity to controvert, and if he were sustained by congress and the courts, here would be laid the foundation for enriching the State with the ownership of her vast tracts of rich farming-lands. No one dared to oppose a measure so popular; accordingly resolutions were adopted by the general assembly in which it was declared that "the United States can not hold any right of soil within the limits of the State, but for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings." As it would be equally impolitic to oppose the author of this wonderful political discovery, the governor had but little difficulty in securing a favorable hearing for his measures, and the confirmation of his nominations for office.

It was at this session that the policy was adopted of selling the school and seminary lands, the State borrowing the proceeds at six per cent interest, to be used in meeting the current expenses of the State government.

In revising the election law, a return to the *viva-voce* method of voting, was provided for.

A new judicial circuit was created, the fifth, and Richard M. Young appointed its judge.

It was at this session also that the law, approved Jan. 22, 1829, was passed, providing for the appointment of commissioners to fix upon the route of the Illinois-and-Michigan Canal, and to select the alternate sections of land granted to the State to aid in its completion, to provide for their sale, and to begin the work of its construction. The commissioners appointed by the

governor were, Charles Dunn, Gershom Jayne, and Edmond Roberts.

For the first time, a United-States senator was elected by a unanimous vote—the honor having been conferred upon John McLean.

State officers were appointed or elected as follows: Alexander P. Field secretary of state, James Hall reëlected treasurer, and George Forquer attorney-general.

The administration of Gov. Edwards closed amid general expressions of satisfaction and good-feeling. Although he had not accomplished the reforms he advocated, the bitterness attending the commencement of his term had passed away and many of those who had strongly antagonized his course were outspoken in their encomiums, among them being ex-Gov. Bond and John McLean.

It would perhaps have been wiser for him to have ended his public career, as he had originally intended, at the close of his executive term, but such were his relations to public affairs, that he did not feel at liberty to refuse the request of many old friends to become a candidate for congress in 1832. Four other gentlemen had already entered the field: Charles Slade, Sidney Breese, Charles Dunn, and Henry L. Webb. Had the governor announced himself earlier and made an active canvass he would no doubt have met with better success. As it was, he was defeated by Mr. Slade, the vote standing: Slade 2470, Edwards 2078, Breese 1670, Dunn 1020, Webb 551. In the counties where he was best known, St. Clair and Madison, he received a larger vote than that of all the other candidates combined.

The governor now finally retired to his home in Belleville, where on July 20 of the following year, 1833, he died of cholera, to which dread disease he fell a victim in consequence of his humane exertions for the relief of his afflicted neighbors. He left a large estate of real and personal property.

His earliest places of residence in Illinois were at Kaskaskia and on his farm of "Elvirade"—so named from his wife Elvira—near Prairie du Rocher, where he resided most of the time until 1818. He then removed to Edwardsville where he remained until 1824, when he became a resident of Belleville.

He stocked his farm with horses and sheep of fine breeds from Kentucky, and brought with him a choice selection of fruit-trees, vines, and shrubbery; all of which encouraged and promoted the raising of improved stock and the adoption of better agricultural methods.

In person, to use the language of his contemporaries, he was large and well made, with a noble and even princely appearance — "a magnificent specimen of a man physically and intellectually." He was dignified and polished in his manners and courtly and precise in his address. He was a despotic leader, dictatorial, fond of display, impulsive, and arbitrary, yet as sensitive as a child. He was subject to fits of choleric passion which carried him beyond himself, and in one of which he fell to the floor, while making a speech in the United-States senate, and had to be carried out of the chamber and bled.

His speeches evince great research and power of amplification, and, although lacking precision, were ornate, and always commanded attention.

Relying for success, as he remarked, "upon the candor, good sense, and judgment of the people," his aim was to be guided by that principal of political action, as originally defined by himself, that "an office is a trust, deposited in the hands of an individual, who holds it not for his personal benefit and advantage, but for the public good." *

In private life he was kindly, benevolent, and hospitable. Though not "a professor of religion" he was a patron of temperance and morality, and an attendant upon public worship. He exerted a wide-spread influence in the State during his long connection with public affairs, and will always be remembered as one of the most striking characters among the prominent men of his period.

The receipts and expenditures during Gov. Edwards' administration were as follows: receipts, 1827–8, $96,106—Disbursements, $79,524; leaving a balance against the treasury, including outstanding warrants and sums not collected, of $45,999. Received during 1829–30 with the balance on hand of $7319—116,452—Disbursements, $84,047; leaving a balance in the treasury Dec. 1, 1830, of $32,404. Amount of outstanding warrants $11,516, school-fund warrants $28,283—balance against the treasury $7396. There was at the same time due the State from non-resident delinquent tax-list $11,600; from A. Field, late treasurer, $12,516; for rents of the Ohio Saline $5866; from sheriffs on judgments $805.

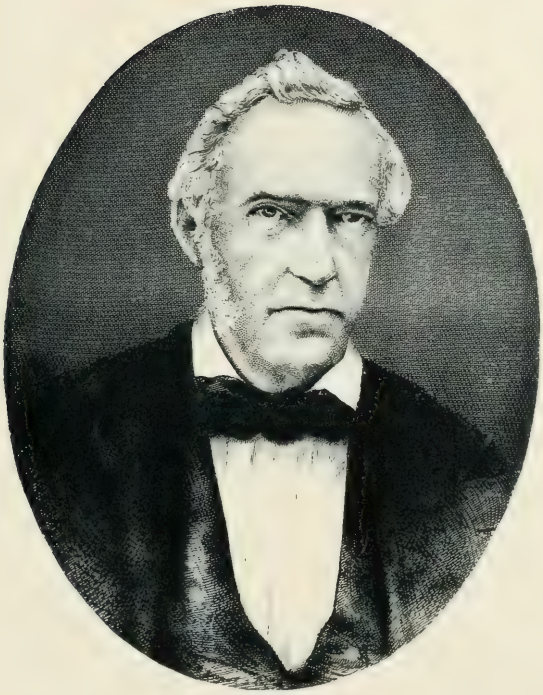
* Edwards' "Illinois," 29.

CHAPTER XXV.

Administration of Gov. Reynolds—The Seventh General Assembly—Black-Hawk War—Receipts and Expenditures.

THE contest for gubernatorial honors in 1830, was confined to two candidates, but was even more protracted than the preceding one, which it surpassed in excitement and personal rancor. John Reynolds, then a member of the legislature, announced himself as a candidate in the winter of 1828–9. His experience on the bench and at the bar had made him popular with the legal fraternity, who generally favored his candidacy. William Kinney, the lieutenant-governor, was put forward as a candidate at the same time. They were both Jackson men, but Kinney was the most *ultra*, while the moderation and conservatism of Reynolds on this point, won for him the support of the Adams-Clay whigs, who decided, after the poor showing they had made at the polls in 1828, not to offer any candidate. There were, therefore, no principles at stake and no questions of national, or indeed, of State policy at issue, other than the construction of the Illinois-and-Michigan Canal, which project Reynolds favored and Kinney opposed. Both candidates addressed the people in every county, though not together. They spoke in churches, court-houses, and "groceries," but mostly in the open air, the better to accommodate the large crowds which no halls of those days could hold. A tree would be cut down in the forest near the town, and the stump hewed smooth, and on this the speaker took his stand—hence the origin of the phrase "stump-speech."

John Reynolds was born of Irish parentage in Pennsylvania, Feb. 26, 1788. He removed with his father to Illinois in 1800, and lived with him on his farm until 1809, when he decided to attend college at Knoxville, Tenn. His education previous to that time had been confined to the arts and mysteries of horse- and foot-racing, and shooting-matches, in which he had graduated with first honors. Having remained at college two



Your friend
John Reynolds

years, he began the study of law. He served in the war of 1812 in a company of rangers, which circumstance gave him the *sobriquet* of the "old ranger." He first "hung out his shingle" as a lawyer at Cahokia in 1814, announcing himself in the *Illinois Herald*, published at Kaskaskia, as follows: "To the poor people of Illinois and Missouri Territory: To the above class of mankind whose pecuniary circumstances will not admit of feeing a lawyer, I tender my professional services as a lawyer, in all courts I may practise in, without fee or reward. JOHN REYNOLDS."

A lawyer so unselfish could not be long without clients, and as a reward for his generous offer of gratuitous services he soon enjoyed a practice both large and remunerative. His elevation to the bench, and election to the legislature, and the political tactics employed by him have already been described. The present race had been entered upon with "savage energy," and, to use his own words, a resolute determination to win. The leading newspapers of the State were in his favor, though the *Illinois Intelligencer*, edited by the scholarly Judge Hall, supported his opponent.*

His management of the campaign of 1830 was characterized by a high degree of political sagacity and shrewdness. His efforts were directed to the capture of a fair share of both the

* He wrote to Gov. Edwards very suggestively as follows: "presses, speeches, and much riding must be brought to our aid, I will do my part. I was placed on the track at Vandalia for this purpose—that I could help myself. I have not been lazy in the business. We are all equally interested in the present approaching contest [over a year off]. The office I go in for, with the wishes of our friends, *is not the only one.*"

In another letter he said, "I shall have no choice among friends, but I do love an active man more than a drone. Believe me the county elections shall not be forgotten. On this much depends. I sincerely recommend to the prominent Adams men, not to abuse Jackson but to go in for his administration as far as it is right * * and particularly for them to keep *cool* and *dark* on the election between me and Kinney."

From Jonesboro: "the Revs. Peck and Green of Rock Springs have great weight with their churches in this county. All here look to these men for information. * * Please attend to this matter. *It is right for the good of the country* it should be done. Get them to write and *keep a writing* down here."

"I received from Mr. Cowles, the writing." [A hand-bill prepared for him for circulation as a campaign document.] "I thought it advisable to change some of the expressions more into my *lingo*. * * I have not concluded if the Cross Canal is not a little *too digging*. * * I know not how many of these handbills ought to go out. I was thinking of 1000."

Jackson and anti-Jackson vote, besides securing the support of Gov. Edwards and the State administration, all of which ends he accomplished.

William Kinney was born in Kentucky in 1781 and had come to Illinois early in life. His educational advantages had been of the most limited description, having been taught to read by his wife, after marriage. He possessed, however, naturally a strong intellect, and being an original thinker, and of unimpeached honesty and tried fidelity to his friends, his popularity with the people was unquestioned. He was a preacher of the "regular" or, as sometimes called, "hard-shell, anti-missionary" Baptists, and was accustomed to off-hand speaking, and having a large store of witty anecdotes which he could tell and apply with effect, was no mean antagonist on the stump. His previous service in the legislature, and as lieutenant-governor, had made him well and favorably known throughout the State. He claimed to be *the* representative of the administration of President Jackson, whose patronage in this State he controlled. So great was his admiration of the old hero that he had undertaken the long journey to Washington to witness his inauguration and to grasp his hand.

Both candidates followed the practice of "treating"—it being said, indeed, that Kinney, not to be behind in this respect, as a clergyman, carried a Bible in one pocket, and as a candidate, a bottle of whisky in the other.

A large amount of electioneering was done by means of handbills and circulars, many of them being prepared by the friends of each candidate, and circulated without (?) his knowledge. The attention of Kinney being called to the fact that in one of these, the I's were all small or lowercase i's, he replied "O, yes, that's all right. Reynolds has used up all the big I's in his circulars."

All sorts of tricks were played with these handbills by both sides. While Matthew Duncan, who distributed for Kinney, was stopping at Jacksonville with his saddle-bags full of documents, some friends of Reynolds, who were also there, during the night exchanged circulars. Duncan went on giving out the latter for sometime before he found out the joke played upon him.

Gov. Edwards and Senator-elect McLean, with their particular friends, espoused the cause of Reynolds; while Senator Kane, Judge McRoberts, and Joseph Duncan rallied their adherents to the support of Kinney. One interesting fact relating to the contest is that a large amount of money for those days—all that the parties could raise—was used. Gov. Edwards complained in one of his letters that he "had advanced more money than all the other friends of Reynolds put together," but offered to become his indorser for still further funds required, which might be raised by paying twelve and one-half per cent interest.* Reynolds himself says that "large sums of money were expended in the canvass."†

As the day of election approached, party feeling ran high and wagers were freely made on the result, through which the friends of Judge Reynolds, acting upon advices privately received from him, were in a large measure enabled to recoup their outlays during the campaign.†

The counting of the votes showed that there was no cause for the anxiety felt by the friends of Reynolds, he having received of the 21,975 polled, a majority of 3899.

The candidates for lieutenant-governor were Zadoc Casey on the Kinney ticket, and Rigdon B. Slocumb on that of Reynolds. Both had served in the legislature, but the former was better known than his opponent, and being an able speaker both in the pulpit and on the stump, made an active canvass. The latter not having the gift of oratory, remained at home, and was left behind in the race. Joseph Duncan was reëlected to congress.

The seventh general assembly met Dec. 6, 1830. There were but four new members in the senate, while twelve of those who had formerly served in the house, were returned. Among the new members were Wm. J. Gatewood, Edmund Dick Taylor, and Thos. J. V. Owen. Wm. Lee D. Ewing, was elected speaker of the house, and David Prickett, clerk. Jesse B.

* "Edwards Papers," 531.

In one of the letters of George Forquer to Gov. Edwards, in which he was taking a despondent view of the prospect, he uses this expression "we will be whipped to death, but I mean to die in the last ditch." This is probably the origin of this expression which came to be so famous in the late civil war.—"Edwards Papers," p. 518.

† "My Own Times," 2d ed., 189, 190.

Thomas, jr., was chosen secretary of the senate. The inaugural message of Gov. Reynolds was in marked contrast with that of his predecessor—while the latter had been lengthy and aggressive, the former was brief and non-committal; in diction it was direct and homely, rather than polished and pretentious. He outlined no clearly-defined policy, confining his official recommendations to two subjects—the completion of the penitentiary and the winding-up of the affairs of the old State Bank. He also referred favorably to the construction of the Illinois-and-Michigan Canal.

While the relations subsisting between the governor and the legislature were not of that strained character which had marked the early intercourse between his predecessor and the fifth general assembly, a majority of the senate was politically opposed to him and displayed marked cheerfulness in rejecting his nominations. He was, however, able to bring about the election of John Dement as State treasurer, after a heated contest with Judge Hall, the then incumbent.

The talented and eloquent McLean having died October 4, made it necessary to elect two United-States senators. Hon. E. K. Kane was elected to succeed himself, without very serious opposition. Hon. John M. Robinson was elected to fill the unexpired term of Senator McLean, on the fifth ballot, receiving 34 votes, to 15 for Col. T. Mather, and three votes scattering. He was a brother of Gov. James F. Robinson of Kentucky, in which State he was born April 10, 1794. He settled in Carmi in 1817, and devoted himself exclusively to his profession as a lawyer—not having previously filled any civil office except prosecuting attorney. He was of commanding appearance, being six feet four inches in height, straight as an arrow, and finely proportioned. His only other office had been that of a brigadier-general of militia. He was a strong Jackson man, and probably owed his success on this occasion to the fact that he had not objectionably identified himself with the personal factions which had heretofore controlled state politics.

Comparatively few measures of general public interest were enacted by this legislature, among the chief of which were the following:

1. The amendment of the criminal code by the substitution

of confinement in the penitentiary for public whipping, and imprisonment in the pillory.

2. The passage of a law authorizing the borrowing by the State of $100,000, to redeem the outstanding circulation of the old State Bank, which fell due the next year—which resulted in the celebrated Wiggins' loan. Concerning this legislation, Gov. Ford sententiously remarks that "the credit of the State was saved, and the legislature was damned for all time to come."

This was really a measure of necessity, but those who voted for it became unpopular. It was even stated that Wiggins had purchased the entire State, and that the inhabitants "for generations to come had been made over to him like cattle." The members instead of justifying their action as being prompted by a desire to protect the credit of the State, and denouncing the demagogues who thus assailed them, acted upon the defensive and pusillanimously apologized for, and tried to excuse, it. As a result, says Gov. Ford, "the destruction of great men was noticeable for many years thereafter."

At this session the State was reapportioned into legislative districts under the census of 1830, giving the senate twenty-six members and the house fifty-five. And the State, which had heretofore constituted but one congressional district, was divided into three. The legislature adjourned February 16, 1831, after a session of seventy-two days.

The event of most interest to the people during Gov. Reynolds' administration was the disturbance familiarly known as the Black-Hawk War; and of all the many Indian embroilments which excited the early residents of Illinois to acts of reprisal and hostility none have occupied so large a place in history, or been more unduly magnified.

It is the story of the calling out of eight thousand volunteers, to coöperate with fifteen hundred soldiers of the regular army, in expelling from the State a band of about four hundred Indian warriors with their one thousand women and children, at an expenditure of millions of money and three months of time, besides the loss of over a thousand lives.

It has been made the theme of no little self-glorification on the part of some of the actors, and its chief incidents were for years freely employed to advance the interests of political

demagogues. In consequence, there are few published accounts of this, the most picturesque and bloody of Indian wars in this State, free from either personal or partisan prejudice; and the vague, popular impression of its stormy incidents and tragic termination is usually far from being correct.

The real cause of the war existed in that almost universal detestation in which the Indians were held by the pioneers. Their presence could not be tolerated, and whether the lands occupied by them were needed by the whites or not, the cry was "the Indians must go."

The alleged origin of the struggle, however, arose out of a question of interpretation of certain provisions of the treaty of November 3, 1804, between the general government and the tribes of the Sac and Fox Indians. As was not unusual in such compacts, most of the advantages were on the side of the whites. The United States assumed the payment to the two confederated tribes of the sum of $1000 per annum in perpetuity, and in consideration thereof the Indians ceded all the territory lying between the Wisconsin River, the Fox River of Illinois, the Illinois and the Mississippi rivers, together with a tract comprising about the eastern third of the State of Missouri. The land thus cheaply acquired amounted, in round numbers, to about 50,000,000 acres. The treaty, however, contained a provision that as long as the ceded lands remained the property of the United States, the "Indians belonging to said tribes should enjoy the privilege of living or hunting upon them." It was without doubt the construction of this article, so vague in wording, which formed the ostensible cause of the war. In order to a clear comprehension of the nature of the conflict, it will be necessary briefly to survey the situation as it actually existed in 1831, the year of the outbreak.

Not far from Rock Island, three miles above the mouth of the Rock River was situated the chief seat of the Sacs, which tribe had for nearly one hundred years dwelt along the eastern bank of the Mississippi, roaming at will between the mouths of the Wisconsin and the Missouri. Their principal village, called Saukenuk, comprised some five hundred families, a number then almost without parallel among Indian villages. Here were the nation's graves, and at this point focused the

interests and affections of the entire tribe. About three thousand acres of rich alluvial soil had been placed under a rude sort of cultivation, and the crops garnered therefrom were a source of no little pride to the semi-savage agriculturists.

The Sacs may be said to have been split into two parties. One of these was friendly to the American government, while the other, from its attachment to British interests, agents and traders, came to be known as "the British band." At the head of the latter element was Makabaimeshekiakiak, the signification of which appellation is "the Black Sparrow Hawk," commonly abbreviated into Black Hawk, who was the central figure in these disturbances. In the characteristics of his moral nature were exhibited some strange incongruities. He was brave, ambitious, but without the higher qualities fitting him to command; easily influenced, and peculiarly susceptible to flattery, he became the ready dupe of designing men, while he was strangely suspicious of those who wished him no harm. It had been the policy of the British, during the period between the close of the Revolution and the outbreak of the war of 1812, to incite and foster a spirit of hostility to the United States among the Indians of the Northwest Territory, and the restless nature of Black Hawk made him a fit subject for the blandishments of the British military agent at Malden. In the war of 1812, he served with his band on their side, and engaged in a series of depredations against the Americans until a date nearly eighteen months after the conclusion of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States.

As early as 1823, the fame of the fertility of the lands of the Sacs had come to the ears of that restless class of squatters who were always reaching out for the farthest frontier. The lands had not been surveyed and were more than fifty miles in advance of regular settlements, where millions of acres just as good, were open to legal entry and sale. But from this time on for the next five or six years portions of the lands already cultivated by the red men were squatted upon, without a shadow of right, and continuously occupied.

The whites taking advantage of the absence of the Indians on their annual hunts, even went so far as to fence in and

cultivate their cornfields, and drive off the squaws and children who ventured upon the claims thus marked out—in some instances burning their lodges over their heads. Each year when the Sacs returned to their village in the spring the evidence of the increasing encroachments of these intruders became more apparent.

Complaints, recriminations, and actual collisions between the whites and Indians naturally followed this state of things until in 1828, Gov. Edwards demanded the expulsion of the Indians, and as the result of his persistent efforts, President Jackson made an order for their removal across the Mississippi in 1829; but upon the personal application of Col. George Davenport, Indian trader on Rock Island, the time was extended to April 1, 1830.

In 1829, Col. Davenport, and Davenport & Farnham, purchased from the United States the site of Saukenuk and nearly all the lands cultivated by the Sacs, the ulterior object being to permit their continued and unmolested occupancy by the Indians. Black Hawk, when he learned of the purchase, failing to understand the motive which prompted it, was greatly incensed against the colonel, who thereupon offered with the consent of the government, to exchange these lands for others, or even cancel the sale, and allow the Indians to remain in peaceable possession. A deputation headed by Keokuk, proceeded to Washington, to endeavor to effect such an arrangement. But President Jackson would not consent to it, and notified the Indians that all the lands, embodied in the treaty of 1804, must be surrendered and they remove to the west side of the Mississippi, as had been previously ordered.

Keokuk, acting in concert with the United-States Indian agent at Fort Armstrong, advised submission. But Black Hawk, moody and discontented, and feeling that injustice had been done his band, upon the advice of White Cloud, the Prophet, who exercised a controlling influence over him, and after consulting with his "British father" at Malden, determined not to abandon his ancient village and lands, but to insist upon his right to occupy them.

On the return of the Sac chief and his braves in the spring of 1830 from their annual hunt, it was found that the settlers,

emboldened by the action of the government, had practically taken possession of his farms, had nearly ruined his town by burning many lodges, and had obliterated even the graves of his dead by the plow. Still, no actual outbreak occurred until the return of the Indians in 1831. The winter had been severe and the chase unsuccessful, and on reaching the village the disheartened aborigines were ordered to depart in terms full of menace. This quickly precipitated the climax. Quietly, but with native dignity, Black Hawk replied that the land was his, and that if any one were to withdraw it must be the white interlopers, and that to secure this end he was prepared to use force.

The white settlers, now numbering about forty inhabitants, who had come to believe that under no circumstances need they apprehend resistance or retaliation, construed these words in accordance with their fears and promptly appealed to Gov. Reynolds for protection against the "blood-thirsty savages." Although Black Hawk himself subsequently declared that he contemplated only "muscular eviction without bloodshed," whatever that may mean, the whites assured the governor that he had thrown down their fences, destroyed their grain, demolished their houses, driven off their cattle, and made threats against their persons. Two petitions were sent to Gov. Reynolds setting forth the grievances of the settlers, one dated April 30, and one May 19, in response to which on May 26, the governor issued a call for seven hundred militia "to remove the band of Sac Indians now residing about Rock Island." At the same time he notified Gen. Edmund P. Gaines, in command of the military district, of his action and requested his coöperation. Gen. Gaines replied that he had ordered six companies of regular troops, stationed at Jefferson Barracks, to repair forthwith to Rock Island, and promised if necessary, that he would add four companies more from Prairie du Chien. With this force, the general informed the governor, he was satisfied he would be able to repel the alleged invasion of the Sacs and protect the frontier; and that he did not think it "necessary or proper to require militia, or any other force" besides the regular army for that purpose.

The militia assembled, however, at Beardstown, early in

June, as directed, but in double the number called for. Two regiments one commanded by Col. James D. Henry, and the other by Col. Daniel Leib, an odd battalion, and a spy battalion were organized, and all placed under command of Gen. Joseph Duncan. The governor's principal aides, Cols. Milton K. Alexander, Enoch C. March, and Samuel C. Christy, were appointed quartermasters, and Col. E. C. Berry adjutant-general.*

On June 5, Gen. Gaines notified Gov. Reynolds that having learned that the Sacs had invited the support of the Winnebagos, Pottawatomies, and Kickapoos in a determined resistance, requested of his excellency the assistance and coöperation of "the battalion of mounted men" previously offered.

The combined armies numbering some twenty-five hundred troops, appeared before the village occupied by the Sacs, June 25, 1831. Black Hawk perceiving his inferiority in point of numbers, not having over three hundred warriors present, successfully evacuated the fort during the night, effecting a withdrawal to the west bank of the Mississippi about twelve miles below. After burning the deserted town, the whites proceeded to Rock Island, where Gen. Gaines declared his intention to pursue and attack the fugitives, and so notified their chief. This had the desired effect of bringing Black Hawk back to the general's headquarters, where, on June 30, a treaty was signed, by which he obligated himself and band to remain away from the east side of the river unless their return was permitted by the United States. Whether or not this compact was reported to the president, as other Indian treaties had been, or whether it was inherently defective, it was never ratified by congress, and does not appear among the published

* The officers of the regiments and companies were as follows: 1st regiment, Col. James D. Henry, Lieut.-Col. Jacob Fry, Major John T. Stuart, Adjutant Thomas Collins; captains: Adam Smith, Wm. F. Elkin, A. Morris, Thomas Carlin, Samuel Smith, John Lorton, and Samuel C. Pease; 2d regiment, Col. Daniel Leib, Lieut.-Col. (unknown), Major Nathaniel Butler; captains: H. Matthews, John Hanes, George Bristow, Wm. Gillham, James Kinkead, Alexander Wells, Wm. Weatherford. The "odd battalion," Major Nathaniel Buckmaster, Adjutant James Semple, Paymaster Joseph Gillespie; captains: Wm. Moore, John Laramie, Solomon Miller. The "spy battalion," Major Samuel Whitesides, Adjutant Samuel F. Kendall, Quartermaster John S. Greathouse, Paymaster P. H. Winchester; captains: Wm. Bolin Whiteside, Wm. Miller, and Solomon Prewitt.

collection of such treaties. And thus without bloodshed terminated the campaign of 1831:

> "The King of France, with all his men,
> Marched up the hill, and then marched down again."

Black Hawk and his followers now realized the hardships and sufferings incident to a forced expatriation, at a season of the year before the hunt began, and when it was too late to raise any crops for their sustenance. Although they received some corn and other assistance under the treaty, his band passed a wretched summer.

Smarting under a sense of humiliation and want, as if to complicate the difficulties surrounding him, he engaged in a raid against the Menominees in retaliation for an attack by that tribe and some Sioux upon the Sacs the previous year, in which a number of the latter had been killed. The Menominees were encamped upon an island opposite Prairie du Chien, where they were savagely assailed by Black Hawk, and but one of the band of twenty-eight, escaped mutilation or massacre. Upon demand by Gen. Joseph M. Street, Indian agent, to deliver up the murderers, Black Hawk unhesitatingly refused, contending that his foray was one of justifiable reprisal.

In the meantime Neapope, second in command of the Hawk's band, had again visited "the British father" at Malden, and had interviewed the Winnebagos and Pottawatomies, from all of whom he brought back glowing assurances of sympathy, and support. Relying upon these, and in pursuance of the advice of the Prophet, Black Hawk once more resolved to reoccupy his old village and farms if permitted; or in case of refusal by the proper authorities, to proceed to the Prophet's town and raise a crop with the Winnebagos. Of course this step was in direct violation of the treaty of the year before, if that agreement, extorted from him as it was under the threat of an immediate attack, was of binding force. He apparently regarded it as having been already violated through the failure of the whites to provide adequate supplies for his band.

However this may be, Black Hawk with his band of five hundred warriors, their squaws, children, and household effects, crossed the Mississippi, April 6, 1832, at the Yellow Banks on

his way to the Rock River—his design being as subsequently avowed by himself, to proceed peaceably to the country of the Winnebagos for the purpose of raising a crop.

At this time northern Illinois was almost an uninhabited wilderness. There was a settlement of some thirty farmers on Bureau Creek, and a few cabins at Peru, LaSalle, Ottawa, Newark, Holderman's Grove, and on Indian Creek, besides the towns of Galena and Chicago. There were many Indian trails, but there was only one wagon-road north of the Illinois River, sometimes called Kellogg's trail, between Peoria and Galena, over which daily traveled the mail-coach, carrying the news, and often loaded with passengers going to the mines. Along this route houses of entertainment were kept by "old man" Kellogg at Kellogg's Grove, Mr. Winter on Apple River, John Dixon at Dixon's Ferry, on Rock River "Dad Joe" at the grove of that name, Henry Thomas on West-Bureau Creek, and Charles S. Boyd at Boyd's Grove. An Indian trail connected Galena with Chicago by way of Lake Geneva, and what was denominated the great Sac trail extended across the State from Rock Island to the south shore of Lake Michigan and thence to Malden.

The scattered population was made up of two classes—first the hardy pioneers from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, who were enterprising, accustomed to privations and dangers, and bold and skilful hunters; and second, the lawless adventurers, destitute alike of principal or property, who infest frontier settlements as tigers do the jungles. To the latter class, the prospect of an Indian war held out the allurements of plunder and rapine; while among the more honest, hardy settlers, with whom money was scarce, a war which promised a large expenditure of the coveted gold of the government, was hailed with satisfaction. Besides this, not a few of these had suffered in person and property from savage depredations, which they thirsted to avenge, while at the same time gratifying the love of adventure incident to dwellers in a new country.

Meanwhile, the outrage committed upon the Menominees by Black Hawk's band had been brought before the government in such a form that Gen. Henry Atkinson had been dispatched to Fort Armstrong with a company of regular troops,

to enforce the surrender of the perpetrators. The intelligence that the latter had crossed the river did not reach him until seven days thereafter.

Gen. Atkinson was possessed of personal bravery and military skill, but certainly in this campaign evinced as little knowledge of the aboriginal nature as he did skill in combatting their methods of war. While he was not unnecessarily alarmed, he could but regard the invasion of Black Hawk, under the circumstances, as a warlike menace of no ordinary proportions. Without knowing to what extent other tribes were expected to coöperate with him, he thought it prudent to prepare for a decisive campaign. He therefore at once made a requisition upon Gov. Reynolds for a militia force to support the regulars in protecting the frontier.

The governor issued his call April 16, 1832, for "a strong detachment of militia" to rendezvous at Beardstown, April 22. The volunteers were organized into four regiments, an odd battalion, a spy battalion, and a foot battalion, who were placed in command of Brig.-Gen. Samuel Whiteside. These regiments were commanded respectively by Cols. John Dewitt, Jacob Fry, John Thomas, and Samuel M. Thompson; the spy battalion by Maj. James D. Henry; the odd battalion by Maj. Thomas James, and the foot battalion by Maj. Thomas Long. The governor's aides were Cols. James T. B. Stapp, and Joseph M. Chadwick. James Turney, paymaster-general; Vital Jarrot, adjutant-general; Cyrus Edwards, ordnance officer; William Thomas, quartermaster; and Murray McConnell, "staff officer."

Besides the above organizations, the governor ordered a levy of two hundred mounted men to guard the frontiers between Rock Island and the Illinois River, who were placed under command of Maj. David Bailey; and a like number, to guard the frontiers nearer the Mississippi, who were commanded by Maj. Josiah Stillman. These two last bodies of troops were subsequently organized into the fifth regiment. The total force thus called out, comprising forty companies, numbered 1935 men, rank and file—the regulars about one thousand.

The army began its march, accompanied by the governor, April 27, and reached Fort Armstrong May 7, where the volunteers were mustered into the service of the United States.

Col. Zachary Taylor, afterward president, here reënforced the army with the troops from Ft. Crawford and Ft. Leavenworth to the number of three hundred. A lieutenant of one of his companies was Jefferson Davis, while Abraham Lincoln commanded a company in the fourth regiment of volunteers.

A story is related of "old Zach", as he afterward came to be called, that upon ordering an advance movement in which he did not feel certain of the conduct of the volunteers, some of whom seemed to hesitate, he rode out in front of them and made them a little speech. He said "Soldiers, the order you have just heard must be promptly obeyed. The safety of all depends upon the obedience and courage of all. You are citizen soldiers, some of you may fill high offices, or even be president some day, but not if you refuse to do your duty. Forward, march!" Himself and one of his hearers—the great Lincoln—must have remembered that speech in after years, as well as he, afterward his son-in-law, who presided over the so-called Southern Confederacy.

The army was divided into two wings, one of which, under Atkinson, proceeded up Rock River by boats, while the other, under Whiteside, marched by land along the eastern bank. The stream was swollen, the ground a swamp; and the hardships and fatigues encountered by both bodies were severe and trying. Whiteside's force was the first to reach the Prophet's village. This they found deserted by Black Hawk, the Prophet, and all their followers. Pushing forward, despite the lack of needed rest, the volunteers reached Dixon's on May 12, tired, hungry, wet, and comparatively destitute of supplies. At this point they were met by the two battalions of independent rangers, under command of Majs. Stillman and Bailey, who had joined themselves together, for the purpose of effecting more speedy and brilliant results. These untried militiamen had great confidence in their prowess, and ability to annihilate the foe at the first onset. They had an abundance of both supplies and ammunition, and as they refused to attach themselves to the main body, Gov. Reynolds ordered them to advance to "the head of Old Man's Creek," where there were supposed to be some hostile Indians whom they were "to coerce into submission." On the fourteenth they encamped in a

strong position containing rare advantages for attack or defence.

Meanwhile, Black Hawk had been sadly disappointed by the failure of the Winnebagos and Pottawatomies to rally to his standard, and the chief was beginning to suspect treachery. Some years afterward he himself declared that he had, at this time, fully made up his mind to re-cross the Mississippi and never return to its eastern bank. While in this mood, he was informed that a company of white horsemen had encamped some six miles away. He supposed this to be Atkinson's force, although in reality it was the 275 rangers under Stillman. Black Hawk at once dispatched an envoy of three young braves to inform Atkinson that he was ready to meet him in council at the latter's camp. Five other braves were sent at a safe distance to watch the result of the interview. The bearers of the flag of truce were descried about a mile from the ranger's camp and captured. The five spies were also sighted and pursued and two of their number slain. It is difficult to account for the perpetration of an outrage so cruel and a violation of the rules of war so flagrant except upon the theory—confirmed by statements made at the time—that many of the rangers were excited and maddened by liquor. The three Indians who escaped fled to the camp where Black Hawk was preparing to depart himself, with a flag of truce, to attend the interview which he had proposed. Great was the rage of the old chief when he learned the fate of his ambassadors. He tore into tatters the flag which his hands had held, and earnestly appealed to his men to follow him and avenge the blood of those who had been thus wantonly slaughtered.

At this time he had with him but forty braves of his own tribe, his Pottawatomie allies being encamped some seven miles away, and those of the latter tribe who were his guests deciding to preserve a position of neutrality at once departed for their villages. When the white rangers saw the band approaching, they charged wildly forward—a disorderly, undisciplined mob. The crafty Black Hawk ordered his men to retire into ambush and stand firm. The fiery courage of the advancing party began to cool when they caught a glimpse of the grim-visaged, dusky warriors, and they came to a halt. The pause was fatal. The Hawk raised the blood-curdling warwhoop of

the Sacs and the little party of Indians rushed forward and fired. Stillman's men did not wait for a second volley.

The gallant 275 incontinently turned tail and fled. The precipitation of the rout was equalled only by its completeness. Madly they dashed through their own camp, the contents of which were abandoned. Neither swamps nor swollen streams served to check the impetuosity of their retreat. A gallant stand was made by Maj. Perkins and Capt. Adams with fifteen men, but to no purpose. Singly and in squads the fugitives arrived at Dixon's, thirty miles away, from whence many of them continued their mad gallop forty or fifty miles to their homes. Through all the country which they traversed they spread the story that the dreaded Hawk, at the head of 2000 blood-thirsty braves, was descending in one fell swoop upon the unprotected, outlying hamlets to the north. Consternation reigned supreme. The settlers who had returned to their farms, once more sought shelter in the forts, and the name of Black Hawk became a menace and a dread in every household. The actual loss of the whites in the rout, greatly exaggerated at the time, was eleven killed and two wounded—that of the Indians the two spies before mentioned and one of the flag bearers.*

On May 19, the entire army under Atkinson proceeded up Rock River, the remnant of Stillman's rangers being left at Dixon's to guard the wounded. But the men who had fled panic-stricken before an insignificant force, put the finishing touch to their record by deserting their post as soon as Atkinson was out of sight. Yet these men properly officered and disciplined might have made the best soldiers in the world. Learning of this fresh act of perfidy, Atkinson with the regulars returned to Dixon's, instructing Whiteside with his brigade to follow Black Hawk.

The Sac commander, highly elated at his easy and unexpected victory, had, after enriching himself with the abundant spoils of Stillman's deserted camp, retired up the Kish-

* List of casualties: killed, Capt. John G. Adams, Sergt. John Walters, Corp. Bird W. Ellis; Privates: David Kreeps, Zadoc Mendenall, Isaac Perkins, Joseph Draper, James Milton, Tynes M. Child, Joseph B. Farris, and Gideon Munson, scout; wounded: Sergeants Reding Putnam and Jesse Dickey.

waukee to the swamps of Lake Koshkonong. Here he left the women and children of the tribe, and once more returned to the vicinity of the Rock River, gathering recruits from the Pottawatomies and Winnebagos as he advanced.

He divided his force into small bands. The largest of these —numbering about 200—was under his own leadership. In addition, about 100 Pottawatomies were commanded by a disreputable half-breed named Mike Girty, while desultory troops of Winnebagos swept down upon defenceless homes, killing, scalping, and outraging wherever it seemed safe. The most noted of these forays was the massacre upon Indian Creek in LaSalle County. Here on May 21, thirty Indians—a mixed band—rushed into the house of Wm. Davis and killed all of its occupants except Sylvia and Rachael Hall, aged respectively 17 and 15 years, whom they made prisoners.*

In the meantime the Illinois volunteers became so much dissatisfied with the results so far attained that a majority of them refused to proceed. The discontent was wide-spread, affecting every company more or less. They declared that they did not enlist to follow the Indians into the bogs and swamps of Michigan (Wisconsin), that such an expedition would be useless, and besides, that their term of service had expired. Whiteside expostulated with them and begged them to go on, but without effect, and after a counsel of war and a general consultation among the men, it was decided to return to Ottawa, where on May 28, the 37 companies of Whiteside's army were mustered out by Lieut. Robert Anderson of Fort Sumter fame.

But one course remained open to Gov. Reynolds. He at once issued a third proclamation calling, this time, for 2000 men, whose enlistment was to be for the war. In addition, Gen. Winfield Scott was ordered to proceed with 1000 regulars from the East.

Pending the completion of these arrangements, at the personal solicitation of Gov. Reynolds and Gen. Atkinson, a regiment of 300 volunteer rangers had been recruited for twenty

* The killed were Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Hall and daughter Elizabeth, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Pettegrew and two children, Mrs. Wm. Davis and five children. The following were killed outside: Wm. Davis, Robert Norris, and Emory George—sixteen in all. The prisoners were subsequently ransomed.

days from the companies just disbanded. It was officered by Col. Jacob Fry, Lieut.-Col. James D. Henry, and Maj. John Thomas. The five companies composing the regiment were commanded by Capts. Adam W. Snyder, Samuel Smith, W. C. Ralls, Benj. James, and Elijah Iles. Gen. Whiteside enlisted as a private and showed himself as willing to obey as he was able to command. Abraham Lincoln also reënlisted as a private.

In addition to this regiment of Col. Fry, five companies from Putnam County, commanded by Capt. Robert Barnes, William Hawes, William M. Stewart, and George B. Willis, aggregating 195 men, were organized into a regiment commanded by Col. John Strawn; and also eight companies from Vermilion County, under Capts. Eliakin Ashton, Alex. Bailey, J. M. Gillespie, James Gregory, Corbin R. Hutt, James Palmer, Morgan L. Payne, and John B. Thomas, were organized into a regiment commanded by Col. Isaac R. Moore, with Gurdon S. Hubbard as lieutenant-colonel; and the independent companies of Capts. Cyrus Matthews, George McFadden, John Stennet, M. L. Covill, John S. Wilbourn, and Aaron Armstrong, were accepted and all the above ordered to do guard-duty from May 28 to June 19.

The new volunteers called out by the governor rendezvoused at Fort Wilbourn, near Peru, June 15. They were organized into three brigades, composed of three regiments and a spy battalion each. The first of these, 915 strong, elected Alex. Posey as its commander, with the rank of brigadier-general. John A. McClernand, now general, was a member of his staff. The second regiment elected as their officers, John Ewing, colonel, John Raum, major; officers of other regiments not known. Maj. John Dement, father of Henry D. the present secretary of state, was elected from the ranks to command the spy battalion. Stinson H. Anderson, afterward lieutenant-governor, was adjutant, and Lieut.-Gov. Z. Casey, paymaster.

The second brigade was commanded by Gen. Milton K. Alexander, and the spy battalion by Maj. William McHenry.

The third brigade elected Gen. James D. Henry as its commander. The first regiment was commanded by Col. S. T. Matthews, Lieut.-Col. James Gillham, Maj. James Evans, Adjt.

William Weatherford, Quartermaster Nathan Hunt, Paymaster Alex. Bell. Col. Gabriel Jones commanded the third regiment, and its lieutenant-colonel was Sidney Breese. The spy battalion of this brigade was commanded by Maj. Wm. L. D. Ewing. The three brigades numbered, rank and file, 3148 volunteers.

The governor's staff, as reappointed, was as follows: aides, Cols. Benj. F. Hickman and Alex. F. Grant, Judge T. W. Smith, adjutant-general, and E. C. March, quartermaster-general.

The volunteer force was still further increased by a battalion of recruits under Col. Henry Dodge. Including the regular troops the available force of the whites numbered 4000 men.

A portion of Posey's brigade was ordered between Galena and Rock River. Alexander's and Henry's brigades, having arrived at Dixon, the former was dispatched to Plum River to intercept Black Hawk; the latter, remaining with Gen. Atkinson at Dixon.

For a time outbreaks and skirmishes followed each other at short intervals, resulting in the death of many whites and not a few red men. On June 6, Black Hawk in person led an attack upon the fort at Apple River, fourteen miles east of Galena, defended by Capt. Stone, but after a brief engagement, the besieging party withdrew, devastating the surrounding country with torch and flame.

On June 14, occurred the skirmish of Pecatonica, in which Black Hawk was engaged with a portion of Posey's brigade under Maj. Dodge, resulting in the loss of three whites and eleven Indians.

The company of Capt. A. W. Snyder, while passing through Burr-Oak Grove, June 16, was suddenly and fiercely attacked by a party of seventy of the enemy. The coolness of the commander and the determined courage of privates Gen. Whiteside and Col. James Semple prevented a stampede, and order being restored the savages were repulsed, with a loss to the whites of three killed—that of the Indians not known.

On June 17, Capt. James W. Stephenson had a severe skirmish with a party of Indians at Prairie Grove in which he lost three men killed, and two wounded—the enemy losing one.

The battle of Kellogg's Grove occurred June 25. Maj. John Dement with his battalion had been ordered to defend this post

by Col. Z. Taylor. Learning that a large force of the enemy commanded by Black Hawk himself was in the vicinity, he ordered out fifty men to reconnoitre. Upon sight of the foe they rushed forward without orders and as Dement soon perceived were likely to fall into the ambush prepared for them. Before he was able to make himself heard and understood in his efforts to stop the advance, his men were caught in the trap set, when at the entrance of a bushy ravine, they were met with a warcry and a sharp fire, all the more galling because concealed. The strategy of the cunning leader of the Sacs was successful, and terror and confusion reigned in the ranks of the whites. But the gallant Dement, whose bravery was equalled only by his coolness and comprehension of the situation, ably seconded by Lieut.-Gov. Zadoc Casey, rallied his fleeing forces to repeated stands, fearlessly presenting himself in exposed positions, and finally succeeded in withdrawing his command within the stockades. Here the attack was renewed, the principal result being the killing of 47 horses, which had been left hitched outside by the beleaguered party. The loss of the whites was four killed and two wounded; that of the Indians, reported at sixteen killed.*

On June 27, Gen. Atkinson, supposing that the headquarters of the Sacs were still at Lake Koshkonong, left Dixon with the main army 2600 strong, the volunteers being commanded by Gen. Henry. On the 30th, he crossed the State line, one mile east of Beloit. The army reached the outlet of Lake Koshkonong, July 2, but no enemy was found, it being now supposed that Black Hawk had gone to his stronghold near

* As a tribute to the memory of those who fell in this battle and in other skirmishes in this vicinity, the county of Stephenson erected a monument over their collected remains, on the battlefield, now called Timmis Grove, which was dedicated Sept. 30, 1886, by the Wm. R. Goddard Post G. A. R. of Lena. The monument, consists of a single shaft constructed of yellowish, flinty limestone, quarried near by, rising thirty-four feet, resting on a suitable base. Into the sides of the shaft are sunk marble slabs containing appropriate inscriptions—the names honored are as follows: Wm. B. Mahenson, Benjamin McDaniels, and a little drummer-boy Bennie Scott, killed in the skirmish of Burr-Oak Grove; Wm. Darley, killed May 19; George Eames, Stephen P. Howard, and Micheal Lovell, killed in the battle of Prairie Grove; Felix St. Vrain, and Hale, Fowler, and Hally, (christian names not known,) killed near the monument while carrying dispatches; and Wm. Allen, James P. Band, James Black, and Abner Bradford, killed in the battle of Kellogg's Grove.

the mouth of the Kishwaukee River. Two days after, Gen. Alexander arrived with his brigade, and on the 6th, Posey reported with his and Dodge's commands.

The Winnebagos—some of whom had connected themselves with the latter's force—were undoubtedly plotting the destruction of the entire army by giving erroneous information. The chief who joined Dodge magnanimously offered to guide him directly to the camp of the hostile Sacs on Bark River, a stream which flowed into Lake Koshkonong from the east. Meanwhile an old one-eyed Winnebago, who claimed to be a chief, named Decori, had volunteered to pilot Gen. Atkinson to their secret hiding-place, which he located at a different spot. As superior in command, Gen. Atkinson sent orders to Dodge to join him at once. Much disappointed at the loss of an apparent opportunity to meet the enemy, the latter, with true military subordination, obeyed, and to this circumstance may be attributed his fortunate escape from an ambush, in which it is not unlikely his whole command would have perished. While, however, the army was running about for several days vainly looking for Black Hawk and his followers, the savage had fled from an almost inaccessible position on the east bank of Rock River, where he had been encamped at the top of a steep bluff.

At this juncture, Gov. Reynolds, and a portion of his staff, becoming discouraged at what they deemed a fruitless pursuit, determined to "quit soldiering" and return to the more congenial pursuits of civil life.

On July 10, the army was again divided. Alexander and Henry, with their forces, were sent to Fort Winnebago, for supplies. Col. Ewing, with the second regiment of Posey's brigade, descended the Rock River to Dixon, the rest of this division being sent, under Posey himself, to Fort Hamilton, to protect the mining region. Atkinson and his regulars having retired to Lake Koshkonong, erected temporary fortifications on the Bark River, not far from the site of the present village of Fort Atkinson.

While at Fort Winnebago, the officers ascertained from Pierre Poquette, a well-known half-breed scout and trader, the true location of Black Hawk's camp. Henry and Dodge at

once resolved to return to Atkinson by this route, and engage the chief in battle, if possible. Gen. Alexander's men refused to join in the expedition, returning by the most direct route, and the officers named proceeded without them, having an aggregate force of about seven hundred and fifty men. Poquette and a dozen Winnebagos acted as guides. On July 18, arriving at the spot where they had expected to find the enemy, no Sacs were to be seen. The Indians of the village declared that they had gone to Cranberry, now Horicon, Lake, about a half-day's march up the river. Atkinson's camp was thirty-five miles distant, and adjutants Merriam and W. W. Woodbridge were dispatched thither with information to the commander. After proceeding a few miles on their way, they discovered a broad, fresh trail leading westward.

When Gen. Henry learned that Black Hawk and his followers had turned their faces toward the Mississippi, and perceived that they were actually in flight, the enthusiasm of his command was unbounded. The pursuit was begun without delay, and pushed with the utmost energy. Wading through swamps and sometimes through water up to their armpits, the volunteers hurried forward, cheered by information, gathered from hungry and footsore Winnebago deserters, that the enemy was but a few miles in advance. Exhausted horses had been abandoned, and camp equipage and other incumbrances cast aside, while along the trail were seen Indian kettles, blankets and other paraphernalia, hastily thrown away to insure greater speed. Marching across the site of Madison, the present capital of Wisconsin, about three o'clock in the afternoon of July 21, the Indian rear guard under Neapope was overtaken and skirmishing began and continued until the bluff of the Wisconsin River was reached. Neapope had with him about twenty warriors, but an hour later these were reënforced by a like number under the Hawk—who determined to make a bold stand, and cover the retreat of the main body—himself seated on a white pony directing the battle. There was some hot firing, with about equal loss on both sides, when the Sacs made a charge, which was repulsed with loss, by the troops under Cols. Fry and Jones. The Indians now fell back into the tall grass, and kept up the firing unseen, for some time until Dodge, Ewing,

and Jones drove them with the bayonet to some rising ground, where was encountered a fresh band of savages. Here another charge compelled their retreat down the bluffs where they joined the non-combatants, now engaged in crossing the river.

Thus ended the battle of Wisconsin Heights, in which the loss of the Indians, though variously stated at the time to have been from forty to sixty-eight, was really, as reported by Black Hawk, only six killed, while that of the whites was one man killed and eight wounded.

That night the Indians placed upon a raft and in canoes a large number of their women, children, and old men, and sent them down the river, believing that the regular troops at Fort Crawford, which guarded the mouth of the Wisconsin, would permit them to cross the Mississippi at that point. Learning of their approach, Indian agent Street dispatched Lieut. Ritner with a few regulars to intercept them. Mercilessly were his orders obeyed. A fire from the troops killed fifteen, while thirty-two women and children and four men were made prisoners. About fifty were drowned, and of those who fled into the woods not more than a dozen escaped death through exposure and starvation, or massacre by a band of Menominee allies under Col. Samuel C. Stambaugh and a few white officers. Truly it was a glorious achievement!

On the next morning the victorious army of the Wisconsin Heights discovered that the entire force of the enemy had escaped. The soldiers remained on the field all day, sleeping on their arms during the following night, and on the 23d started for the Blue Mounds to join Gen. Atkinson.

On July 28, a junction of all the troops, regulars and volunteers, was effected at Helena, a deserted village on the Wisconsin River. The logs of the cabins were converted into rafts on which the army crossed the river. As the trail of the savages was followed across steep, wooded hills, marshy ravines, and swollen streams, evidences of the sufferings of the fugitives multiplied. Trees were found stripped of their bark which had been devoured by the famished wretches, together with the meat cut from the carcasses of their dead ponies, while here and there along the march was found the lifeless body of a brave who had literally fallen from starvation.

But Black Hawk reached the Mississippi in advance of his pursuers, at a point forty miles from the Wisconsin River, at the mouth of an insignificant stream known as the Bad Axe. Very few canoes were obtainable and the work of ferrying the half-starved remnant of his depleted band was a tedious and difficult task. Suddenly, the military transport *Warrior* appeared on the scene, as she was returning from an expedition undertaken to warn the Sioux of the approach of the Sacs. Fifteen regulars and six volunteers were aboard, under Lieuts. Holmes and Kingsbury. Black Hawk displayed a white flag, evidenced his readiness to surrender, and asked that a boat be sent ashore. The officer was fearful of an ambush and replied that the chief must come aboard the steamer. The latter attempted to explain that this was impossible on account of the want of a canoe. At once three deadly volleys of canister were discharged from the steamer, causing no little havoc among the few Indians on the shore. An exchange of firing followed, resulting in the killing of one white man and twenty-three Indians. Having accomplished this gallant feat, the *Warrior*, which needed fuel, returned to Prairie du Chien. After the departure of the steamer, the work of ferriage was resumed and a few more canoe loads transported across the river. But here Black Hawk, seeing that further resistance was entirely hopeless, during the night, in company with the Prophet and a party of squaws and children, deserted the remainder of the tribe and fled, precipitately, to the east, where some Winnebagos offered to hide him.

On the morning of August 2, the troops under Gen. Henry, forming the left wing of the army, came upon the Indians yet remaining at the mouth of the Bad Axe and began the attack. Atkinson soon arrived with the main army, and for three hours was witnessed a scene of carnage as appalling as it was revolting. No mercy was shown—only the bleaching bones of massacred whites were remembered. Bayonet charges drove the frightened, feeble Indians into the tops of trees and into the river. Sharpshooters picked off, with unerring aim, warriors, women, and children alike. The troops on the *Warrior* returned and nobly sustained their record of the previous day by pouring canister into the mob of fleeing savages. Yet the

Indian braves, with a heroism worthy of stoic philosophers, perished like warriors with their faces toward the foe. The conflict against odds so overwhelming was virtually one of useless resistance on the one hand and of wanton extermination on the other. Twenty whites were killed and twelve wounded, while of the Indians one hundred and fifty were killed outright, and about the same number drowned. As the "battle" neared its close, the venerable chief of the hostile Sacs, who heard the firing, and whose heart smote him on account of his desertion of his followers, returned. He was in time to witness the completion of the ruin which he was powerless to avert. With a yell, in which he voiced the rage and disappointment which he could not conceal, he once more fled back into the trackless wilderness.

Some forty prisoners were taken, nearly all women, and about three hundred, in all, escaped to the west bank of the Mississippi. Most of the latter were non-combatants; all of them were helpless from hunger and exhaustion; and not a few suffering from undressed wounds. They were now, however, where they had been repeatedly ordered to go, and doubtless they fancied themselves secure from further molestation. But with a vindictiveness and cruelty unworthy of civilized warfare, Gen. Atkinson had instructed a band of one hundred Sioux, under Wabasha, to attack them, and nearly one-half of this wretched remnant were ruthlessly slain. Of the remainder many more perished before they reached the homes of Keokuk, and the others of their tribe who had refused to follow Black Hawk.

On August 15, the volunteers were mustered out at Dixon, having been disbanded by Gen. Winfield Scott, who had by that date arrived at Prairie du Chien and assumed command. His tardy appearance on the scene was due to the ravages of cholera among his troops at Detroit, Chicago, and Rock Island. About 250 regulars perished through this scourge, and about an equal number of troops and settlers were killed in skirmishes and Indian massacres. The pecuniary cost of the struggle was about $2,000,000. And thus ended the Black-Hawk War, which was brought on by the interference of the State authorities, with those of the United States, upon the false pretenses

and clamorous demands of a few interloping squatters, who were themselves in the wrong. But for this interference, the whole difficulty with the Sac chief might have been settled by the payment of a few thousand dollars, and his peaceable transfer to the west side of the Mississippi River effected.

Black Hawk gave himself up to the Winnebagos, who surrendered him to Indian-agent Street on August 27. On September 21, the formal treaty of peace was signed. Black Hawk, Neapope, and the Prophet, who had certainly forfeited his claim to seership, were detained as hostages, and imprisoned at Fortress Monroe, from April, 1833, until June 4. The distinguished guests of the Nation were then taken on a tour of inspection through the principal eastern cities. On August 1, they were returned to Fort Armstrong, where Black Hawk was formally made the ward of Keokuk. This committal, the aged Sac regarded as the crowning indignity which had been heaped upon his whitened head. For five years his proud spirit chafed, until October 3, 1838, at the age of seventy-one, he bade a final adieu to a world in which he had found only disappointment for his most cherished schemes. A reservation had been set apart for him in Davis County, Iowa, and here he died. It is said that within nine months his skeleton was stolen and sold. After what, in the case of a living man, might be termed various mishaps, it finally adorned the walls of the rooms of the Burlington (Iowa) Historical Society, where in 1855, it was destroyed by fire.*

* The following authorities have been consulted in writing the foregoing chapter: "Life of Black Hawk," by Benj. Drake; "History of the Black-Hawk War," by John A. Wakefield; "Life of Black Hawk," dictated by himself; Reynolds' "My Own Times"; Ford's "History of Illinois"; "The Sauks and the Black-Hawk War;" by Perry A. Armstrong; "The Black-Hawk War," by Reuben G. Thwaites, in Vol. V, "Magazine of Western History."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Elections—Eighth General Assembly—Receipts and Expenditures—Commercial Progress—Social Changes.

THE Black-Hawk War made the political fortune of a large number of aspiring statesmen. Although it did not close in time for many of them to participate personally in the election held on the first Monday in August (6), they were represented by their friends, and met with but little difficulty in securing the positions sought.

Charles Slade, Zadoc Casey, and Joseph Duncan, all of them pronounced Jackson men, were elected to congress from the first, second, and third (new) districts respectively.

The eighth general assembly convened Dec. 3, 1832. The senate, numbering twenty-six, was divided about equally between old and new members. Among the former were Wm. B. Archer, Joseph Conway, James Evans, Elijah Iles, Adam W. Snyder, and Conrad Will; among the latter were Wm. H. Davidson, Henry I. Mills, James M. Strode, and Archibald Williams. Wm. L. D. Ewing, Thomas Mather, George Forquer, and Thos. Rattan had been transferred from the lower to the upper house The house of representatives was composed almost entirely of new members. Peter Cartwright, Michael Jones, formerly of the senate, Edmund D. Taylor, James A. and John D. Whiteside, were among the old ones; and John Dougherty, Cyrus Edwards, Gurdon S. Hubbard, Benjamin Mills, Wm. A. Minshall, James Semple, John Todd Stuart, and Murray McConnell—all of them wearing laurels won in the late war—were among the new.

Alexander M. Jenkins was elected speaker of the house, and David Prickett reëlected clerk. Jesse B. Thomas, jr., was chosen secretary of the senate, and Wm. Weatherford, sergeant-at-arms.

The governor, in his message to the legislature, after congratulating the people on the satisfactory termination of the late war, made the following recommendations: 1. The establishment

of a system of common schools; 2. The improvement of the Chicago harbor—"that it be made a good one"; 3. The connection of the waters of the Illinois River with Lake Michigan, either by a railroad or canal, his own preference being in favor of the former. He closed with a strong appeal to support the president in his controversy with South Carolina—in favor of the union of the states "as the pride and support of every American," and denouncing the "dangerous doctrine of nullification."

The first general acts of incorporation were passed at this session, providing for the organization of towns, and public libraries. The subject of building railroads, also, for the first time received attention, among the routes proposed being one from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River, instead of the canal; one across the centre of the State through Springfield, and anticipating the Illinois-Central, one from Peru to Cairo. Several charters authorizing the incorporation of railroad companies were granted, but no organizations under them were ever perfected. It is a significant fact, however, that the attention of the people of Illinois was thus early directed to the adoption of this improved, but yet tentative, method of transportation.

The distinguishing feature of this general assembly, however, was the impeachment of Theophilus W. Smith, one of the justices of the supreme court. Five distinct charges were preferred against him by the house, involving oppressive conduct, corruption, and other misdemeanors. The senate resolved itself into a high court of impeachment, and the proceedings were characterized "by great decorum and solemnity." The managers, on the part of the house, were Benjamin Mills, John T. Stuart, James Semple, Murray McConnell, and John Dougherty; the accused was defended by Sidney Breese, Richard M. Young, and Thomas Ford. The trial lasted from January 9 to Feb. 7, 1833. The specifications were: selling a circuit-clerk's office; swearing out vexatious writs, returnable before himself, for the purpose of oppressing innocent men by holding them to bail; imprisoning a Quaker for not taking off his hat in court; and suspending a lawyer from practice because he had advised his client to apply for a change of venue from his circuit.

The trial was conducted with marked ability on both sides. The speech of Mr. Mills, especially, which occupied three days in its delivery, was pronounced unsurpassed for its finished and scholarly eloquence—brilliant passages from which—gems of thought—were for a long time after quoted upon the streets of Vandalia.*

The protracted trial resulted in a negative acquittal of the accused—that is, twelve senators concurred in believing him guilty of some of the specifications, ten were in favor of an acquittal, while four were excused from voting, it requiring two-thirds to convict.

The prosecution having failed, the house of representatives adopted a resolution for the removal of the judge by address, but in this also the senate refused to concur. And thus ended the first and last impeachment trial in this State.

The first law providing for a mechanics' lien was passed at this session; also that concerning the "right of way" for "public roads, canals, or other public works."

The general assembly adjourned March 2.

The receipts and expenditures during Gov. Reynold's administration, are shown in the annexed table.†

* Gillespie's Recollections, in "Fergus' Historical Series," No. 13.

Benjamin Mills enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most able lawyers and polished orators in the State at this time. His father was an eminent Presbyterian minister in Massachusetts, from whence the son immigrated to Illinois in 1819, locating first at Greenville, and later at Galena. The celebrated Felix Grundy, who was pitted against him in a noted murder case, said that it was inhuman to employ a man of such transcendent ability in the prosecution—that it was not giving the accused a fair chance. He was witty and as a conversationalist was the very life and soul of convivial gatherings. As a specimen of his ready humor, it was told of him that having joined a temperance society and being found soon after in a grocery drinking out of a wineglass, instead of a tumbler, a friend said to him "Mills, I thought you had quit drinking?" "So I have," said he, holding up the wineglass, "*in a great measure.*"

He ran for congress, as a whig, against Wm. L. May in 1834, but was unsuccessful. He was said to bear a striking resemblance to the great Irish orator Curran. He died in 1835.

† Receipts during 1831–2, ordinary revenue - - - - $88,218
From sales of Vandalia lots - - - - - - 2,316
From sales of saline lands - - - - - - - 5,312
From sales by sheriffs - - - - - - - - 6,783
From sales of seminary lands - - - - - - 400
$103,024

Ordinary expenditures - - - - - $77,979

Before the expiration of Gov. Reynolds' term, he decided to become a candidate for congress. He had already filled the highest offices in both the executive and judicial departments of the State government, and now again became possessed by an ambition to sit in the national councils at Washington. His principal opponent was Col. Adam Wilson Snyder, who was a member of the legislature, an able and popular lawyer, and who had brought home with him from the war the scars of battle. He was a fine speaker, of an ardent temperament, and ambitious. Col. Edward Humphries was also a candidate; but the superior tactics of the governor secured him the victory. He was also elected to fill the unexpired term of Charles Slade, who had recently died of cholera.

At the next general election, the ex-governor being too busily engaged in congress to make a personal canvass, Snyder again became a candidate, and secured the prize.

Reynolds and Snyder both resided in Belleville, both were democrats, and rivals for popular favor. Being generally aspirants for the same place, they were very much in each other's way; an antagonism which continued for many years.*

The complete statement for 1833–4 is as follows:

Receipts from ordinary revenue		$76,864
From sales of Vandalia lots, canal, and seminary lands		5,708
From sale of saline lands		14,833
School fund received		32,088
State-bank paper funded		3,790
From James Hall		571
From debts due state bank		6,895
Redemption money		878
		$141,627
Cash on hand Nov. 30, 1832		5,447
		$147,074
Contra		
Paid for ordinary expenses general assembly, legislature, and executive	$50,748	
Special appropriations, including $6161 for the penitentiary	24,914	
Miscellaneous	32,728	
Funded stock, redeemed	16,362	
Interest on $100,000, 2 years	15,090	
State-bank paper burned	5898	
Sundry items	1037	$146,777
Balance in treasury		$297

* Snyder being applied to to obtain some testimony with a view to its perpetua-

But Col. Snyder was forced in turn to give way to Reynolds, who was elected to the 26th and also the 27th congress.

In 1839, the ex-governor was appointed the financial agent of the State to effect a loan in England under the internal-improvement system.

He closed his congressional career in 1843, and in 1846 was again elected to the legislature, and reëlected in 1852, when he was made speaker of the house.

Perhaps no man better understood the people of Illinois from 1818 to 1848 than did Gov. John Reynolds. He was a close observer of their needs, wishes, and tastes, and was accordingly able to adopt a policy which commanded popular support and approval.

To use his own expression, there were but few offices in sight which he did not "go for;" and while not invariably successful, no public man of his day received a more generous support, or more acceptably served the people in a greater diversity of fields. He was quick to discern on which side of every vital issue stood the common people, to whom he appealed and the champion of whose interests he always assumed to be. In his relations to other public men of his time he seems unconsciously to have adopted and made his own the suggestion offered by William Wirt to Gov. Ninian Edwards—that the triumph of a politician is "to convert his opposers into instruments for his own higher elevation."

As a speaker he was not fluent and made no pretensions to oratory, yet he always managed to interest and influence large audiences, because he had carefully studied their pecularities no less than their wants and sectional predelictions. Although a good Greek, Latin, and French scholar, knowing the contempt of the early settlers for "book larnin'," he was careful to avoid anything like a parade of higher education, employing the homely language of the common people in conversation, and affecting an ignorance which was wholly feigned.

tion, on being informed that Gov. Reynolds was the witness required, broke out with an exclamation that he never heard of such nonsense as to go to the expense and trouble of perpetuating *his* testimony. "Why, confound him, he'll *never die*," said he, "I have been waiting a quarter of a century for him to kick the bucket, and his hold on life is stronger than it ever was. I will not make a —— fool of myself by seeking to perpetuate the testimony of a man who will outlive any record in existence."

The governor always favored the extreme measures of his party, including the Mexican War, the acquisition of Texas, the conquest of Cuba, and with regard to the Oregon boundary-line, "54° 40′ or fight." While in congress he rendered himself particularly offensive to John Quincy Adams, who, in his diary, stigmatizes him as "course, vulgar, ignorant, and knavish"—a description by which "the old ranger" would hardly have recognized himself.

The governor had his own newspaper in Belleville and his own chairman of public meetings, who invariably decided in his favor according to previous training; and no matter how strongly the sense of the meeting was against him, as it sometimes proved to be, the proceedings were invariably published as he wanted them to appear. He would have been the admiration, as he was the prototype—of the present ward committeeman, who so "fixes" the judges of the primaries, who on their part so manipulate "the returns" as that the will of the committee is expressed, rather than that of the voters.

Notwithstanding his emphatic denunciation of the nullification theories of Calhoun in 1832, in 1858, he had become a pronounced advocate of the doctrine of "state-rights," and in 1860 was chosen a delegate to the Charleston convention as a representative of the anti-Douglas democrats. He never admired Judge Douglas, and would not admit that he was a great man, "except in small things." When the rebellion was imminent, he not only wrote to Gov. Smith of Virginia sustaining the South, but also to Jefferson Davis, advising a resort to arms for the disruption of the Union.* He lived long enough, however—until May, 1865—to witness the downfall of the confederacy, and the disappointment of his expectation regarding the results of rebellion.

In the later years of his life he devoted himself to the writing of a "Pioneer History of Illinois"—a work of rare merit and interest. Although without order or arrangement, and rambling in style, it is replete with quaint observations, and most valuable information relating to the early settlement and history of the State. In his criticisms upon the character and actions of public men, contemporary with himself, with many of whom

* Recollections of Joseph Gillespie, p. 21, "Fergus' Historical Series," No. 13.

he had come in conflict, he evinces an appreciation of the worth of his opponents as keen as his treatment of the weaknesses of his friends is candid. His next literary effort was "John Kelley," and later, he wrote "A Glance at the Crystal Palace in New York," and "My Own Times,"—all exceedingly valuable contributions to the literature of the State.

Gov. Reynolds possessed a fine physique, having been in his youth an accomplished athlete. He had a long face, a high forehead, and large eyes, singularly expressive. He was sociable, yet temperate, fond of gossip though kindly. If in the attainment of his political ambition he was selfish and grasping, enforcing despotic obedience among his followers, he did not materially depart from the example of other successful politicians of his day and age.

Upon the resignation of the governor in November, 1834, on account of his election to congress, Wm. L. D. Ewing, who had been elected president of the senate in place of Lieut.-Gov. Casey, also elected to congress, succeeded to the executive chair—a position he held only fifteen days.

The growth of the State from 1820 to 1835 was unexampled, the population having increased from 55,162 to 269,974. Of this extraordinary accession, 102,283 were added during the first decade and 112,529 during the five years between 1830 and 1835. The nineteen counties of 1820 had been trebled, there being fifty-seven in 1835. During the earlier years of this period—from 1821 to 1823— the influx of settlers was toward the "Sangamo Country," resulting in the organization of the counties of Montgomery, Greene, and Sangamon in 1821, and Morgan in 1823. In the latter year, however, the fame of the district known as the "military tract" became noised abroad, and there was a rush of immigrants in that direction. The lands constituting the section to which this title was applied were given as a bounty to the soldiers of the War of 1812, and extended on the fourth principal meridian from the mouth of the Illinois 160 miles north, the tract comprising the peninsula between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. Within its limits, in 1824-5, were created the counties of Adams, Calhoun, Hancock, Schuyler, Knox, Warren, Peoria, Mercer, Henry, and Putnam; Pike and Fulton counties, lying in the same tract,

had been already organized, the former in 1821 and the latter in 1823, while McDonough followed in 1826, On the east side of the Illinois River, the incoming tide of population resulted in the organization of Tazewell County in 1827, Macon in 1829, and McLean in 1830. Afterward, as the project of building a canal which should connect the waters of the Illinois and Lake Michigan began to assume tangible shape, settlers ventured still farther north, and in 1831 were formed the counties of LaSalle, Rock Island, and Cook. Their growth was not a little stimulated by the favorable reports of the country carried to the south and east by soldiers returning from the Black-Hawk War. The pay of the volunteers in that struggle, amounting to about half a million of dollars, was expended in paying for land already acquired and for entering new claims—one very material benefit, at least, derived from that war.

A majority of the new settlers came from Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee; but Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and even New England contributed their quota, many of the eastern immigrants settling in the towns, to whose growth they imparted a decided impetus.

But the fame of the agricultural advantages offered by Illinois had spread beyond the seas, and attracted the attention of dwellers in foreign lands. Among the most eminent of these were Morris Birkbeck and George Flower, both of England. The latter had made a tour of the West in 1816; the former was introduced to and visited by Edward Coles on the occasion of that gentleman's visit to London in 1815. The impression made upon Mr. Birkbeck by the prospective governor was such that he decided to emigrate to the United States. In May, 1817, with his family he landed at Richmond, Va., where he was joined by Mr. Flower. Together the party of ten traveled by stage to Pittsburg, from which point they proceeded on horseback, reaching Big Prairie in Edwards County, Aug. 2, 1817. Each of the gentlemen entered 1500 acres of land, and began life anew in a strange country. As a result of the glowing accounts sent home by Mr. Birkbeck, in the form of letters published in England, a colony of artisans, laborers, and farmers soon set sail with a view to settling in the new Arcadia.

Farms were purchased, the town of Albion laid out, and the foundation started for one of the most prosperous settlements ever made in the State. They brought with them a better knowledge of agriculture and introduced as well some stock of improved breeds, both of which proved of no little benefit to the community. And in the stormy times which were ushered in by the slavery conflict of 1824, these English colonists were prompt to array themselves on the side of freedom.*

Another English colony, from Lancashire, settled in Monroe County in 1818; and soon after numerous families from each division of the United Kingdom found homes in Greene and Morgan counties and in other sections of the State. About this same period was begun the first German settlement at a point in St. Clair County, soon known as "Dutch Hollow," which formed a rallying point or centre, for the large number of thrifty emigrants from "the Fatherland," who soon began to pour into that and adjoining counties.

Thus it came about that before the close of 1834, the centre of population, which for nearly a century had remained in the vicinity of Kaskaskia, had been removed to a point considerably north of Vandalia.

With the advent of these permanent settlers, the careless squatter, always shiftless and sometimes dissolute, began to disappear. His aim seems to have been to keep always a trifle in advance of the tide of civilization, which carried him forward as does the sea the driftwood that floats upon its waves. He chafed under the restraints of organized society, and preferred the wildwoods, with the companionship of his dog and gun, to the more staid ways of a settlement. Accordingly, when "neighbors" came so near that he could hear the crack of their rifles, he hastily accepted the first offer made him for his little patch of corn and beans, and followed the receding red man toward the setting sun.

But the fascinations of the chase were felt by his successors

* Most interesting is George Flower's local "History of the English Settlement in Edwards County," with notes by Hon. E. B. Washburne (No. 1 of the Chicago Historical Society Collections). It is filled with valuable information and abounds in romantic incidents described in a graphic and fascinating style. The story of the rivalry of Morris Birkbeck and the author for the hand of one of the ladies of their pioneer party, and their subsequent estrangement, is of enthralling nterest.

as well. Grouse, wild turkeys, deer, and even bears were abundant, not only in the woods but even on the farms; and for many years it was no rare luck for a pioneer to bring down an elk or buffalo. Salted bear meat formed no insignificant item of the winter's supplies, and sometimes a hunting party would return with the carcasses of as many as thirty or forty of these carnivorous pests. Of venison, there was no lack—a single sportsman sometimes shooting half a dozen deer in a day, besides bringing in a bag well filled with smaller game. Such a redundancy of sport at first resulted in a rivalry between the chase and the farm. But as years went by, and game became less plentiful, and the fields and orchards larger and better improved, settlers began to see that their best interests lay in the cultivation of their farms, and hunting became a pastime rather than a vocation.

Immigrants from beyond the Alleghanies, until better facilities were offered by canals and railroads, traveled on horseback, by wagons and stage to Pittsburg, thence usually in flat-boats down the Ohio River to Shawneetown, at which point land-carriage was resumed, although the procuring of transportation thence was attended with great difficulties. The stage fare was six cents a mile. Occasionally the entire journey was made by land, the better class of settlers traveling in their own carriages or covered wagons, drawn by two or four horses.

A great drawback to emigration and commerce in these early times was the want of good roads. A great deal of costly work, under the patronage of congress, had been done up to 1835 upon the National Road, extending in Illinois from opposite Terre Haute to Vandalia; but aside from this, while a number of state roads were established connecting the principal towns—which were used for mail and stage-routes—that from Springfield to Chicago in 1826, and from the latter place to Decatur and Shelbyville in 1832—but little labor or money was expended upon them, none of the smaller and only a few of the larger streams being bridged.

Houses on the roads being ten to twenty miles apart, wayfarers would sometimes lose their way, or being caught in a storm, would have to camp out until they could ford swollen streams.*

* On one occasion, Judges Wilson and Lockwood, and Henry Eddy, in going on

The first steamboat to ascend the Mississippi above Cairo, was the *General Pike*, which reached St. Louis Aug. 2, 1817; and the second, the *Constitution*, two months thereafter. But at first the service was irregular, and the accommodations found but little favor with the traveling public. The time made was from six to eight miles an hour up stream, and ten to twelve down. But improvements in machinery and in the construction of boats soon began to work a great revolution in this mode of transportation, which by 1825 and 1830, had come to be generally adopted when available. The first steamboat began to ply upon the Illinois River in 1826. The opening of the Ohio Canal from Cleveland to Portsmouth, and the railroad and canal from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, in connection with the improved navigation of western rivers by steamboats, offered such increased facilities to travel as greatly to stimulate immigration and trade.

The arrival of a family at their new home was often provocative of great disappointment. To the masculine head, with heart of oak and muscles of steel, already rejoicing in the prospect of drawing from the unbroken soil its treasures of golden grain, the situation was not so discouraging. But upon the wife, who had been, perhaps, educated and brought up in luxury, the entering upon a new life, without any of its comforts, deprived of all its higher enjoyments, and the society of neighbors and friends, entailed a sacrifice which taxed her courage and fortitude to the utmost.*

horseback from Carmi to Vandalia—a distance of sixty miles—were overtaken by a storm of wind, sleet, and snow, and after traveling all day, became so fatigued that they were unable to proceed farther. Tying their horses, they spread a blanket on the ground near a fallen tree, and squatted down close together, Lockwood in the middle, and thus spent the dismal night. Proceeding in the morning, half-frozen, they reached the Kaskaskia River opposite Vandalia about noon, and found its banks full to overflowing. There was no alternative, and in they plunged and swam over, riding into town about "used up". Lockwood, who had long been in delicate health, as a consequence of the exposures of the trip resigned himself to a certain and speedy demise, but, strange to relate, from that very time he enjoyed better health than he had for many years previously.—Flower's "English Settlement," p. 28.

* An interesting anecdote is told of the advent from New York of Henry, father of United-States Senator Charles Benjamin Farwell, with his family, at his farm in Ogle County. The party arrived at the dilapidated log-house surrounded by a crazy-worm fence and presenting a general air of desolation in the evening. The outlook was so forbidding and the prospect of ever making his family comfortable was so slim,

From what has been said regarding the variety of sources from which came these early settlers, it is easy to comprehend the inharmonious character which for a time was a distinguishing mark of the people of the State. They were of all professions, trades, and callings; and came from localities where they had acquired habits of life and business methods varying almost as widely as did their respective idiosyncrasies of mental and moral constitution. At first, the result of thus bringing together elements so divergent was to induce a clash. The old settlers looked with distrust upon the new-comers, at many of whose methods they were disposed to sneer as "new-fangled inventions," which they were slow to recognize as improvements upon their own more primitive ways. In consequence, verbal collisions were not infrequent, the thoughts and ideas of one side being vehemently contested by the other. Especially were such wordy battles common between settlers from the South and immigrants from New England and New York, to both of whom was applied the then opprobrious epithet of "Yankees."

Looking back at the situation from the more clearly illumined standpoint of the present, the student of history is able to discern not only the operative causes then at work, but also the definite results which have become manifest in later years. It was the soil of the northwest, of which Illinois formed an integral part, that witnessed, virtually for the first time, the union of the descendants of those first colonists, so diverse in aims and religious faith, who landed respectively at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock, two hundred years before. In other words, the progeny of the Roundhead and the Cavalier here met upon common ground. In habits of thought, as in religion, they were still apart. The Eastern immigrants—most of whom were merchants or mechanics—gravitated toward the towns, a few only at first entering claims for farm-lands. In most

that the father decided in his own mind to go back and not subject his wife and children to the apparently hopeless task of ever attaining a fair proportion of the enjoyments of life in such a place. After supper he advised his family of the conclusion he had reached, but said he would leave it to them to decide. Some of the boys discouraged at the outlook, voted with the father, others on the other side, so that the wife had the casting-vote. She remarked, "Well, it's left to me, is it?" They all replied, "Yes, you must decide." "Well," she said, "we shall stay right here and work it out; I have no fears of the result."

essential points, the "Yankee" was the reverse of his neighbor from the South—the former was temperate, industrious, shrewd, close-fisted, ingenious, and self-contained; the latter was inclined to be "easy-going," was hospitable, dignified, frank, sociable, sensitive, and jealous of his rights. These differences in characteristics tended to strengthen prejudice and induce friction—a tendency which the sharp trading of the "Yankee clock-peddler" in no wise diminished. Ebullitions of temper on either side were common and hard words were freely interchanged. The following story, illustrative of this feeling is told by Judge Gillespie. An old "hardshell" Baptist preacher, Father Biggs by name, holding forth on one occasion on the richness and universality of God's grace said, "It tuk in the isles of the sea, and the uttermost parts of the yeth. It embraces the Esquimaux, and the Hotentots, and some, my dear brethering, go so far as to suppose that it takes in the poor benighted Yankees, but *I don't go that fur.*" The same divine accounted for the word "sprinkle" being in the Bible by contending "that it was an infernal Yankee trick." One of the objections seriously urged in the southern part of the State against the construction of the canal was, that it would be the means of flooding the State with Yankees.

Together with merchants, lawyers, physicians, came also the editor, the school-teacher, the singing-master, and the missionary, not ignoring the Methodist circuit rider, each of whom wielded a distinctive but no less potent influence in shaping the progress of society.

The first newspaper printed in the State was published at Kaskaskia, and called the *Illinois Herald*, Matthew Duncan being its proprietor. Its name was changed to the *Illinois Intelligencer* in 1817, at which time it was owned by Blackwell and Berry, state printers, who, in 1820, removed their establishment to Vandalia.

Other early newspapers printed in the State, in their order, were the *Illinois Emigrant*, published by Henry Eddy and Singleton H. Kimmel, at Shawneetown in 1818, the name of which was changed to that of the *Illinois Gazette* in 1824; the Edwardsville *Spectator*, by Hooper Warren in 1819; the *Star of the West*, at the same place in 1822, changed to the *Illinois*

Republican in 1823; the *Republican Advocate* at Kaskaskia in 1823, by R. K. Fleming; the *Illinois Journal* at Galena, by James Jones, in 1826; the *Sangamo Spectator* at Springfield, the same year by Hooper Warren; the *Illinois Corrector* at Edwardsville, in 1828; the *Galena Advertiser*, by Newell, Phillco & Co., in 1829; the *Alton Spectator*, in 1830, by Edward Breath; the *Telegraph*, at the same place, by Parks & Treadway, afterward controlled by John Bailhache—and a still leading paper in Madison County; the *Sangamo Journal*, now the *State Journal*, in 1831, by Simeon Francis, which he conducted until 1855, the publication of which has been uninterruptedly continued until the present time; and the *Chicago Democrat*, by John Calhoun, at Chicago in 1833.

Other papers, at the new county-seats, soon followed. While these newspapers, all of them published weekly, were in many instances ably conducted—notably the *Illinoisan* at Jacksonville, whose editorials on leading subjects would attract attention in the most influential journals of the present day—it must be admitted that great improvements have taken place in their "make-up" and management. The most of them containing principally extracts from Eastern papers, very little local news, and single, heavy editorial "leaders," were exceedingly dry reading.

Of the early writers and authors of Illinois Judge James Hall has already been mentioned. In addition to his labors as a missionary, Rev. J. M. Peck also wielded the pen with great ability and effect. He was the author of "A Guide for Emigrants," "A Gazetteer of Illinois," and, in connection with Rev. James H. Perkins, the "Annals of the West," in all of which were clearly set forth important facts, whose publication tended to promote the settlement and improvement of the State.*

Perhaps the most graceful and scholarly writer of this period in the Prairie State was Prof. John Russell, of Bluffdale in Greene County, a native of Vermont. His contributions to the newspapers and periodicals of the day were frequent and called forth encomiums from the Eastern press and even attracted attention in Europe.

* Mr. Peck was also the author of "Life of Rev. John Turner," the "Indian Captive," and the "Life of Rev. John Clark."

Another element which at this time entered largely into the moulding and formative processes of society, and the elevation of the people was the establishment of higher schools, or seminaries and colleges. The first of these was the theological seminary and high-school at Rock Springs, in 1827, in the founding of which the indefatigable Peck was the moving spirit. In 1831, the institution was transferred to Upper Alton and reörganized into what has since been known as Shurtleff College.

The Lebanon Seminary, under care of the conference of the Methodist-Episcopal Church, was established in 1828, and in 1830, it was given the name of McKendree College, which it still bears.

A seminary of learning under the auspices of Rev. John Ellis, a Presbyterian missionary, was established at Jacksonville in 1829, and subsequently, through the efforts of an association of theological students of Yale College, was reörganized into Illinois College in 1832.

The legislature for many years refused to pass acts of incorporation for colleges with anything like liberal provisions, insisting upon the insertion of restrictive clauses in regard to the teaching of theology; but in 1835 a combination of the friends of the institutions above named succeeded in securing the passage of a satisfactory "omnibus bill," providing for their incorporation.

No estimate of the forces which guide and shape the progress of society in a State, would be complete which failed to include the influence of religion.

In territorial days there were but few meeting-houses, and preaching services were at long intervals. Sunday was not observed with much strictness. The sermon, at some neighbor's house or adjacent grove, being over, the afternoon was often devoted to games and races, the preacher frequently acting as judge of the respective events. One of these pioneer clergy is said to have given notice on one occasion, that he would preach at the same place the following Sunday, unless it should happen to be a good day for hunting bees.

The style of preaching was of the long, loud, declamatory sort, in which the speaker gradually worked himself up into a

kind of frenzy, when he would fairly foam at the mouth, and cease only when exhausted nature could hold out no longer. The singing was after the same pattern, both ear and throat splitting. He that could wake the echoes from the greatest distance was the best singer.

When Rev. J. M. Peck, the first protestant "missionary," came west in 1817, the prevailing denominations were Baptists and Methodists. The Baptists, while entertaining Calvinistic views on many cardinal points, listened to the teachings of the Eastern propagandist on the subject of temperance, foreign and domestic missions, Sunday-schools, an educated ministry, and Bible societies, with great disfavor, and which they regarded as innovations upon their ancient faith and customs. The result was a schism, and the division of that Church into "regular" and Missionary Baptists. The former continued to confine their ministrations to the country, as they do at the present time, while the latter generally erected their houses of worship in the towns.

The Methodists as a body, were the pioneers in all effective religious movements. And if the great John Wesley had lived a hundred years later, the added experience thus acquired would not have enabled him to devise a system of religion better adapted to the wants of the people in the Western States at this period. Wherever a new log-cabin was erected, with the first smoke rising from its mud-plastered chimney of sticks, and floating away among the tree tops, was to be seen the never-failing circuit-rider, dressed in a single-breasted cloth coat, and white hat, mounted on his stout horse, his wardrobe and library carried in his saddle-bags. Courageous, industrious, and enthusiastic in his calling, he was earnest, thorough going, and untiring in his efforts to give a free gospel to the poor. He was a cross between the old "regular" Baptists, and the missionary from New England; while conforming to the popular style of preaching and hearty western manners, he was at the same time progressive, and quick to recognize the advantages of a higher education.

These men believed in all sincerity what they preached, and preached what they believed with inspiring fervor. Their mode of life, affording as it did continual opportunities for reflection

and self-communion, enabled them the better to cultivate the gift of oratory, which not a few of them possessed in a high degree. The class-meeting unloosened the tongues of both men and women to speak of their progress in the divine life, and of their encouragements and hindrances by the way. It was to this agency, in connection with its system of itineracy that this denomination owed its extraordinary growth and leading position.*

This was the hey-day of camp-meetings. They originated with the Presbyterians in Kentucky in 1800, but their advantages were quickly perceived by the Methodists who made them an "institution" peculiarly their own. The scenes at these meetings, where thousands of people frequently congregated, were as exciting as they were grotesque. At times, under the preaching

* One of the most conspicuous of these early itinerants was Rev. Peter Cartwright who came to the State from Kentucky in 1823, and settled in Sangamon County, where he resided until his death. For forty years he was in the front of the work of church extension. His district at first extended from Kaskaskia to Galena, and was so large that he was never able to go over it in any one year. He was of powerful frame, and possessed a strong intellect, not very highly cultivated, however, in the learning of the schools. He was a ready speaker, logical, witty, fearless—even belligerent. He was afraid, indeed, of neither man nor the devil, and was as ready with his strong right arm to subdue a refractory member of his flock, or disturber of his congregation, as he was with his tongue to contend with and silence a dissenter from his branch of the church.

He was a consistent defender of the faith on all occasions; whether in requesting Gov Edwards to ask a blessing at a dinner-party upon seeing that he was going to dispense with that ceremony; or in forcibly evicting the termagant wife of a brother preacher from her own door, outside of which she was kept until she begged to be let in, because she persisted in objecting to family worship.

Upon one occasion in Nashville, as he was about commencing his sermon, a tall, graceful gentleman came in, who, it was whispered to him by a brother in the pulpit, was the celebrated Andrew Jackson. Feeling indignant at the toadyism which prompted the interruption he at once spoke up "Who is Gen. Jackson? If he don't get his soul converted, God will damn him as quick as he would a Guinea nigger!"

He was an object of great interest at the general conferences in New York, where on one occasion he created no little astonishment at the hotel at which he was stopping, by asking the clerk for an ax, with which he said, he proposed to "blaze his way" up six pair of stairs, so that he could find his way out.

He also ventured into the field of politics, having been twice elected to the legislature (1828–1832). Here, however, he was out of his element, and cut but a poor figure. He was also induced to become the democratic candidate for congress against Abraham Lincoln in 1846, and failed of election by a large majority.

In 1856, he published his autobiography, containing a very graphic account of his adventures and experiences.

of some "powerful" revivalist, hundreds would be "struck down under a conviction of sin," and the entire camp become a scene of mingled groaning, praying, and shouting. Some would be seized with a paroxysm of spasmodic jerkings, others would spring up and dance until they were exhausted—all of which bodily exercises were claimed to be the supernatural workings of the Holy Spirit. Then again the commotion would take the direction of song, when the volume of sound swelling upon the unconfined breeze, might be heard for miles around. The camp-meeting still exists, but its weird and extragavant scenes have become but a memory of the past.

Before 1825, several new Catholic parishes, in addition to those at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, had been established, while the Cumberland Presbyterians and Episcopalians had also found a foothold in several counties. By 1830, influential Presbyterian churches had been organized in the counties of St. Clair, Madison, Bond, and Fayette.

With the tide of immigration which set in after 1832, came in increasing numbers the missionaries from New England. They were generally fresh from college, and had a much larger acquaintance with books, than with men and things. Their methods were not popular with Western people, who approved neither their precise manners, their correct mode of speaking, their wearing fine clothes, their extreme anti-slavery sentiments, nor, least of all, their persistent and ever-recurring Sunday collections. The people were accustomed to an animated, even boisterous style of preaching, and craved spiritual excitement. They believed in a demonstrative religion, induced by the stirring of the feelings to their very depths; and were but little interested in, or affected by, a sermon read from manuscript, in a low tone of voice. Still these devoted missionaries persevered, under great difficulties, and even hardships at times, in the establishment of churches—chiefly Presbyterian—in organizing Sunday-schools and Bible societies, and in securing funds for the building of houses of worship. Under their ministrations, families no longer sat apart—the males on one side of the church and the females on the other, but were grouped together on one seat.

The most striking result of their labors, however, was seen in

the prominence given to an intellectual over an emotional religion. They sought to replace mere excitement by a sober conviction of duty, and it is not too much to say that the faith of their congregations was strengthened through the elevation of their minds to a higher plane of thought. While these missionaries were generally under the thorough influence of their creeds, they were self-denying and steadfast in their labors. And although they never succeeded in making much impression upon the western-country people, the churches established by them were well-founded and have continued to prosper and multiply.

By reason of the convergence of so many diverse forces and elements, which burst upon the young State, as it were, in a day, wonderful changes, transformations, and amalgamations took place in the habits and lives of the people.

One of the most marked results following the establishment of churches from Eastern material, was the impovement in church music. The education of the missionary himself had not been neglected in this direction, and through the efforts of the "singing-master" whom he invited and encouraged, a radical reform in this respect was effected. The old patent-note singing-books, with their tunes generally in minor keys, were exchanged for the better and more modern collections of Lowell Mason and others; and men began to see that for the production of harmonic effects in the mingling of voices, something more was required than mere noise. With the training which improved methods produced, more satisfactory results were accomplished. Indeed, among the influences at work, in moulding the character and forming the tastes of the young people of that period, the education of the singing-school, which gave a new direction to their attention, and afforded at once instruction and enjoyment, was not the least important.

The impetus given to religious movements, as evidenced by the spread of churches and Sunday-schools which kept even pace with the increasing population, undoubtedly exerted a decidedly controlling influence upon the social no less than the moral well-being of the community. The people were brought together more frequently, and saw much more of each other and their new neighbors than they had theretofore. New ideas

of dress and of manners were acquired, emulation was awakened, and industry stimulated to attain better and more desirable ends. The old shanty gave place to a better log-cabin, the coon-skin cap for one made of wool, the linsey hunting-shirt to a coat made of cloth, the short, striped or cross-barred cotton or woolen frock to more stylish gowns made of calico or silk, and the deerskin moccason, to shoes of leather. And Sunday, which had been as other days, or passed in strolling through the woods and fields or in visiting, began to be looked forward to, especially by the younger people, with joyful anticipations, as a day on which to adorn themselves in their bright new clothes, and as an occasion for meeting their acquaintances in the neighboring chapel or school-house.

And it was a fact which none could fail to observe, that in those communities where they had the best meeting-houses, where services and Sunday-schools were the most regularly attended, and the day-school well sustained, there was the best order, the most enlightened and progressive society; while in those neighborhoods where religion was ignored, where the Sabbath brought no change, and ministers were unwelcome guests, the population was uncouth, ignorant, and retrogressive—if not vicious.

A better acquaintance resulted in the formation of closer relations between the old and new settlers, and the gradual attrition of the sharper points of difference. Each class became more willing to listen to and adopt important and valuable suggestions as to modes of living and trading. The settler from the East grew to be more liberal in his views, more frank and hearty in his demeanor, and more social in his intercourse with his neighbors; while the settler from the South learned habits of caution, industry, close farming, economy, and enterprise. In fact, it came to be said that when a Kentuckian fairly set himself to the task of sharp trading he could put even a Yankee to the blush.*

* A story is told of one of these who had impressed upon his own son the desirability of emulating in matters of business the example of his neighbors from the East. In the receptive mind of the youth the seed thus sown fell into fertile soil, and was well-cultivated. One day his father sent him to town to sell a calf, and how well he succeeded in the transaction was thus told by a neighbor who met him returning home. "Well, sir," he said, "what do you think? I'll be blowed if he

The merchant, with his large stocks of goods, groceries and manufactured articles, including not only what might be termed necessaries, but even luxuries, tempted the pioneer to add very greatly to his hitherto meagre supplies, and extend his relations with trade.*

No recital of the plastic influence at work in Illinois at this time would be complete, however, which failed to accord a position in the foreground to the lawyer. He was as ubiquitous as the "circuit-rider," whom he emulated in the mode and extent of his travels; except that the preacher went alone, while the lawyers went together. He followed the judge around the circuit, and like his clerical prototype carried with him all that he had in the way of physical and intellectual outfit. As the number of circuits was multiplied, popular interest in courts of justice widened and deepened; the court-room was filled, not only with suitors, their witnessess and friends, but with a gaping crowd of onlookers attracted by their interest in local quarrels, who never tired of the exciting proceedings.

A jury-trial of this period not only supplied the place of theatres, the lecture and concert room, but formed a valuable agency in the education of the people, as well in regard to legal knowledge as in the broad fundamental principles which underlie the framework of civil government. The wit and eloquence of the advocate delighted, while the dignified bearing of the judge impressed them. The lawyers, appreciating the fact that success in their forensic tilts led to professional preferments, no less than to political advancement—and few of them were not politicians—were stimulated to put forth their best efforts.

Such at this time were the forces at work to evolve from the social chaos, incident to a new community, the civic order which characterizes that mighty aggregation of wealth, power, and influence which constitutes the Illinois of today.

did'nt have a respectable pony, nine dollars in money, and the identical calf he started with in the morning."

* It often happened that the useful and improved articles brought in and purchased were as strange as they were new. A farmer having seen for the first time in the Black-Hawk War a team driven abreast in harness sent for a set, but when it arrived he found himself totally unable to adjust it to the horses, and had to send ten miles for a man who knew how to put the harness, the horses and wagon properly together.—"Gabriel Jones' autograph letters. Vol. 19, Chicago Historical Society's Collections."

CHAPTER XXVII.

Administration of Gov. Duncan—Ninth General Assembly—Election of United-States Senator—Abraham Lincoln—Laws—Tenth General Assembly—Internal-Improvement System—Illinois-and-Michigan Canal—Removal of the Capital—Lincoln and Douglas—National Politics—Killing of Lovejoy—1834-1838.

IN 1834, there were four candidates for governor, namely, Joseph Duncan, James Adams, William Kinney, for the second time, and Robert K. McLaughlin, an uncle of Duncan, who had served four years as State treasurer, and six years in the legislature. Gov. Duncan remained at Washington attending to his duties as a member of congress during the entire campaign, reaching his constituents solely through newspapers and by circulars—the only instance in this State of the election of a governor who had not been personally present, and actively engaged in making speeches or otherwise conducting the canvass. Although formerly an ardent admirer of Andrew Jackson and a strong supporter of his administration, he had become convinced that the policy which his adherents must endorse, was neither wise nor safe, and had accordingly allied himself with the opposition. Had the change in his views been certainly known to the electors, the result might have been different; but although his defection was suspected and was charged against him, such was the confidence of the people in his fitness for the position, that he was elected by a flattering majority, the vote standing for Duncan 17,349, Kinney 10,229, McLaughlin 4,315, Adams 887.

At the same election there were three candidates for lieutenant-governor—Alexander M. Jenkins, who received 13,795 votes, James Evans 8609, and William B. Archer 7573.

Joseph Duncan removed to Illinois in 1818, from Paris, Ky., where he was born February 22, 1794. His father Maj. Joseph Duncan, of the regular army, had emigrated from Virginia to Kentucky in 1790, and had five sons, all of whom received a

collegiate education except Joseph. Capt. Matthew Duncan, also of the regular army, and a brother of the governor, came to Illinois four years earlier, and founded at Kaskaskia the first newspaper published in the State.

At the outbreak of the War of 1812, Joseph Duncan, true to the martial instincts and military fame of his family, was among the first to enlist; and, although young in years, soon attained distinction, and was promoted to a lieutenancy. In 1834, congress, by joint resolution, instructed the president to present him and other officers named therein each with a sword "as a testimony of the high sense entertained by congress, of the gallantry and good conduct displayed in the brilliant and memorable defense of Fort Stephenson." In 1823, he was commissioned as major-general of the Illinois militia, and in the following year was elected to the State senate. He began his service in congress March 4, 1827, and resigned his seat in 1834, to accept the position of governor.*

Upon assuming the duties of the executive office after a service of eight years in congress, Gov. Duncan found that as regarded population and enterprise, Illinois had undergone a marked change since the day upon which he had left the State senate. The counties of Greene, Morgan, and Sangamon alone contained more people than did the entire Territory when it applied for admission into the Union. But if the State had grown in population and advanced in the development of her material resources, the ideas of the governor had broadened in a corresponding ratio. His congressional experience had afforded him not only a wider acquaintance with public men and a keener insight into public business, but it had also enlarged and enlightened his views on all questions relating to the successful administration of the internal affairs of a great commonwealth.

The first session of the ninth general assembly began Dec. 1, 1834. James Semple of Madison County was elected speaker without opposition. David Prickett was for the third time

* Returning home he met his old friend John Reynolds who had resigned the governorship to take his seat in congress. After a cordial greeting, Duncan said, "Well, governor, we are changing horses here, ar'n't we? You are going from governor to congress, and I am going from congress to governor." "Yes," said the old ranger, "and we are changing horses politically, too. You are riding the Yankee mule, and I am going to keep straddle of Old Hickory."

elected clerk of the house, Walter B. Scates, assistant clerk, Ebenezer Z. Ryan, engrossing and enrolling clerk, and William C. Murphy, doorkeeper. Leonard White was elected secretary of the senate, and Robert M. Gordon, sergeant-at-arms.

A majority of the senate were old members; among those now entering upon their first term were, Benjamin Bond, Cyrus Edwards, William J. Gatewood, John S. Hacker, Archer G. Herndon, James W. Stephenson, Edmund D. Taylor, and Wm. Thomas. The new members of the house who soon rose into prominence as leaders were, Milton Carpenter, Newton Cloud, Jesse K. Dubois, Jesse B. Thomas, jr., Edwin B. Webb, Orlando B. Ficklin, Charles Dunn, William Manly, and William Ross. Among these also was Abraham Lincoln.

In the message of Wm. L. D. Ewing, acting governor, the financial condition of the State was the chief topic discussed. In addition to its indebtedness of $100,000, called the "Wiggins' Loan," the sum of $117,276 had been by this time diverted from the school and seminary fund—a forced loan used to defray ordinary expenditures.

The inaugural of Gov. Duncan was mainly devoted to the discussion of the benefits to be derived from the establishment of a system of public schools, which he strongly recommended, and the importance of constructing the Illinois-and-Michigan Canal. He indeed recommended the adoption of a general system of internal improvements, without specifically suggesting the manner in which it should be carried out. He was also the first to recommend in this address, the passage of a homestead-exemption law, remarking that "such an act would have a tendency to induce every family, however poor, to procure a permanent home, and would further tend to make our population more stationary, and secure the families of the unfortunate against those casualties and misfortunes to which we are all liable." In the management of the affairs of State the governor commends this general policy, "nor is it desirable that the people should be entirely relieved from the burden of supporting the government, lest they might become indifferent to its administration, careless in selecting their officers, and less vigilant in scrutinizing their public conduct. To keep the government poor, and the people rich, is a political maxim

which ought never to be forgotten by those who are charged with preserving the purity of our institutions, and jealously guarding those principles in our constitution, which secure the rights, the power, and freedom of the people."

The two houses met in joint session December 20, for the purpose of electing a United-States senator. The candidates were Gen. Robinson to succeed himself, and Richard M. Young. The former was successful, receiving 47 votes to 30 for the latter.

This general assembly also witnessed at different periods the usual contests over the election of other officers as follows: for auditor, in which James T. B. Stapp was reëlected; for treasurer, in which John Dement was again successful; and for attorney general, which resulted in favor of Ninian W. Edwards. On January 14, the following circuit judges were elected—Stephen T. Logan, Sidney Breese, Henry Eddy, Justin Harlan, and Thomas Ford.

In the distribution of places on the committees, Mr. Lincoln was assigned to that on public accounts and expenditures. His first act as a member was to give notice that he would ask leave to introduce a bill limiting the jurisdiction of justices-of-the-peace—a measure which he was successful in carrying through. His next appearance on the floor of the house, was in making a motion to change the rules, so that "it shall not be in order to offer amendments to any bill after its third reading," which was not agreed to, although it has been long since adopted by all legislative bodies. His next motion was to take from the table a report which had been submitted by his committee, which also met with a like fate. His first resolution, relating to a State revenue to be derived from the sales of the public lands, was denied a reference, and laid upon the table.

The failure of these several initiatory efforts seems to have had a depressing influence upon him, as his name does not again appear upon the journals, except in the roll-calls, where it was invariably recorded. It is said however by his fellow-members that on two or three occasions he arose in his place and spoke briefly upon pending questions, without giving any special promise, however, of ability as a debater or speaker. He seemed rather to be feeling his way, and taking the measure of the

rising men around him, with whom he might at no distant day come in contact.

Jesse K. Dubois, Mr. Lincoln's life-long friend, also a new member, took a more prominent part in the proceedings than he, and while they were personally friendly they ranged themselves on different sides. Mr. Lincoln supported Young for senator, and Dubois, Robinson. Lincoln favored the canal while Dubois opposed it.

Among the laws passed at this session were the following: to incorporate the Bank of the State of Illinois; for the distribution of the school-fund; and for the construction of the Illinois-and-Michigan Canal, in which provision was made for a loan of $500,000, and for a board of commissioners, who were authorized to contract for work thereon.

A law was also passed authorizing the school commissioners of Cook County to loan to the county of Cook for the purpose of erecting a court-house, twelve thousand dollars, at a rate of interest not less than ten per cent per annum.

When the legislature had completed its work, the members feeling doubtless that they had been faithful in the discharge of their public functions and ought to express their thanks therefor, as well as have their spiritual strength renewed, requested a minister who was present to close the session with prayer. He signifying that it would afford him pleasure to do so, the concluding minute on the journal records the fact that "the Rev. Mr. Hunter, then addressed a prayer to the Throne of Grace, after which the speaker adjourned the house."

The second session of the ninth general assembly was convened Dec. 7, 1835, in pursuance of a resolution recommending the same adopted at the first session—the principal object being to apportion the State into legislative districts under the census of 1835. The governor in his message called attention to the fact that the canal commissioners appointed under the law of the previous session, had failed to negotiate a loan and suggested a revision of the law.

The governor also referred to the demand for other internal improvements, observing that "while I would urge the most liberal support of all such measures as tending with perfect certainty to increase the wealth and prosperity of the State,

I would at the same time most respectfully suggest the propriety of leaving the construction of all such works wherein it can be done consistently with the general interest, to individual enterprise"—which advice, had it been heeded by the people's representatives, would have been the means of averting many serious evils which afterward befell the State.

A new act for the construction of the canal was passed, giving enlarged powers to the commissioners and pledging the faith of the State for the payment of any loan they might be able to negotiate. Under this law a loan of $100,000 was secured by the governor, with the proceeds of which, work was begun the following June.

The new apportionment law provided for the election of forty-one senators, and ninety-one representatives.

The unexpected demise of Hon. E. K. Kane, which occurred at Washington four days after the meeting of the legislature, devolved upon that body the duty of electing his successor. A decidedly animated contest ensued, the principal candidates being W. L. D. Ewing, James Semple, and Richard M. Young, speaker of the house. It required eleven ballots to reach a result, Young having been dropped on the eighth, although he had more votes than Ewing on the first. Semple and Ewing were twice tied in the subsequent ballotings, the latter at last succeeding by the close vote of forty to thirty-seven. Mr. Lincoln, with nearly all the anti-Jackson men, voted for the successful candidate.

Gen. Ewing was born in Kentucky in 1795. He had for a number of years occupied responsible positions, as an officer and member of the legislature, having presided in both houses. He had also come out of the Black-Hawk War with considerable credit as a brave and dashing commander. His personal appearance was altogether in his favor, and with agreeable manners, and fair ability as a lawyer, he was quite popular at the capital of the State, where he resided.

Party-lines of demarcation, from this time forward, became more clearly defined. Those who had been supporters of Adams and Clay, and in favor of a national bank, merging other political differences, called themselves whigs, while the followers of Jackson and Van Buren took the name of demo-

crats. Neither party accorded to the other the name claimed by it, and hence arose the nicknames of federalist for the one and locofocos for the other.*

The first national democratic convention for the nomination of a president and vice-president was held at Baltimore, in May, 1835; at which Martin Van Buren received the nomination for the first office, and Richard M. Johnson for the second. No national whig convention for the nomination of a candidate to oppose Van Buren was held. Gen. Harrison was nominated by several state conventions, and Hugh L. White by the legislature of Tennessee, Daniel Webster by the opposition in Massachusetts, and Willie P. Mangum of North Carolina, by the legislature of South Carolina.

Resolutions endorsing the candidacy of Mr. Van Buren being introduced into the house, produced an exciting discussion. Among other questions entering into the debate, was the policy of adopting the "convention system," now first coming into vogue in this State, by which all candidates were to be nominated by party-representative conventions, duly constituted, instead of being brought out by an unauthorized caucus, or by their own announcement. The democrats advocated the convention, and the whigs, knowing themselves to be in the minority, and believing they had better chances of success by preventing the union of their opponents on one candidate, determinedly opposed it. As a result of the discussion, the resolution endorsing Van Buren was adopted by a vote of thirty to twenty, and that approving of the convention plan, by the close vote of twenty-six to twenty-five.

The election of 1836 was the first popular expression under a new political era. The great popularity of Andrew Jackson, the founder and chief exponent of the democratic party, together with its superior organization and management, enabled Mr. Van Buren to carry the State by 2983 majority.

The tenth general assembly, which convened December 5, 1836, was one of the most remarkable bodies of law-makers

* This latter *sobriquet* originated this year (1835) in New-York City. One faction of democrats had put out the lights in a public hall to bring a meeting to an abrupt termination; the other faction, having anticipated this move, immediately produced candles, which they ignited with friction, then called locofoco matches, and, relighting the hall, continued the meeting to its successful close.

which ever assembled in the legislative halls of Illinois or of any other state. Not only in numerical strength did it surpass all preceding legislatures, but none of its successors has even approached it in respect of intellectual calibre, nor has the roll of any included so many names destined to become historic in the annals, not only of the State, but of the Nation.

Among its members were included a future president of the United States, a defeated candidate for the same high office, six future United-States senators, eight members of the national house of representatives, a secretary of the interior, three judges of the State supreme court, and seven State officers. Here sat side by side Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas; the gallant Edward Dickinson Baker, who represented at different times the states of Illinois and Oregon in the national councils; O. H. Browning, a prospective senator and future cabinet officer, and William L. D. Ewing, who had just served a brief period in the senate; John Logan, father of the late senator, Gen. John A. Logan; Richard M. Cullom, father of Senator Shelby M. Cullom, John A. McClernand, afterward member of congress for many years and a distinguished general in the late civil war, who is yet living; "Uncle" Jesse K. Dubois, afterward State auditor for eight years, Gen. James Shields, Col. John J. Hardin, Wm. A. Richardson, John Hogan, Robert Smith, and James Semple, speaker of the house, all of them future members of congress, either in the senate or house, or both; Augustus C. French, a future governor, Usher F. Linder, Milton Carpenter, John Moore, John Dougherty, Newton Cloud, Archibald Williams, Cyrus and Ninian W. Edwards, W. A. Minshall, Edwin B. Webb, William Thomas, and John Dement.*

The political affiliations of more than two-thirds of the house were democratic. In the senate, a small whig majority enabled that party to elect the president in place of the lieutenant-governor, A. M. Jenkins, resigned; while the honor of the speakership once more fell to James Semple, who outstripped in the race two competitors, Newton Cloud and John

* In this connection it is worthy of especial remark, that of the eminent whig leaders in this brilliant array, three, Lincoln, Baker, and Hardin, met with death by violence in their country's service.

Dement, all of them democrats, the minority declining to nominate a candidate. It so happened that Lincoln and Douglas for the first, and probably the last time, found themselves voting for the same candidate, Mr. Cloud being the choice of both.

This session of the legislature was not only distinguished by the activity of its members, but was even more conspicuous on account of the important character of its proceedings and legislation. The election of a United-States senator, several circuit judges, and State officers, brought together more than the usual number of hangers-on, lobbyists, and candidates. Vandalia never was so full of people, and the opportunities for effecting combinations and trades were never so great. Every day brought forth its exciting discussions, and every night its secret conclave and factional manœuvring.

The governor in his message, after referring to the canal-loan of $100,000, which he had effected, reiterating his views in favor of free schools, and recommending that the State subscribe for stock in the State Bank, branched out upon the subject of national politics, arraigning President Jackson for having violated the constitution, and condemning his abuse of the appointing power, concluding by invoking an expression of opinion on these topics by the legislature. It was an unfortunate appeal, the house placing on record its approval "of the general course of the administration" by the emphatic vote of sixty-four to eighteen. Following this came a discussion on the slavery question, which had a conclusion still more one-sided, Mr. Lincoln and five others being all that could be mustered on the anti-slavery side.

The senatorial election was held December 14. There were five candidates, namely, Richard M. Young, Samuel McRoberts, Archibald Williams, Wm. L. D. Ewing, and Thomas C. Browne, and three ballots were required to decide the contest, when Young received 68 votes, McRoberts 24, Williams 17, Ewing 12, Browne 7, and Wm. Wilson 1.

Judge Young was a native of Kentucky, and had served on the bench very acceptably since 1825. He was not gifted as a speaker, but possessed attractive manners and a splendid physique—being said, indeed, to be the finest-looking man in the State.

The election of State officers occurred Jan. 16, and resulted in the selection of Levi Davis, auditor of public accounts, John D. Whiteside, treasurer, and Usher F. Linder, attorney-general.

In the meantime, as the two most important subjects of legislative action came more prominently into view, all other questions were left in abeyance. These were internal improvements, and the removal of the capital.

The people of the entire country had at this time become possessed by the spirit of improvement in the means of transportation. In New York, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, important works of this character had either been completed, or were in process of construction. Canals found the greatest favor in the East, while in Kentucky, macadamized roads received the popular endorsement. The people of Illinois had for two years been seeking to find some means by which their State could be placed in the front rank in this "march of progress," and the question now took complete possession of the minds of the enthusiastic young statesmen to whom had been intrusted the legislation of the commonwealth. Owing to the level conformation of the State's surface, the construction of railroads seemed to afford the readiest solution of the problem. Their successful operation in England, and their growing popularity wherever they had been tried in this country, were strong arguments in their favor.

The advocates of this improvement pointed to the fact that the twenty-three miles of this new method of transportation which existed in the United States in 1830, had grown to nearly eleven hundred miles in 1836, of which Massachusetts had 140 miles, New York 175, New Jersey 109, Pennsylvania 231, Maryland 156, Virginia 100, and South Carolina 136.

Pennsylvania had taken the lead in internal improvements, having now in operation 218 miles of railroads and 914 miles of canals. Why should the State of Illinois fall behind others in providing the necessary facilities for commerce and trade?

To strengthen and encourage this feeling on the part of their law-makers, the people held public meetings in various portions of the State, at which its superior advantages—its fertile soil, genial climate, and broad extent — were presented as only needing the improved means of transportation furnished by

railroads to enable it to take the lead in population and wealth.

Perhaps the most important of these meetings was a convention held at Vandalia, attended by delegates from all parts of the State, at which the legislature was urged to act without delay.

The first member formally to move in proposing a plan to the legislature was Stephen A. Douglas of Morgan County, who, early in the session, introduced a series of resolutions, in which the improvements to be made were specifically described, and setting forth that they should be constructed and owned by the State, and that for the purpose of carrying them forward a loan of —— millions of dollars should be negotiated on the faith of the State. These resolutions formed the basis of the report of the committee on internal improvements, which indorsed and enlarged upon the plan thus briefly outlined. The example of Pennsylvania and Indiana in adopting a general system of improvements was cited, and it was urged that if Illinois failed to exhibit equal enterprise, not only would immigration cease, but the State would lose the inhabitants she already had; that such a system was entirely practicable, and, if adopted, would result in the entry of large quantities of land, as well as increasing the taxable property; and that the tolls on the road would yield a sum sufficient to pay the interest on the cost.

A bill, embodying substantially the plan recommended by the committee, was introduced, and after full discussion and a few amendments, was finally passed, Feb. 27. In the house, the vote stood sixty-one yeas to twenty-five nays. Among the former were Douglas, Baker, Edwards, French, Hogan, Lincoln, Snyder, McClernand, Robert Smith, Shields, and Semple; among the nays were Hardin, Minshall, and Richardson, in the house, and Browning and Thomas, in the senate.

The council of revision returned the bill with their objections, the governor taking occasion to remark, in accordance with his well-known and frequently-expressed views, that such works could only, in his opinion, be made safely and economically in a free government by citizens, or by independent corporations, aided and authorized by the government. But notwithstanding the objections so wisely urged, and the persistent efforts of


ILLINOIS
in 1837.
with proposed improvements.
SCALE OF MILES.
EXPLANATION.
COUNTY TOWNS
CANALS
RAIL ROADS
STAGE DO.
COMMON DO.
WISCONSIN TER.
STEPHENSON
WINNEBAGO
BOON
McHENRY
LAKE MICHIGAN
DAVIESS
WHITESIDE
OGLE
KANE
COOK
Chicago
ROCK ISLAND
HENRY
LA SALLE
WILL
MERCER
PUTNAM
WARREN
KNOX
PEORIA
IROQUOIS
HANCOCK
McDONOUGH
FULTON
McLEAN
LIVINGSTON
STARK WEATHER
SANGAMON
CHAMPAIGN
VERMILION
ADAMS
SCHUYLER
CASS
MACON
MORGAN
PIKE
CALHOUN
GREENE
MACOUPIN
MONTGOMERY
SHELBY
EDGAR
CLARK
COLES
EFFINGHAM
FAYETTE
JASPER
CRAWFORD
BOND
MADISON
CLAY
LAWRENCE
CLINTON
MARION
WASHINGTON
JEFFERSON
WAYNE
EDWARDS
WABASH
MONROE
RANDOLPH
PERRY
FRANKLIN
HAMILTON
WHITE
GALLATIN
JACKSON
UNION
JOHNSON
POPE
ALEXANDER
MISSISSIPPI
MISSOURI
INDIANA
KENTUCKY
Dubuque
Galena
Rockford
Rock Island
Bloomington
Peoria
Springfield
Alton
St Louis
Cairo
Paducah
Vincennes
Terre Haute
Chicago

the able minority, the bill again passed by the constitutional majority.*

The bill providing for a change in the seat of government was under the charge of Mr. Lincoln and the nine members from Sangamon County. This delegation was remarkable, not only for the mental ability of its members, but also for their physical stature, their combined height aggregating precisely fifty-four feet—an average of six feet for each. For this reason they were then, and have been ever since, spoken of as the "long nine." Their names were A. G. Herndon and Job Fletcher, in the senate, and Abraham Lincoln, Ninian W. Edwards, John Dawson, Andrew McCormick, Dan Stone, Wm. F. Elkins, and Robert L. Wilson, in the house.

The movement of population toward the centre of the State, had made it evident for some years that Vandalia would not be permitted to remain the capital after the expiration of the twenty years specified at the time of its location. A bill, indeed, had been passed at the session of 1833, submitting the question of a relocation to the people, offering them a choice of selection between Springfield, Jacksonville—the centre, Alton, Vandalia, and Peoria; but neither of these points was able to command anything approaching a majority. Vandalia led in the poll, but received only about one-fifth of the votes cast.

One of the reasons urged for the necessity of a speedy change was that the State-house, which had been badly constructed, was no longer habitable. To obviate this difficulty the old building had been torn down during the summer and a new

* The gigantic scheme thus adopted provided for the construction of the following public works, at the cost specified:—

Improvement of the Wabash, Illinois, and Rock rivers, $100.000 each; the Little Wabash and Kaskaskia rivers, $50,000 each; total for rivers,	$400,000
For the improvement of the Great Western Mail-Route,	250,000
On Railroads: from Cairo to Galena,	3,500,000
Alton to Mt. Carmel, 1,600,000; Northern-Cross R.R., 1,800,000,	3,400,000
A branch of the Central Road to Terre Haute,	650,000
Peoria to Warsaw, 700,000; Alton to Central R.R., 600,000,	1,300,000
Belleville to Mt. Carmel,	150,000
Bloomington to Mackinaw town,	350,000
To counties *in lieu* of railroads or canals,	200,000
	$10,200,000

one built, at a cost of some $16,000, of which the citizens and workmen took the risk. Of this sum, the governor had advanced $6000 from the contingent fund. But when the people found that their enterprising scheme had failed to affect the question of removal, they were very glad to have an appropriation bill passed covering the amount of the bills for its erection.

The single measure, to the success of which the "long nine" bent all their energies, was the permanent location of the capital at Springfield. They had no favorite route for a railroad, and were thus left perfectly untrammeled to assist and promote the pet schemes of others, who were willing to reciprocate in kind. Nine solid votes would go far toward turning the scale in favor of any close question, and were always thrown where they would accomplish the most satisfactory results. Still, such was the power of local interests, every other would-be capital having its friends outside of its delegation, as well as its active "log-rollers," that at one time the fate of the bill seemed more than doubtful, and the hopes of its promoters began to fade. Mr. Lincoln, however, never for a moment faltered. Assembling his colleagues for consultation, he proceeded to outline a policy, evincing at once his sound, practical sense and his perfect knowledge of human nature. The result was to inspire the advocates of the measure with fresh courage.* New combinations were effected, and the bill was finally passed, Feb. 25, the vote standing in the house 46 to 37, and in the senate 24 to 13.

The internal-improvement measure became a law, Feb. 27, and the next day the two houses met "to select a place for the permanent seat of government," in pursuance of the provisions of the former bill, which resulted in the selection of Springfield on the fourth ballot.†

The act appropriated $50,000 toward the erection of a State-house at the point to be selected, contingent upon the donation by individuals of the same amount, to be secured by bonds,

* Arnold's "Life of Lincoln," 5.

† The following is a statement of the balloting in detail:—

PLACE. BALLOT:	1ST.	2D.	3D.	4TH.	PLACE. BALLOT:	1ST.	2D.	3D.	4TH.
Springfield,	35	43	53	73	Alton,	15	16	14	6
Jacksonville,	14	15	9	1	Illiopolis,	—	10	3	—
Vandalia,	16	15	16	15	Scattering,	25	7	15	7
Peoria,	16	12	11	6					

together with not less than two acres of ground, to be donated to the State, upon which to erect the public buildings.

A necessary part of the system of improvements adopted was the construction of the Illinois-and-Michigan Canal, to further which a law was passed authorizing the sale of canal lands to the amount of $1,000,000, and providing for an additional loan of $500,000, the proceeds of which were to be expended during 1838.

The fact that the internal-improvement and canal schemes, and that for the removal of the seat of government, were made to support each other, secured many votes for each which it might not have been able to obtain on its own merits. The friends of the canal were menaced with defeat if they failed to support the general-improvement bill, while the promoters of the latter threatened to withhold support from the canal unless their measure went through. The counties which failed to secure any railroads or canals were placated with the promise of $200,000, to be divided among them according to population. The "long nine" in the meantime stood ready on all occasions to apply their strength where the most valuable returns might be obtained.

Another measure which was also made to bear upon the general result was the law increasing the capital stock of the State Bank $2,000,000, and that of the Bank of Shawneetown $1,400,000.

After having enacted laws more far-reaching in their results than the members had foreseen, the legislature adjourned, March 6, amid the plaudits of a grateful constituency. Only the so-called misguided and narrow-minded minority were received with coldness, and made the subjects of public censure.

The adjournment was followed by an era of speculation unprecedented in the history of the State. There was about to be realized in rich fruition the rose-colored future of prosperity depicted by the governor in his message of 1835, in which he alluded to the construction of railroads and canals as "bearing with seeming triumph the rich productions of the interior to the rivers, lakes, and ocean, almost annihilating time, burthen, and space."

The fever of speculation, then in its incipient stages, rapidly

advanced in intensity until, when, the advocates of a vast system of improved transportation beheld, in the passage of this act, the materialization of their wildest dreams, fever developed into mania, reason was dethroned, and the folly of inflation held high carnival.

The ease with which sales of real estate were effected was equaled only by the phenomenal profits realized upon its redisposal. Towns sprang up in a night, and cities in a day, the names even of some of which have long since been forgotten. On paper, each was destined to become the metropolis of a dense population, and corner lots sold at fabulous prices, while less eligible sites were valued in proportion.

This speculative craze, however, proved an ultimate boon to Chicago, toward whose extraordinary growth both blind chance and sagacious foresight seem to have contributed, for in her case the vagaries of speculators served as an advertisement, against whose value even the subsequent hard times failed to militate.

With the hurricane of speculation which swept over the State, the tide of immigration flowed in like a torrent; every steamboat on the rivers and lakes was crowded with eager passengers, coming either to locate permanently or to participate in the prospective gains which this furor of inflation promised.

Soon after the adjournment of the legislature occurred an event as unexpected as it ultimately proved to be disastrous to the business interests of the country. This was the suspension of specie payments by the banks throughout the United States —a policy which necessity forced the Illinois banks to adopt. But as the law incorporating these banks provided that if they refused specie payments for sixty consecutive days they should forfeit their chartered privileges, the governor was requested to call a special session of the legislature to determine the question of legalizing the suspension. It met July 10, and the governor, after referring in his message to the deranged financial condition of the country, availed himself of the occasion to recommend the repeal of the internal-improvement law of the last session, wisely remarking that "the disasters which had already fallen upon the commercial world suggested the neces-

sity of escaping from the perils of a system which could only be fraught with evil." The law to legalize the suspension of the banks was passed, but the bill for the repeal of the internal-improvement system, introduced in accordance with his advice, was laid on the table by a vote of 53 to 34.

Little other business was transacted at this session, which adjourned July 22.

The fund commissioners, under the law, were clothed with the power of negotiating all loans, and the care of the moneys arising therefrom. They were elected by the legislature, the first board consisting of Thomas Mather, Charles Oakley, and M. M. Rawlings. In the latter part of July, 1837, the commissioners proceeded to New York for the purpose of raising money. And although they were somewhat disappointed in not finding that demand for State securities which they anticipated, and notwithstanding the disturbance in bank circles, which the opponents of the "system" hoped would prevent the making of any loans, they succeeded in effecting sales of 4869 bonds, whose par value aggregated $4,869,000. One hundred sold at a premium of 5 per cent, 200 at 2½ per cent, 1216 at 2 per cent, and the remainder at par. Other sales were negotiated, and by Dec. 24, 1838, there had come into the hands of the commissioners, as shown by their report, the sum of $5,668,000, while the amount disbursed by them up to this time was $4,648,399, on the following accounts:—

For bank stock, - - - -	$3,000,000
To the commissioners of public works, -	1,142,027
To counties, - - - - -	144,700
For interest, - - - -	292,250
For iron and expenses, - - -	69,422
Leaving an unexpended balance of -	1,019,604

The board of public works, also elected by the legislature, consisted of William Kinney—president, Murray McConnel, Elijah Willard, Milton K. Alexander, Joel Wright, John Dixon, and Ebenezer Peck. As fast as routes could be surveyed in their respective districts, contracts for construction were let. The first work done was on that part of the Northern-Cross-Railroad, from Meredosia to Jacksonville, in May, 1837. The

amount expended by the board upon the several objects of improvement up to Dec. 24. 1838, was as follows: Railroads, $950,593; the Great Western Mail-route, $102,988; rivers, $26,212.

The State debt at the incoming of Gov. Duncan's administration was $217,276, which included the amount of the Wiggins loan of $100,000, and the forced loan from the school and seminary fund, $117,276. At the close of his term, Dec. 4, 1838, it reached $6,688,784, as follows:—

Bonds sold for bank stock - - -	$2,665,000
Bonds for internal improvements - - -	2,204,000
Bonds for construction of the canal - -	1,000,000
Due to the school and seminary fund - -	719,784
Amount of the Wiggins loan - - -	100,000
Total - - - - - - - -	$6,688,784

Having brought the history of Gov. Duncan's administration, so far as it relates to legislation and internal policy, to its close, an event will now be noticed which not only formed an exciting episode of the time, but assumed even national importance—namely, the Alton riots.

Elijah Parish Lovejoy, a native of Maine, where he was born Nov. 8, 1802, was the son of a Congregational minister. Emigrating to St. Louis in 1827, he found employment upon the staff of the *St. Louis Times*, a whig newspaper. After entering the Presbyterian ministry, in 1833, he assumed editorial control of the *St. Louis Observer*, a religious newspaper, patronized principally by his denomination in Missouri and Illinois. In 1835, Mr. Lovejoy became earnestly interested in the slavery question, and many of his editorials contained strong arguments against "the peculiar institution." Being published in a slave-state, they not unnaturally excited unfavorable comment and even animadversion. So much so, indeed, that nine influential citizens and supporters of his paper, among them Judge Gamble, Rev. Dr. W. S. Potts, and Nathan Ranney, addressed him a letter protesting against his course, and counselling him, in view of the excited state of the public mind on the subject of abolitionism, "to pass over in silence everything connected with the subject." To which request, in a very able article on the

liberty of the press, he declined to accede. He was then requested by the proprietors to retire from the editorship of the paper, to which he consented; but in the meantime the paper changed hands, and he was continued in charge as before. In the issue of June 21, 1836, he announced his intention of removing the paper to Alton, but on the eve of its transfer the office was entered by a mob and most of the material destroyed. What was left of the press was in due time shipped, but during the night after it was landed was thrown into the river and destroyed. The citizens of Alton, at a public meeting, disavowed the act, and subscribed money to purchase a new press, and the first number of the paper was issued at Alton Sept. 8, 1836.

At the public meeting alluded to, Mr. Lovejoy stated that, while strongly opposed to slavery, he was not an abolitionist, and it has been alleged on the one hand and denied on the other that he gave a pledge not to meddle with the subject. Be this as it may, as the months rolled by the anti-slavery tone of the paper became more distinct, and his paper came to be as offensive to the pro-slavery element at Alton as it had been at St. Louis, and the general indignation found expression in resolutions condemning the course of the *Observer*, adopted at a public meeting July 11, 1837. His reply to the committee who presented them was courteous but unyielding, and on the night of August 21, a mob of a dozen persons broke into the office and destroyed the press and material.

Funds were not wanting from willing contributors, with which a third press and type were purchased, which arrived Sept. 21, and in the absence of Mr. Lovejoy were placed in a warehouse. That same night another mob gathered, this time partially disguised, forced an entrance into the store, rolled the press out, broke it into pieces, and sent it after the others into the Mississippi.

A fourth press was ordered, but by this time such was the bitter antagonism which assailed him that it was considered whether it would not be better to remove to Quincy, or some other point, rather than attempt to stem the storm of opposition at Alton. But when it became known that he had determined to fight it out, a public meeting was called, Nov. 2, to consider the

situation. The popular feeling, as shown by speeches from such men as Gen. U. F. Linder, Rev. John Hogan, and Cyrus Edwards, was decidedly against Mr. Lovejoy. He appeared in his own defense, and made a most eloquent and affecting appeal in support of a free press and free speech, in which he said: "I have, Mr. Chairman, not desired nor asked any compromise. I have asked for nothing but to be protected in my rights as a citizen —rights which God has given me, and which are guaranteed to me by the constitution of my country. Have I, sir, been guilty of any infraction of the laws? What, I ask, has been my offense? Put your finger upon it—define it—and I stand ready to answer for it. If I have committed any crime you can easily convict me. You have public sentiment in your favor. * * * But if I have been guilty of no violation of law, why am I hunted up and down the country like a partridge upon the mountains? I plant myself, sir, down on my unquestionable rights, and the question to be decided is, whether I shall be protected in the exercise and enjoyment of those rights; whether my property shall be protected; whether I shall be suffered to go home to my family at night without being assailed and threatened with tar and feathers and assassination; whether my afflicted wife, whose life has been in jeopardy from continued alarm and excitement, shall, night after night, be driven from her sick-bed into the garret, to save her life from the brick-bats and violence of the mobs—*that, sir, is the question?* * * * I have concluded, after consultation with my friends, and earnestly seeking counsel of God, to remain at Alton, and here to insist on protection in the exercise of my rights. If the civil authorities refuse to protect me, I must look to God; and if I die, I have determined to make my grave in Alton."

The speech made a deep impression, and there was a time when the tide seemed to be turning in his favor; but all to no purpose. Resolutions were adopted to the effect that it was indispensable that Mr. Lovejoy should not be allowed to conduct a paper, and that he ought to retire from the charge of the *Alton Observer.*

The fatal issue was joined. The fourth press was landed on the night of Nov. 6, 1837, and safely stored in the warehouse of

Godfrey, Gilman & Co. Fearing an attack a volunteer guard of sixty was maintained about the building all the next day, and until nine o'clock at night, when everything remaining quiet, the guard went to their homes, with the exception of nineteen, who, at the request of Mr. Gilman, remained on the premises. Presently, however, a large mob began to gather around the warehouse—a double building, three stories high. Two of the leaders, asking for admittance, demanded the surrender of the press, stating that if it was not given up the house would be burned, and all within put in peril of their lives. The demand was refused. The mob then attacked the building and attempted to batter down the front door. A shot was fired from the inside which killed Lyman Bishop. This enraged the assailants, who renewed the attack with redoubled force. Mayor John M. Krum appeared on the scene and ordered the attacking party to disperse, a command to which no attention was paid. A ladder was raised on the east side of the building and a man sent up to fire the roof. Volunteers were called for to dislodge the incendiary, which was responded to by Lovejoy and two others, who stepped out upon the levee and fired upon the man on the ladder, but without effect. The fire was immediately returned by two or three men concealed near by behind a pile of lumber. Lovejoy, who was in plain view, received five buckshot in his body, and running into the building and upstairs, exclaimed: "My God! I am shot!" and, falling into the arms of a friend, died without a struggle. No inquest was held on the body, and he was buried the following day.

At the January term (1838) of the Alton municipal court, Winthrop S. Gilman, representing his associates, the defenders of the press, was tried for riot and acquitted. At the same term John Solomon, Horace Beall, James M. Rock, Jacob Smith, James Jennings, and others, the assailants, were arraigned on a similar charge, with like result.

It was claimed that the fatal shots which caused Lovejoy's death were fired by Dr. Jennings and his comrade, Dr. Beall. And it is said that the former was afterward cut to pieces in a bar-room fight in Vicksburg, Miss., and that the latter, while attached to a scouting party of Texas rangers, was captured by the Comanche Indians and burned alive.

The tragic death of Lovejoy created widespread excitement. It was discussed at public meetings and in the press—some papers coming out in mourning. The voice of condemnation was almost universal. Lovejoy, it was said, had found a grave in the bosom of a free-state; and the martyrdom of the representative of philanthropy, liberty, and justice would kindle a flame which years could not extinguish.

In the character of Mr. Lovejoy were combined many traits of rare excellence. His mental powers were of a high order; he was endowed with keen perceptions, and attained merited distinction as both a writer and pulpit orator. His convictions were deep-seated, and his fidelity was shown by that undaunted bravery with which they were maintained. To physical and moral courage were united a temperament as ardent as it was amiable. Reviewing his course from the standpoint of today, however, after the lapse of half a century fraught with events so momentous to the nation and to the world, it must be admitted that it was needlessly irritating and offensive to a majority of his fellow-citizens, among whom were many personal and political friends. His intellect and will surpassed his judgment, and his enthusiasm developed into zealotry. In his contemplation of the end he lost sight of the best means by which it might be attained; ordinary prudence seemed to him a mere juggling with principle. His friends insisted that he was not an ultra-abolitionist, but that he died a martyr to free speech, and as such revere his memory today. Yet it must not be forgotten that in his day and generation lived other reformers whose detestation of slavery was as deep as his, yet whose better-balanced minds perceived that to be outspoken was not necessarily to be intolerant; and that inconsiderate aggression was often a less potent agency than the quiet moderation which not infrequently covers a hidden but smouldering fire.

The attitude of Gov. Duncan toward the Alton riot was both conservative and consistent. His authority as chief executive was invoked "to save the State from lawless violence and blood-guiltiness." He characterized the work of the mob as "an outrage, which must be disapproved and regretted by all good citizens," but at the same time he expressed his decided disapprobation of the agitation of the slavery question in any

community, where it produced only violence and discord, without the probability of effecting any good result.

The effect of the assassination of Lovejoy was twofold. At the time, such a violent outbreak of pro-slavery sentiment could hardly fail to impress the opponents of the system with the knowledge that they were treading on dangerous ground; and while they were resolved not to intermit their earnest efforts in behalf of the slave, policy, no less than wisdom, indicated that they should be conducted with greater prudence and circumspection. The advocates of slavery, on the other hand, while denouncing mob violence, yet cherished the hope that free thought and free speech had received a blow which could hardly fail to produce an intimidating and therefore salutary effect. But as the seed dropped into the ground dies before it bears fruit, so did each act of violence, though apparently ignored, bring forth fruit in the minds of even the most conservative opponents of slavery. And as imprisoned volcano fires, when once they burst their barriers of confining crust, pour forth in a torrent all the more impetuous because long restrained, so did the smouldering indignation of the friends of freedom ultimately burst forth, until, like a resistless torrent, it had swept from the face of the country the last vestige of the Nation's curse.

Seizing upon this aspect of the effect of the martyr's death, and as prophetic of the coming storm, his brother, Owen Lovejoy, in 1860, concluded a speech at Alton in which he referred to the tragic event in these words:—

"Twenty-three years ago the blood of my brother, slain in these streets, ran down and mingled with the waters of the mighty river which sweeps past your city to the sea:

> 'The Avon to the Severn runs,
> The Severn to the sea—
> And scattered wide as Wycliffe's name,
> Shall Wycliffe's ashes be.'" *

At the close of his term of office, Gov. Duncan returned to

* Authorities:—"Memoirs of E. P. Lovejoy, by Joseph C. and Owen Lovejoy;" "Alton Riots, by Edward Beecher;" "Alton Trials, by Wm. S. Lincoln;" "Martyrdom of Lovejoy, by Henry Tanner;" "Lovejoy—An Address, by Thomas Dimmock."

his home in Jacksonville, to which place he had removed soon after his marriage, in 1828,* and where he built the first frame-house.

The structure, known during his term as the "executive mansion," and which is yet in a fine state of preservation, was erected in 1834. It is an old-fashioned two-story frame building,† with a side front, and was modeled after his father's house in Paris, Ky., in which he was born.

The governor devoted his time after his return home to business and the care of his large landed estate. He was a warm friend of temperance, to which cause he gave $500 per annum toward sustaining a paper. He was ever active in educational circles, and contributed $10,000 to the Illinois College, of which institution he was a trustee for many years. He was also the first president of the board of trustees of the institution for the education of the deaf and dumb, at Jacksonville.

He became a member of the Presbyterian church in 1835, and was ever after an earnest member of that denomination.

In 1842, he was induced again to enter politics, and became the whig candidate for governor, and for the first time met with defeat.

Gov. Duncan was of massive frame, and finely proportioned. He had brown, expressive eyes, dark, curly hair, a smooth face, and clear complexion. He was kindly and genial, though resolute of purpose. Modest and unassuming, he was tenacious of his views, and courageous in giving them expression.

Not belonging to any of the learned professions which afford opportunities for display, it is very doubtful if he received credit for the real abilities he possessed. He was not gifted as a public speaker, but his writings, though not numerous, evinced deep

* He was introduced to his wife, Elizabeth Caldwell Smith, daughter of a retired banker and merchant of New-York City, at a dinner-party at President Adams'. Henry Clay sat next to her, and whispered in her ear that "Duncan was not only a good-looking fellow, but, what was better, was a good son, having taken care of his widowed mother and educated his sister and two younger brothers." Miss Smith was attired on this occasion in a crimson-silk dress, thread-lace ruffle at the throat, embroidered-silk stockings, satin slippers the same color as her dress. Her hair was worn in three puffs on the top of the head, three puffs on each side, and a high tortoise-shell comb.—"Biographical sketch of Gov. Duncan by his daughter, Mrs. Julia D. Kirby."

† It is now occupied by his son-in-law, Judge Edward P. Kirby.

thought, excellent judgment, and were in a style at once clear and forcible. Foreseeing the certain ruinous collapse of the internal-improvement system, he steadily argued against it, and refused to be drawn into its support. He had few enemies, and his death, which occurred at his home in Jacksonville, Jan. 15, 1844, was mourned as a personal bereavement by men of all parties.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

First Democratic State Convention — Administration of Gov. Thomas Carlin — Eleventh General Assembly — First Whig State Convention — Removal of the Capital — Special Session at Springfield — Repeal of Internal-Improvement System — Presidential Campaign of 1840 — Twelfth General Assembly — Reorganization of the Judiciary — 1838 - 1842.

WHILE the excitement relating to internal improvements was at its height, the period recurred for the quadrennial election of governor and lieutenant-governor. The first regularly constituted democratic State convention for the nomination of these officers was held at Vandalia, Dec. 4, 1837, at which Col. James W. Stephenson was nominated for governor and John L. Hacker for lieutenant-governor. Serious charges being made against Col. Stephenson's administration of the receivership of the land-office, he was induced to withdraw from the contest; Mr. Hacker also declined his nomination. The convention was reconvened June 6, 1838, and was presided over by Wm. L. D. Ewing. The names presented for governor were Thomas Carlin and Sidney Breese; Carlin secured the nomination; while that for lieutenant-governor was given to Stinson H. Anderson of Jefferson County, who had served with distinction as a member of the eighth and ninth general assemblies.

Thomas Carlin was born in Kentucky, of Irish parentage, July 18, 1789. He first came to Illinois in 1812, and served as a soldier throughout the war of that period. In 1818, he removed to Greene County and settled upon the future site of Carrollton, the county-seat. In the Black-Hawk War, he commanded a company and distinguished himself as a brave and efficient officer. He was the first sheriff of his county, had been twice elected to the State senate, and at the time of his nomination was register of the land-office at Quincy. He had been inured to the life of a backwoodsman, and never had an oppor-



tunity to receive an education, except such as he made for himself. Of medium height, spare form, and sandy complexion, he was a man of iron nerve, and as courageous as a lion. He was a splendid horseman and marksman, and always ready for a fight. He was a warm admirer and consistent follower of Gen. Jackson, and was not partial to Eastern immigrants unless they were democrats. There were a hundred different men in his party better fitted for the office of governor by ability and education, but none on the score of high character and unswerving integrity—and it was the possession of these generally-recognized qualities which secured his success.

Cyrus Edwards was the candidate of the whigs, but not as the choice of a State convention. He was, as had been the custom, first mentioned in a caucus of friends, was then endorsed by some county conventions, and taken up by the whig newspapers as their candidate by general consent. He was a brother of the late Gov. Edwards, had served acceptably as a member of both houses of the general assembly, and was respected for his ability and sterling worth throughout the State.

Wm. H. Davidson of White County, who had served many years in the senate and was president of that body in 1836–7, was brought out in the same way as the whig candidate for lieutenant-governor.

Notwithstanding the immense interests involved under the internal-improvement system, the issues presented in the campaign were generally national rather than local. Both candidates for governor were understood to be in favor of the system; although it was known by the friends of Edwards that while he was a zealous advocate of internal improvements, he was opposed to the law as passed, having voted for it reluctantly and only in compliance with direct instructions from his constituents. In some counties, indeed, the question was brought prominently into the canvass, as for instance in Morgan, where the whig tickets were headed "Anti-Subtreasury Ticket. For a sound specie-paying National Bank, and for curtailing the Internal-Improvement System." The democratic ticket had at its head, "For the Subtreasury. Against a National Bank, and for a vigorous prosecution and final completion of the Internal-Improvement System." The issues were clearly defined.

It was a very lively campaign. Joint discussions on national questions were the order of the day—Douglas, Lamborn, John Calhoun, and Linder on one side, Baker, Hardin, Lincoln, and Stuart on the other, were constantly in the field, taking the stump as they followed the courts from one point to another around the circuits. The contest for congress in the third district between Douglas and Stuart was especially exciting and close, the latter receiving a majority of only 14 votes. The majority for Carlin over Edwards was 996—the nearest the whigs ever came to carrying the State.

The eleventh general assembly met Dec. 3, 1838. The senate was composed of twenty-one whigs, sixteen democrats, and three independents. There were but fifteen new senators, among them being Wm. A. Richardson, Wm. J. Gatewood, Robert Blackwell, and Ebenezer Peck from Cook, who having resigned at the close of the session was succeeded by James H. Woodworth. Browning, Davidson, Hacker, Herndon, Wm. Thomas, and Servant were among the old members.

In the house there were forty-six whigs, forty democrats, and five independents. Among the old members were Edward D. Baker, Milton Carpenter, Newton Cloud, Jesse K. Dubois, Ninian W. Edwards, Wm. L. D. Ewing, O. B. Ficklin, John J. Hardin, Abraham Lincoln, Robert Smith, E. B. Webb, and Archibald Williams. Among the new were Willis Allen, John Calhoun from Sangamon, Augustus C. French, Wm. H. Henderson—father of Congressman Thomas J., John Moore, Wm. F. Thornton, and Henry L. Webb.

Abraham Lincoln, who had by this time achieved a reputation not only as a debater but as a watchful and successful representative, was the candidate of the whigs for speaker, but failed to receive the full vote of his party. When the balloting began three whigs, for some reason which was never satisfactorily explained, were conveniently absent, while four of those who were present threw away their votes on other members. Wm. L. D. Ewing was therefore elected on the fourth ballot, receiving forty-three votes, to thirty-eight cast for Mr. Lincoln, and four scattering. David Prickett was for the fifth time elected clerk of the house, and Benj. Bond chosen secretary of the senate.

In the valedictory message of Gov. Duncan, he again empha-

sized his opposition to the internal-improvement system, remarking that in regard to its impolicy his mind had undergone no change. He said: "Experience has now sufficiently shown that all my objections to it must in time be fully realized. * * That there should have been many mistakes committed, and much waste of public money in conducting a system of internal improvements upon so large a scale, in a country almost entirely destitute of skill and experience in such works was to be expected. But I confess they have occurred to an extent never anticipated by myself—and whether by mistake or design it is very manifest that large sums have been squandered on objects of little or no general utility, and in some cases to the detriment of the public interest. * * The want of economy and the deleterious effects of such a system owned, controlled, and carried on by the State, are great and insurmountable objections to it, but, in my opinion, not so great as the powers it confers on the State government, through its numerous officers and dependents to influence elections and legislation." He therefore again recommended that all such works be left to the prosecution of individual citizens of the State, or to corporations created by law.

The governor approvingly referred to the fact that work on the canal had progressed rapidly, expenditures to the amount of $1,400,000 having been made the preceding year. He then, after alluding to the subject of national politics, for the first time called attention to the fact that the revenue of the State, at that time was, and for a number of years had been, "altogether inadequate to its expenditures."

Three days after the delivery of this valedictory came the inaugural of Gov. Carlin. The era of personal politics, when the incumbent of the executive chair made his own platform and shaped the policy of his own administration, had passed away. He was now the mouthpiece of his party and was required to follow that course which its leaders marked out for him. The messages of the governor were evidently the expression of the views of his party prepared by its leaders, to suit the supposed exigency, rather than his own. They showed on their face the handiwork of different authors; in some places the style being finished and elegant, and in others clumsy and ungrammatical, while a general inconsistency ran through the whole.

On this occasion he presented a glowing picture of the increasing wealth and prosperity of the State. Regarding the all-absorbing question of internal improvements, he presented a view quite opposite to that of his predecessor, remarking that "The signal success which has attended our sister states in the construction of their extensive systems of improvements can leave no doubt of the wise policy and utility of such works. * * In the principles and policy of this plan, contrasted with that of joint-stock companies and private corporations, I entirely agree. Had I occupied my present situation at the establishment of this system I would have recommended its adoption on a less expensive scale, and the construction of the most important works first. Under the present plan of proceeding, however, near two millions of dollars have been expended, and whatever diversity of opinion may now exist as to the expediency of the system as originally projected, all must admit that the character and credit of the State forbid its abandonment." He concurred with Gov. Duncan in regard to the construction of the canal, but joined issue with him on all questions of national politics, especially in reference to a national bank, the re-creation of which he strongly opposed.

The legislature agreed with the incoming governor on the question of internal improvements, and with the outgoing governor in regard to banks. All efforts to repeal or modify the internal-improvement system failed, but resolutions in favor of the expediency and constitutionality of a national bank were adopted.

Not only was the original measure not repealed but an additional expenditure of $800,000 was authorized for improvements of water-ways and the construction of railroads.

A large portion of the time of this legislature was consumed in the discussion of questions of national, rather than State, policy; although the body found time to adopt a number of important measures pertaining to State affairs. One of these was a proposition introduced by Mr. Lincoln from the finance committee that the State should purchase all the public lands therein, estimated at 20,000,000 acres, at twenty-five cents per acre, "pledging the faith of the State to carry the proposal into effect if accepted by the general government."

Among the laws passed, of sufficient general interest to be noted, were the following: Making the first appropriation for a library for the supreme court; To establish the "Illinois Asylum for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb"; To incorporate the Chicago Lyceum; Requiring the governor to reside at the seat of government; To prohibit the circulation of bank notes of a denomination less than five dollars.

This was the last session of the general assembly held at Vandalia, which, under the law providing for the removal of the public offices to Springfield, ceased to be the capital of the State after July 4, 1839. The legislature adjourned March 4.

In the meantime, the work of internal improvements, the letting of contracts and the selling of bonds, and piling up of the State debt, went "bravely on." Ex-Gov. Reynolds and Senator Young were appointed agents to negotiate state securities both in the United States and Europe. Neither of these gentlemen possessed that knowledge of financial affairs which qualified them for such a mission. They sold and delivered in New York three hundred bonds, agreeing to accept payment therefor in monthly instalments—the last of which did not fall due until Jan. 15, 1840, under which arrangement the interest on all deferred payments was lost. One thousand bonds, representing $1,000,000, were negotiated with Thomas Dunlap of Philadelphia, payments for which were also to be made in instalments, in United-States bank notes, which before the State received them had depreciated ten per cent — by which the State lost not only the interest but $100,000 besides. About one hundred of the bonds were sold on credit to New-York banks, to be used by them in the experiment of free banking, about to be put on trial in that State. Before payment for these had been made, the banks failed, thereby entailing a loss on Illinois, not only of the unexpended currency received, but also of the amount yet due on instalments not matured.

Upon the conclusion of these blundering negotiations in New York and Philadelphia, the putative financiers embarked for London, taking with them Gen. Rawlings and Col. Oakley, two of the fund commissioners, to see what they could accomplish there. Finding the money market close, the State agents

deposited 1000 bonds ($1,000,000) with John Wright & Co. in London and authorized them to sell the same. They sold about half the bonds for £91 on the £100, and that firm having failed before the proceeds of the sales by them had been paid over, the State had to accept the same dividend as other creditors of the bankrupt firm, which amounted to only a few shillings in the pound.

By Dec. 1, 1839, the general account on the public ledger presented the following appalling appearance:

Bonds sold to the State Bank and Bank of Illinois, invested as capital therein	$2,665,000
Internal-improvement bonds sold in United States	3,187,000
Internal-improvement bonds disposed of in London	1,500,000
Canal-bonds sold	3,400,000
State-house bonds	128,000
Due to the school-and-seminary fund	750,000
Due to the banks for auditor's warrants	142,550
Due to contractors and interest on loans	1,458,000
Total	$13,230,550

Early in the fall of 1839, the governor became alarmed over the expansion of state credit and the prospect of impending disaster. The people also began to move and to express their discontent and dissatisfaction at the outlook of state affairs, in public meetings, which were held in fifteen counties. A few months of experience in the executive chair had wrought an entire change of opinion in the governor's mind, and in view of the fact that the public credit had been extended to exhaustion, and the state debt enlarged to such enormous proportions, he determined to call a special session of the legislature, to consider the grave crisis. "The town of Springfield," now the capital of the State, was designated as the place of meeting.

The commissioners appointed to locate, temporarily, the county-seat of Sangamon County in 1821, designated the same as "a certain point in the prairie, near John Kelly's field, on the waters of Spring Creek," and called the place Springfield. When the proprietors, Pascal P. Enos and Elijah Iles, came to plat the town after the opening of the land-office in 1823, they called it Calhoun, after the distinguished senator of that name;

but this appellation being as objectionable to the people as the first one was to the proprietors, the former insisted upon calling it Springfield, until finally the name of Calhoun was abandoned and the former one restored.

Being the distributing point for a large section of rapidly-growing territory, and having no rival in any direction within seventy miles for the first few years, it soon filled up with an enterprising population of merchants, mechanics, and traders. By 1830, it numbered a thousand inhabitants, which number in four years had increased to 1400, making it the largest town in the State except Jacksonville, which claimed 1600.

It was incorporated as a town in 1832; and among its trustees from that period until it was organized as a city in 1840, under a special charter, were Charles R. Matheny, who was most of the time president of the board, Stephen T. Logan, Abraham Lincoln, Samuel H. Treat, Philip C. Latham, and Wm. Butler. Its selection as the capital of the State added largely to its growth and influence. Among other festive celebrations in honor of the event, in the fall of 1839, a "grand ball" was given at the American House, to which invitations were sent to Chicago and all the principal towns of the State and to St. Louis, many of which points were represented on the occasion, although acceptance involved for those from St. Louis a stage ride of twenty-four hours, and for those from Chicago a week's time. But it was designed to be a grand affair which was to include the wit, the beauty, and fashion of the entire State. Among the managers appear the names of A. Lincoln, S. A. Douglas, James Shields, N. W. Edwards, J. A. McClernand, Nicholas H. Ridgely, J. F. Speed, E. D. Taylor, W. S. Prentice, Isaac R. Diller, and Robert Allen. And although the event occurred half a century ago, Gen. McClernand, Hon. N. W. Edwards, Col. E. D Taylor, Rev. W. S. Prentice, D.D., and Isaac R. Diller still survive to tell the tale.

When Springfield became the capital of the State its houses were mostly frame and poorly constructed. It contained but little wealth, and many of its citizens found themselves greatly embarrassed through their efforts to raise the $50,000 required under the law toward erecting the new state-house. Its streets and most of its sidewalks were unpaved, and in the spring and

fall its normal condition was that of unfathomable mud. Indeed, for many years, it was far from being an inviting city. Mr. Lincoln told a favorite story to illustrate this point. Thompson Campbell, the secretary of state, who had the care and letting of the assembly chamber, one day received an application from a meek-looking man, with a white necktie, for the use of the chamber to deliver a course of lectures. "May I ask," said the secretary, "what is to be the subject of your lectures?" "Certainly," was the reply, with a very solemn expression of countenance; "it is on the second coming of our Lord." "It is of no use," said Campbell, "if you will take my advice you will not waste your time in this city. It is my private opinion that if the Lord has been in Springfield *once*, he will not come the *second time*."

But its citizens possessed enterprise and industry; capital came in; manufactories were established; railroads developed its splendid coal-fields; and at the outbreak of the late civil war, with the gathering of troops at the central point, the establishment of camps and depots of supplies, it entered upon an unbroken era of prosperity. In 1883, a system of street pavements was adopted, the transforming effect of which has converted it into one of the most attractive cities of the West.

The corner stone of the state-house was laid July 4, 1837, with imposing ceremonies, an eloquent address being delivered by Col. E. D. Baker. It had been estimated that the building would cost $130,000, but $240,000 was expended upon it before its completion.* It was not ready for occupancy at the time of the called session, and the Second Presbyterian Church—a new brick building—was secured for the house, the Methodist Church for the senate, and the Protesant-Episcopal Church for the supreme court.

* The capitol occupied the centre of the public square, nearly three acres in extent, and was constructed of cut-stone brought from a quarry six miles distant. It was 123 feet in length, 89 feet in width, and 44 feet high, with two porticos fronting north and south, supported by massive columns. The basement was divided into four large rooms for offices, for fuel and storage, and a fire-proof vault. A spacious hall 32 feet in width open to the dome, from which it was lighted, extended entirely across the first story, on one side of which was a room for the supreme court 50 x 40 feet, two rooms 23 x 17 feet each; and on the other side three rooms 40 x 24 for library and offices, 16 feet in height. The second story contained the hall of the house of representatives, on the west side, 82 x 40 feet, and a senate chamber across the hall, on the east side 40 x 50 feet, and eleven committee rooms.

The governor in his message set forth the reasons which had induced him to reconvene the legislature. He stated that while he had been in favor of the state system of improvements, he was opposed to its extent, and that the fatal tendency to enlarge the system at the last session and "the ruinous policy of simultaneously commencing all the works and constructing them in detached parcels was alike at variance with the principles of sound economy, destructive to the interests of the State, and to the system in all its parts." He therefore recommended a modification of the system, and the completion of such portions of the works as would produce a revenue. With regard to the canal, he recommended the sale of additional lands to an amount sufficient to meet the liabilities for work contracted, and interest on the debt.

And now began the struggle in the legislature for a change of state policy. Party lines were effaced. Those who still adhered to their former views contended that to abandon the system now would be to have nothing left to show for the vast expenditures already made; that the works would become useless and only the decaying monuments of a vacillating policy; that out of the wreck there might be gathered a fund amounting to about $1,500,000 which, after meeting the interest, would yet leave a sum sufficient to complete 129 miles of railroad now nearly finished. They made a desperate effort to carry their point but without avail. A sufficient number of their former allies were won over to the other side to secure the passage of laws which virtually abrogated the entire system.

The board of fund commissioners and that of commissioners of public works were abolished. A single fund commissioner was provided for, and elected, who was to receive and take charge of the railroad iron purchased in Europe, to receive back and destroy all unsold bonds, and to audit and settle the accounts of the late boards.

Provision was made for the election of a new board of public works, composed of three commissioners, who were authorized to adjust all liabilities under the internal-improvement system. Only those engineers and agents whose services were required to ascertain the amount due to contractors were to be retained, and even these were to be discharged as soon as practicable.

Such roads as were completed were to be opened and managed by the board. Richard F. Barrett was elected fund commissioner, and Joseph Bealle, Hart Fellows, and John Hogan commissioners of public works.

And thus came to a disastrous conclusion in this State, as it had in others, an attempt on the part of the commonwealth to carry on a system of public improvements.

As a result of this stupendous scheme, only a portion of one of the projected improvements was completed, namely, the railroad from Meredosia on the Illinois River to Springfield, a distance of fifty-one miles. This was done after the expenditure of another $100,000 derived from the sale of canal-bonds, and the road finally surrendered to the State, May 13, 1842. From this time, it was leased to individuals and operated generally at a loss, until 1845, when it had fallen into such bad repair that it was practically useless. Its one locomotive had been run off the track and abandoned. Mules were then substituted for steam power — the road carrying only freight, passengers preferring to go by wagon or stage. Finally, in pursuance of the law of 1847, the road which had cost the State nearly a million dollars was sold at public auction, and purchased by Nicholas H. Ridgely, of Springfield, for $21,100.*

The precipitate rashness attendant upon the origination of the works found its fitting counterpart in the undue haste and anxiety displayed in the disposition of the property, real and personal, left from the general ruin. The Northern-Cross Rail-

* The following incident occurred at the sale. Mr. Ridgely bid $10,000, and the road was cried for that sum for some time—going, going at $10,000, until he began to think it would be knocked down at that figure. A wealthy speculator by the name of Col. Johnson who heard the crying of the sale across the street in a barber-shop where he was undergoing a tonsorial operation, upon being informed what sale it was, started to his feet and exclaimed "wipe me off quick, old man, and I will go over and make a bid myself." He arrived just in time to offer a hundred dollars more. Mr. Ridgely raised his bid $1000. Johnson added another $100, and so it went on for some time, rather monotonously for Mr. Ridgely. Finally he inquired of the colonel if he was bidding for himself or some other party. He replied "for parties in St. Louis, who have agreed to pay me a commission." Mr. Ridgely inquired, "would you not as soon receive a commission from Springfield as St. Louis?" "Certainly—that is satisfactory," said Johnson; and he walked off. The road was accordingly struck off to Mr. Ridgely. The next day the colonel called upon him, and, without a word being said except to pass politely the time of day, received a check for $1000, for his commission.

road, had the State retained its ownership for a few years, would have sold for twenty times the amount realized from this sale. The railroad iron hardly brought enough to pay freightage; and the 42,000 acres of land were hurriedly disposed of to purchasers at almost nominal prices. There still remained the canal and the bank stock, while those counties who at the time thought they were grievously treated, had received the two hundred thousand dollars which fell to their lot as the price of their support of the system.

That a body of law-makers could be found who could be induced to sanction a system so crude in inception, so extravagant in dimensions, so impracticable in details, and so chimerical in its aims, is only another illustration of the remark that "splendid abilities and the power of ingenious speculation are not statesmanship." Their action can not be ascribed to any lack of earnest conviction or genuine integrity of purpose, but rather to a headlong rashness due to a want of experience in affairs. Nevertheless, as a clock striking in advance of time only anticipates the hour, so did these legislators, by but a few years, antedate the progress which the State was ultimately to make through the stimulus imparted to the development of its resources by railroads. In the selection of routes clear forethought and sound judgment were shown, all of the lines marked out having long since, through private enterprise, become important and successful arteries of commerce. And it may be further remarked in defence of their gigantic scheme, that it is yet a moot question among political economists whether governmental ownership and operation of railroads, as in some states of continental Europe, is or is not the soundest policy.

Illinois, however, was not alone in the financial straight to which she had been brought by the ill-considered legislation of amateur statesman. The other states of the northwest suffered equally from the same cause and on the same account; the debt of Ohio at this time being nearly $15,000,000, and that of Indiana $14,000,000, while that of Michigan, with a population of only 212,276, had reached the sum of $6,000,000. But, as will be seen hereafter, Illinois was more fortunate than the other states named, in the fact that the representatives who were among the most active in promoting her scheme of inter-

nal improvements more than compensated for the bad results which flowed from it by securing to the State, largely through their own efforts, that magnificent grant of land for the Illinois Central, through the revenue derived from which railway the State has more than redressed all her losses.

When the people awoke from their dream of fancied prosperity to find themselves staggering under the burdens of a colossal public debt—when they saw their hopes shattered and their resources likely to be drained by a necessary but unparalleled taxation, they looked back upon their former infatuation with a sort of incredulous amazement.

Having become involved in this difficulty, the question which next presented itself was how to extricate the State, with credit and honor, from the embarrassment incident to the creation of such an enormous debt, which will be considered in the proper place.

Notwithstanding the fact that the interests of the people, material and political, were most intimately connected with questions of State policy, the election of 1840 was conducted wholly upon national issues.

Following the historical line thus indicated, the attitude of political parties at this time, naturally, next claims attention.

The opposition to the democracy having learned through defeat the advantages consequent upon that partisan cohesion resulting from intelligent organization, decided to emulate the example of their party foes. Accordingly, at the suggestion of leading papers, the first whig State convention was convoked at Springfield on Monday, Oct. 7, 1839, to effect an organization and to name delegates to the national convention, already called to meet in December at Harrisburg. Delegates were present from thirty counties. Edward D. Baker was appointed the *pro-tem*, and Wm. Moore the permanent president. A State central committee was appointed, composed of A. G. Henry, Richard F. Barrett, E. D. Baker, Abraham Lincoln, and J. F. Speed. The delegates selected to the national convention were George W. Ralph, Ezra Baker, Wm. B. Warren, Wm. A. Minshall, and Walter L. Newberry of Cook. Presidental electors were named as follows: at large, Cyrus Walker and Buckner S. Morris; 1st district, Samuel D. Marshall; 2d district, Edwin B.

Webb; 3d district, A. Lincoln. The convention was said to be "the largest and most intelligent ever convened in the State," and was conducted with great harmony and spirit.

The whigs nominated Gen. Harrison as their candidate for president and John Tyler for vice-president, at Harrisburg, Dec. 4, 1839, but adopted no platform of principles whatever, making the general issue in the campaign opposition to the democratic administration.

Martin Van Buren was unanimously renominated as the candidate of the democrats at Baltimore, May 5, 1840. No candidate for vice-president was put in nomination, on account of the diversity of opinion as to the "proper man for that office" the convention resolving "to leave the decision to their republican fellow-citizens of the several states."

The democrats adopted a platform of negations—these were, Opposition to internal improvements by the general government —against assuming the debts of the several states contracted for local or state purposes—against the fostering of one branch of industry to the detriment of another—against the power of congress to charter a United-States bank—against governmental interference with the domestic institutions of the several states. They were, however, in favor of "practising the most rigid economy" in conducting public affairs, and of those liberal Jeffersonian principles "which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation."

The leading issues before the people may be briefly summarized: a United-States bank *versus* a subtreasury—a protective tariff *versus* free-trade—economy in the national administration. The latter formed the popular war-cry of the whigs, who did not fail to call attention to the "hard times" which they attributed directly to the adoption of democratic measures.

The well-remembered "hard-cider" and "log-cabin" campaign followed. The use of these terms had their origin in a sneering remark in a democratic paper to the effect that "give old Harrison plenty of hard cider and he would be content to live in a log-cabin all his days." What was thus intended as a slur was taken up by the whigs as their catch-word and war-cry. Log-cabins and barrels of cider, some of which were exceedingly hard, thenceforth formed the prominent features of every meeting and procession.

No regular army was ever better organized, equipped, or drilled, than the contending hosts on either side. The whigs had never elected a president, and being for the first time united under one banner, with bright prospects of success, a wonderful enthusiasm pervaded their ranks, such as the democrats were not able to arouse. They held meetings, extraordinary as regards both members and interest, all over the country. One of these, which, perhaps, exceeded all others, was held at Springfield in June. The people came from all portions of the State; in wagons, on horseback, and on foot, bringing their provisions with them and camping. The prairies for a week previous to the meeting were covered with excited crowds, drinking hard cider, riding in their log-cabins built on wheels, and singing campaign songs, a specimen of which is as follows:

"Let Frenchmen drink claret and sweet muscadine,
And Germans drink hock on the banks of the Rhine;
But give me to quaff, with friends warm and true,
A gourd of hard cider to old Tippecanoe.

In the White House VanBuren may drink his champagne
And have himself toasted from Georgia to Maine—
But we in log-cabins, with hearts warm and true
Drink a gourd of hard cider to old Tippecanoe."

Twenty thousand people, nearly five per cent of the entire population of the State, attended this meeting, among whom was a delegation from Chicago, of whose members Charles Cleaver, Thomas B. Carter, and Stephen F. Gale are still living. Securing fourteen of the best teams available, and four tents, they captured the government yawl, which they rigged up as a two-masted ship and placed on a strong wagon drawn by six fine grey horses. Thus equipped, with four sailors on board, a band of music, and a six-pounder cannon to fire salutes, with Captain, afterward Maj.-Gen. David Hunter in command as chief-marshal, they started with flying colors on their journey. It was an exciting and ever-to-be-remembered expedition. At Joliet, which they reached on the evening of the second day out, their progress was opposed by a mob of roughs and laborers on the canal; but the advancing force, at the word of command, having drawn their pistols, it was deemed advisable to

permit them to proceed. They were seven days making the trip. Their vessel was a wonder to the inhabitants along the route, many of whom had never seen anything of the kind. At Springfield it divided the attention of the masses with a huge log-cabin, twelve by sixteen feet, constructed on an immense truck whose wheels were made of solid wood, cut from a large tree. The latter was drawn by thirty yoke of oxen; a couple of coons were playing in the branches of a hickory sapling at one corner; and a barrel of hard cider stood by the door, whose latch-string was hanging out. The brig was presented to the whigs of Sangamon County, in an able speech, by William Stuart of the *Chicago American;* in return for which the Chicago delegation was presented with a live gray eagle, in an eloquent address by E. D. Baker, at the critical portion of which, when he described the eagle's broad flight as emblematic of the election of Harrison, the "noble bird" responded to the sentiment by rearing his head, expanding his wings, and giving a loud cry. The applause of the immense crowd was correspondingly wild and enthusiastic. The entire trip consumed three weeks' time, but was enjoyed by the party from first to last.

These tactics of the whigs were met by large mass meetings of the democrats, who claimed to be "the poor man's party," at which hickory clubs and poles, emblems of fealty to Gen. Jackson, were the prominent features.

The whigs elected the president, but failed to carry Illinois—the majority in favor of VanBuren being 1939. The foreign vote along the canal in Cook and LaSalle counties and in St. Clair, more than turned the scale. The democrats also succeeded in electing a large majority of the twelfth general assembly; the senate standing 26 democrats and 14 whigs; the house, 51 democrats and 40 whigs.

The familar names of Baker, Richardson, Gatewood, Moore, Hacker, and Snyder again appear in the senate, and those of Lincoln, Hardin, McClernand, Archer, Carpenter, Ewing, Peck, Dougherty, Edwards, Webb, and Minshall in the house. There were also found for the first time, in the latter body, the names of Lyman Trumbull, Wm. H. Bissell, Thomas Drummond, Joseph Gillespie, and David M. Woodson, and in the senate

that of Thomas M. Kilpatrick, John Moore, and Richard M. Cullom.

The candidates for speaker of the house were the same as in 1838—Ewing and Lincoln, the former receiving 46 votes and the latter 36, the absentees on either side being about the same. John Calhoun, who failed of election as member from the strong whig county of Sangamon, was elected clerk of the house, and Wm. C. Murphy, doorkeeper; Merrett L. Covell was chosen secretary of the senate, and Andrew J. Witt sergeant-at-arms.

The legislature was convened by the governor, Nov. 23, 1840, two weeks in advance of the regular session, in order to make timely provision for the payment of interest on the public debt, falling due January 1. The debt had been increased since the last session by the issuing of canal-scrip and advances by the bank, and was stated by him at this time to be as follows:

The expenditures on the different objects of improvement had been as follows:

Central Railroad	$536,440
Northern-Cross Railroad	952,960
Other lines of railroad	1,000,489
Rivers and other improvements	135,914
Paid to counties	147,000
Illinois-and-Michigan Canal	2,788,683
Total amount of expenditures	$5,561,486

Internal-improvements	$5,345,000
Bank stock	2,665,000
Illinois-and-Michigan Canal	3,950,000
School-fund	807.585
Surplus revenue, warrants, etc.	876,016
Total amount of liabilities	$13,643,601
Less amount of surplus revenues and bonds sold, not paid for	1,336,419
Total	$12,307,182
Amount of annual interest thereon	732,430

The governor, in his message, set forth clearly and fairly the

embarrassing situation, admitting the extravagance and error which had resulted in entailing upon the people the system of internal improvements, but insisted that "it would be unwise and unpatriotic to shrink from the responsibility of applying the best efforts of the legislators to the pecuniary redemption of the State, and the preservation of her honor"—that although there could be but one opinion that the money for which the debt had been incurred had been injudiciously appropriated, "still virtue and patriotism, a high sense of honor and justice, imperiously forbid delinquency in its payment." In his opinion, while further operations on the public works were not justified by the condition of the state finances, means should be used to continue the work on the canal.

It soon became apparent that, excepting when bank questions were involved, the lines dividing the members politically were not to be observed in regard to state policy. Notwithstanding the waste, impracticability, and extravagance of the internal-improvement system there were not wanting those who were in favor of its resuscitation to a certain extent. They argued that the errors of mismanagement, private speculation, and corruption, which had been committed, ought not to be charged against the plan—that such were the geographical situation and natural resources of the State, while the system was cumbersome, entirely to abandon it would be unwise, if not suicidal. They therefore insisted that the best policy to be pursued was to complete the Northern Cross and Central railroads. On the other hand not only was a large party opposed to doing any more work, but a few even favored repudiation.

Entering into the controversy, as always heretofore, were questions relating to state banks, in which the State was a large stockholder. They had again suspended specie payment and as the law of 1838 provided that such suspension could not continue beyond the end of the next session, when this legislature adjourned, the banks would be compelled to resume or close their doors. The democrats claimed that the called was a special session; the whigs that the two sessions only made one, and endeavored to prevent a *sine-die* adjournment by absenting themselves; but in this they failed and the democrats were jubilant over their success.

The late Judge Gillespie and Abraham Lincoln were selected to manage the contest in the house on the part of the whigs—two of whom were required to be present to demand the ayes and noes. Perceiving that a number of whigs had permitted themselves to be brought in to make a quorum if the managers remained, requesting two of those who had come in to call for the ayes and noes, Lincoln and Gillespie concluded to withdraw. Ascertaining that the doors were locked, they raised the windows of the church in which the session was held, and jumped to the ground. A quorum was obtained, nevertheless.

If all the whigs had met the sergeant-at-arms as did Cyrus Edwards, there would have been no *sine-die* adjournment. That officer reported to the speaker that he had commanded Cyrus Edwards to attend in his place. "What did he say," inquired the speaker? "He said he would not." "What did you say?" "I told him I would take him by force." "What did he then do?" "He raised his cane and said, 'touch me at your peril!'" "What did you then do?" "I sloped, sir!"

The whigs were successful, however, after all; for at the regular session, which convened December 7—the Monday following the adjournment on Saturday—a further power of suspension was granted to the banks, and they were also authorized to issue small notes, a privilege which had been refused at the previous session.

The following measures were adopted relating to the payment of interest and to internal improvements:

1. The fund commissioner was authorized to hypothecate internal-improvement bonds to the amount of $300,000 to pay the interest *legally* due January 1. The liability of the State to pay the interest on bonds which had been sold on a credit, and some of which had not been paid for, was strongly contested, but the difficulty was avoided by leaving the question to the discretion of the commissioner.

2. For the issue of interest bonds to be sold in the market for what they would bring, to pay interest on that portion of the State debt, to meet which there were no other funds.

3. For an additional tax of ten cents on the one hundred dollars, to raise a fund for the payment of interest on the latter class of bonds.

4. An appropriation of $100,000 to complete the Northern-Cross Railroad from Jacksonville to Springfield.

The interest maturing in January was paid as first above provided, and that due in July by the hypothecation, sale being found to be impossible, of $804,000 of interest bonds to Macallister and Stebbins, upon which was advanced only $261,500.

While in the passage of the local measures relating to improvements, taxes, and the payment of interest, party lines were not drawn, the resentments engendered by the late stormy presidential contest were still bitter and deep seated. The democrats, who felt deeply their loss of the control of national affairs, determined to make the most of their supremacy in the State, and looked with a jealous eye upon the supreme court, which was composed of three whigs and one democrat. A pretext to change its political complexion was not wanting. Its decision in one case and its failure to decide in another, in both of which the party was directly interested, had been exceedingly obnoxious. The former of these was in regard to the office of secretary of state, which had been continuously held by Alexander P. Field, now a whig but formerly a strong Jackson man, since 1828. Upon his election, Gov. Carlin nominated John A. McClernand to the office, whom the senate refused to confirm. The governor sent in no other nomination, but after the legislature adjourned, appointed and commissioned McClernand to the position. The latter made a formal demand for the office, and its surrender being refused, sued out a writ of *quo warranto* before Judge Breese, who upon the hearing decided in his favor. Field appealed the case to the supreme court, where it was ably argued on his behalf by Cyrus Walker, Justin Butterfield, and Levi Davis, and for the appellee by S. A. Douglas, Jas. Shields, and the attorney-general, Wickliffe Kitchell.

The decision of the court below was reversed — Judges Wilson and Lockwood concurring in favor of the appellant, Judge Smith dissenting, and Judge Browne not sitting in the case because of relationship to McClernand. The court decided that the power of removal did not exist under the constitution — that when that instrument created an office without defining its tenure, the incumbent held during good behavior. The decision was very unpalatable to the democrats, who con-

tended that it established the odious doctrine of life-offices; and it was used with telling effect against the whigs at the ensuing election. The former availed themselves of the first opportunity offering itself to override, and virtually to reverse, the decision of the supreme court by promptly confirming Stephen A. Douglas whose nomination as secretary of state was among the first official acts of the governor after the assembling of the called session, on Nov. 30. Mr. Douglas, however, only held the position until February 27, when he was suceeeded by Lyman Trumbull, who was confirmed by a vote of 22 to 14.

The other question as to which the action of the whig supreme court had given great offence arose out of the exercise of the elective franchise under the following provision of the constitution of 1818—"All white male inhabitants above the age of twenty-one years, having resided in the State six months next preceding the election, shall enjoy the right of an elector." It was the opinion of many leading whigs that the right of suffrage was limited to citizens of the United States, and that the courts would so decide. There were at this time about ten thousand foreigners in the State, nine-tenths of whom had allied themselves with the democratic party. Their vote at the election of 1840 might not only determine the political contest for the control of the State, but possibly for that of the United States. To retain their support on the one hand or eliminate it on the other had therefore become a question of vital importance to both parties. To bring it to an issue an agreed case was made at Galena, in which Judge Dan Stone decided against the right of aliens to vote. It was carried to the supreme court, where it was heard in December, 1839, and continued to the June term, 1840, at which time the excitement and turmoil of the presidential election was at its zenith. If, as was feared by the democrats, the case should be decided adversely to the right of aliens to vote, they would unquestionably lose the State. Judge Smith, however, who had discovered a serious defect in the record, in which, instead of 1838, the year 1839 had been alleged as that in which the general election occurred, communicated the fact to counsel, who succeeded, by showing this error, in continuing the case to the

December term, which would carry it beyond the presidential election.

The democrats, however, were by this time determined to run no further risk of what they termed political decisions against them by the supreme court, and on December 10, Senator Adam W. Snyder introduced a bill to reorganize the judiciary, by which the judges of the circuit court were to be legislated out of office and provision made for the appointment by the legislature of five additional associate justices of the supreme court, who, together with the four existing members, should hold the circuit courts.

In the meantime, the supreme court had decided the case, in which it was found that under the record the constitutional question was not involved, but merely one of construction under the election law of 1829.

It was alleged, however, that this decision had been rendered in order to mislead the dominant party as to the ultimate result of the litigation and with a view to affect pending legislative action regarding the judiciary. It was even charged on no less authority than that of Judge Smith, that the majority of the court had already written out opinions against the right of aliens to vote when the error in the record was discovered by him in June. This, however, was summarily denied by the judges in a published statement, in which Judge Smith was ultimately forced to join. The discussion of the bill continued with great bitterness for several weeks, its passage being opposed not only by the whigs but by a few democrats as well, and especially by the friends of the incumbent circuit-judges. The most of the judges, however, were won over by promises of reëlection.

The measure finally passed, and was returned by the council of revision with their objections, but was reënacted by the bare majority, however, of one vote in the house. Gov. Ford, though he owed to it his election to the supreme bench, characterizes the action of the general assembly as "a confessedly violent and somewhat revolutionary measure, which could never have succeeded except in times of great party excitement."

The five additional judges elected were Thomas Ford, Sidney Breese, Walter B. Scates, Samuel H. Treat, and Stephen A.

Douglas, all democrats, and all of whom except the latter had previously occupied the position.

The State was also redistricted under the census of 1840, provision being made for the election of 41 senators and 121 representatives.

For the first time the party in power at this session designated its choice for United-States senator in caucus, without, as heretofore, running any risk of the selection of an objectionable candidate by a promiscuous ballot. Samuel McRoberts secured the caucus nomination and was elected at the joint session, December 16, by a vote of 77 to 50, the minority voting for Cyrus Edwards.

Judge McRoberts was a native Illinoisan, having been born in Monroe County, April 12, 1799. He had been judge of the circuit court, a member of the State senate in 1828–9, U.-S. district-attorney, and receiver of public moneys at Danville. He only lived to serve two years of his term, dying March 22, 1843.

This was a remarkably turbulent as well as belligerent session of the legislature. It might well be termed, also, the protesting session. Leading democrats protested against the passage of the banking law, nearly all the whigs protested against the law reorganizing the judiciary—while leading whigs and democrats alike protested against the passage of the act regulating the sale of property levied on by execution.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Administration of Governor Ford — Thirteenth General Assembly—Election of U.-S. Senator and State Officers —Bank and Public-Debt Measures — State Finances — Election of 1844 — Fourteenth General Assembly — Senatorial Election — Laws — Illinois - and - Michigan Canal.

THE nomination of Thomas Ford as a candidate for governor in 1842, was as unexpected as the honor was unsought. The democratic State convention which met in Springfield, Dec. 13, 1841, had selected Adam W. Snyder as the candidate for governor by a nearly unanimous vote. John Moore was at the same time nominated for lieutenant-governor on the fifth ballot, his opponent having been William A. Richardson.

Ex-Gov. Duncan, in the spring of 1842, by general consent, and without the calling of a convention, became the candidate of the whigs for governor, and Wm. H. Henderson* of Putnam County, for lieutenant-governor.

At this time, and for some years thereafter, the attitude of the Mormons toward the State government occupied a large space in the public mind. They controlled a considerable number of votes, and neither party was averse to securing their support. Col. Snyder had been particularly active in the legislature in obtaining the granting of certain charters conferring upon the Mormon organization at Nauvoo extraordinary powers, under which city ordinances had been adopted practically setting the State government at defiance. Although some whigs had also voted for the passage of these charters, Judge Douglas had successfully exerted his influence to induce Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet and leader, to issue a proclamation exhorting his adherents to support Snyder.

* He was a native of Garrard County, Ky., where he was born, Nov. 16, 1793. Having served in the War of 1812, he removed to Tennessee in 1813, where he filled many responsible positions, among them a seat in the state senate. He removed to Illinois in 1836, and was a popular leader, and representative in the legislature for many years, from the counties of Bureau, Putnam, and Stark. He became a citizen of Iowa in 1845, where he died, January 27, 1864.

The arrogance and encroachments of the Mormons began to arouse public indignation against them, and they became exceedingly obnoxious to the people. Ex-Gov. Duncan was quick to perceive his opportunity, and to bring this question prominently forward in his canvass as one of the leading issues of the campaign. It would undoubtedly have proved an effective point against his opponent; but while the tide seemed to be turning in Duncan's favor, death stepped in and removed Col. Snyder from the field. The democratic convention was again called together in June, when Judge Ford received the nomination. The objection that he had been a Mormon champion could not be urged against him. He had never been a member of the legislature, nor very closely connected with the political managers — then generally called the Springfield regency — of his party. He had been twice appointed state's attorney, and four times elected judge by the almost unanimous voice of the legislature; and at the time of his nomination for governor was engaged in the active performance of his judicial duties as a member of the supreme bench, holding circuit-court in Ogle County. He was then forty-two years of age, having been born in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, in 1800. None of the objections which it was feared might prove fatal to the candidacy of Col. Snyder could be urged against Ford, and the democrats were successful in carrying the State by the largest majority they had yet received—the vote standing for Ford 46,901, for Duncan 38,584. For lieutenant-governor, Moore received 45,567 votes, and Henderson 38,426.

Gov. Ford, with his half-brother George Forquer, had been a resident of the State since childhood. His widowed mother, a woman of heroic character, whose husband, Robert Ford, had been killed by the Indians, removed from Pennsylvania at first to the west side of the Mississippi, but soon after, in 1805, to Monroe County, Illinois. The governor was low in stature and slender in person, with thin features, deep-set grey eyes, and an aquiline nose which had a twist to one side.

Though small physically he was large mentally. Unlike the most of his predecessors he was noted neither for athletic accomplishments nor for military achievements, although he served creditably in the Black-Hawk War. He had studied

law thoroughly under Daniel P. Cook, and to excel as a lawyer had been his highest ambition, to attain which end he had devoted all his time and talents. As a judge his decisions were noted for their justice and impartiality. He had never aspired to distinction as a public speaker, nor did he possess those qualities which render a candidate personally popular. In fact, if left to secure his own elevation by the stereotyped methods of politicians, he would never have been the choice of his party for governor, nor, indeed, for any other elective office.

A better selection, in many respects, for the welfare of the State at this critical juncture in its history could not have been made. While his experience on the bench had not qualified him for that contact with politicians and the management of public men which is so essential to personal success, and while he possessed strong prejudices, was obstinate, and resentful of opposition, especially when it came from his own political household, his native integrity, mental calibre, and sound judgment enabled him both to perceive and grasp the dangers with which the State was threatened from repudiation, and to suggest those measures which placed its credit and good name beyond question or reproach.

Lieut.-Gov. John Moore was an Englishman by birth, but a thorough American by adoption. He had resided in the State since 1830, and had been twice elected to the lower and once to the upper branch of the general assembly.*

The legislature elected in 1842, which convened December 5, was overwhelmingly democratic in both houses — the senate standing 28 democrats to 14 whigs; the house, 81 democrats to 37 whigs. Samuel Hackelton was elected speaker, the whigs giving a complimentary vote to O. H. Browning, who was serving his first and only term as a representative.

The selection of Col. W. L. D. Ewing as clerk of the house afforded a striking illustration of the ups and downs of political

* Near the close of his term, at the outbreak of the Mexican War, Lieut.-Gov. Moore was active in the organization of the Fourth Illinois Regiment, of which he was elected lieutenant-colonel, and with which he bravely and honorably served during the war. In 1848, he was appointed state treasurer *vice* Milton Carpenter deceased, and in 1850 was elected to that office, which he continued to fill with acknowledged fidelity until 1857. He was born in Lincolnshire, Sept. 8, 1793, and died Sept. 23, 1863.

preferment. He had been twice speaker of that body, a member of the United-States and State senates, and as president of the latter body had succeeded to gubernatorial honors; and now once more returned to the foot of the political ladder from which he had started on his upward ascent sixteen years before.

Wm. C. Murphy was again elected door-keeper. Isaac S. Berry became secretary of the senate and Iram Nye sergeant-at-arms.

Col. Baker was again in the senate and also Kilpatrick, Cullom, Ralston, and Slocumb; besides Joel A. Matteson, Alfred W. Cavarly, and John Dougherty, for the first time. Jesse K. Dubois entered the house for the fifth time, while among others who had previously served in one or both houses were to be found Cloud, Ficklin, McClernand, and Woodworth. Of those who answered to their names for the first time in the house and were afterward heard from in congress or served in other distinguished positions were Richard Yates, Andrew J. Kuykendall, Isaac N. Arnold, David L. Gregg, Stephen T. Logan, Alexander Starne, Julius Manning, William Pickering, Horatio M. Vandeveer, and Gustavus Kœrner.

With each recurring session of the legislature came hordes of applicants for office in alarmingly increasing numbers. Besides the election of a United-States senator, which had occurred at nearly every session, there were generally vacant places on the bench to be filled, state officers and state's attorneys to be elected, as well as officers of the house and subordinate positions within the gift of the general assembly. Many as were the places to be filled, the applicants, with the voracity of cormorants, outnumbered them ten to one—indeed, it was said that at one session there were a hundred applicants for the offices of sergeant-at-arms and door-keeper alone! *

Great as was the importance of the lately elected member as gauged by the profusion of compliments heaped upon him by seekers of office, it was now much enhanced by the reflection that he was to occupy a seat in and become identified with that splendid structure lately completed as a state-house. He estimated his value at a higher rate than formerly, and his self-complacency was not to be so easily disturbed. He liked as

* Ford's "Illinois," 205.

well to be courted as ever, but he wanted the approaching candidate to realize the distance between them.

As was the custom under the old constitution, both the retiring and incoming governor presented "full fledged" messages to the general assembly; and although both were democrats there was as wide a divergence in statement and measures recommended for adoption as if they had been of different political parties. Carlin's message was not only inconsistent with his former ones, but even with itself.

The absorbing topic of the day was the magnitude of the public debt, and the most important question before the legislature was the devising and adoption of satisfactory measures to meet the already overdue interest thereon.

Ever since the abandonment of the internal-improvement system, and consequent cessation of operations on the various public works, the State had been passing through a remarkable period of financial depression. Individual enterprise had been paralyzed, and all improvements undertaken on private account had been discontinued. "The channels of trade had been obstructed, and the vitality of business seemed almost extinct." To add to the accumulating public distress the State Bank in February, 1842, followed by the Shawneetown bank in June, "exploded with a great crash." The paper of these institutions —over $3,000,000 of which was in circulation, and which had before been at a discount of 12 to 15 per cent—soon depreciated until it was worth only fifty cents on the dollar. The tide of immigration ceased to flow into the State, and there could hardly be found sufficient money to pay taxes. Produce could not be sold for cash at any price, and was valuable to the owner only as a sort of circulating medium available in trade. The following were the "market prices" in central Illinois for leading articles, namely: wheat 40 to 50 cents per bushel, corn 10 to 12, pork $1.50 per hundred. It required forty pounds of butter (selling at from 5 to 8 cents per pound) to buy the farmer's wife a calico dress of eight yards—the usual size of the pattern at that time — the price being from 18¾ to 37½ cents per yard; twenty-five dozen of eggs would only purchase one dollar's worth of coffee, five pounds. Ten bushels of corn would scarcely outweigh in value eight pounds of sugar, and the hog

had to be a large one that would liquidate the price of a pair of boots.

Everything was sold on a long credit, generally understood to be twelve months, unless otherwise specified, and the merchant who could not command sufficient capital or credit to carry his stock of goods a year had to go out of business. Everybody was in debt, and there was only "produce" to pay with, at these starvation prices. The newspapers were filled with notices of bankruptcy and of sales by trustees and sheriffs. Such was the financial condition of the people, who found themselves confronted with the necessity of meeting obligations, public and private, apparently overwhelming.

Although it had been intended, and with some confidence expected, that the measures adopted at the last session would provide a sufficient sum to meet accruing interest until the meeting of the present general assembly, they had entirely failed to produce that result. The actual current revenue, owing to the low valuations of property, was not half the amount counted upon, and such had been the depreciation of State securities that it was not thought advisable to place any of them on the market after July, 1841, to which time only interest had been paid.

The message of Gov. Carlin was delivered Dec. 7, and that of his successor on the day following. Owing to the lack of any proper system in keeping State accounts, they differed in their statements of the amount of the State debt, excluding estimates of interest due, $1,350,969, Gov. Ford's being the larger, and neither correct. The following table shows the amount as given by each governor and the true sum as subsequently ascertained and reported by Isaac N. Arnold, from the House Committee on Finance:

	CARLIN.	FORD.	COMMITTEE.
To banks for stock -	$2,665,000	$2,665,000	$2,665,000
Internal improvements	5,614,197	6,014,749	6,014,749
Canal-debt - -	4,338,907	4,436,408	4,504,160
State-house - - -	116,000	121,000	121,000
School, col., and sem. funds	808,085	808,084	808,084
Due State Bank, advanced	294,190	294,190	
Due Bank of Illinois -		369,998	

Due for surplus revenue (counted twice)	477,919		
	$13,836,379	$15,187,348	$14,112,993
Add amount due banks not included by committee			664,188
			14,777,181
Interest due January 1, 1843 - - - -			880,769
Total debt and interest due January 1, 1843			$15,657,950

Gov. Carlin and his advisers had evidently grappled with the problem presented to them with unsatisfactory results. A review of the State's resources in view of the financial stringency convinced him, humiliating as the admission was, to use his own words, "that neither from taxation nor any other source" could any provision be made for the payment of interest on the State debt. Such was the unpopularity of the raising of money for this purpose by taxation, he felt compelled to recommend that further efforts in that direction be abandoned.

In the draft of his message which he had read to Gov. Ford, he recommended the adoption of legislation conciliatory and favorable to the banks. It also contained a paragraph in which he urged the repeal of bank charters, but this he informed his successor he had decided not to include therein. But the pressure of party leaders overcame his convictions, and very much to the surprise and embarrassment of Gov. Ford the message was delivered as it had been originally prepared, recommending repeal.

Under the act of congress of 1841, distributing the proceeds of the public lands among the several states, the share of Illinois was $46,289. As this was an anti-democratic measure, Gov. Carlin argued against its acceptance by Illinois — the example of other states being cited as a precedent — notwithstanding its need of funds. But at the same time he commended the action of congress in donating, by the provisions of the same law, public lands to certain states — the portion of Illinois being 210,135 acres. That is, it was "just and proper" for the United States to give away her lands, but not the money arising from their sale. Gov. Carlin was even desirous of receiving still further donations from congress to aid in the completion of the canal; and while he could see no

means at hand which could be applied to this work, he was opposed to its entire abandonment.

Gov. Ford had been elected as the democratic candidate, on the supposition that not having been in any sense a party leader he would acquiesce in the new doctrine of "measures not men," and be willing to subject himself to the dictation of party caucuses. But, as the leaders soon discovered, the governor had a policy of his own, and while he was not unwilling to consult with them on all suitable occasions, whenever, as frequently happened, they undertook to outline the course which they required him to pursue, whether he considered it best or not, he very coolly informed them that he believed the returns showed the fact that *he* had been elected governor. His inaugural message was consequently his own production, and expressed his own views, which he persistently maintained. Taking strong ground in favor of paying every dollar of the State debt, including interest, after showing the inability of the State to meet its obligations through violent and spasmodic exertions to raise money by taxation, and the sacrifices which would inevitably have to be made by attempting to realize any considerable sums from the sale of its lands and other property, he recommended that the legislature should in some appropriate manner assure our creditors that in due time funds should be raised by moderate taxation to pay its debts in full, and that the disgrace of repudiation was not countenanced by the people. As a further evidence of our sincerity he proposed to offer to our creditors, at fair and reasonable prices, the lands donated to the State by the general government, and the railroads finished and unfinished, with their appurtenances.

He also recommended that means should be adopted to complete the canal on a smaller and more economical plan; and that the banks should be required to resume specie payments, or that failing therein, proper steps be taken to wind them up, and that especially some arrangement should be made with them for the exchange of the stock owned by the State for the bonds held by the banks.

The condition of the State finances at this time, while no worse than it had been, was bad enough. The ordinary expenses of the government were $170,000 per annum, and its ordinary

receipts only a little over $140,000—the State having by this time incurred an indebtedness on this account alone of $313,000. Auditor's warrants were selling at fifty cents on the dollar, State-bonds brought but fourteen cents on the dollar, and there was not enough ready cash in the treasury to pay the postage account of the executive department, for which the postmaster refused to grant credit to the State.

Public men of all parties stood appalled by the financial problems which confronted them. No one could foresee what would be the popular or the most advisable solution. The two great political parties were watching each other with eager eyes, hoping to make capital and command success out of the mistakes of each other. At the democratic State convention in June, a resolution against repudiation was laid on the table; and such was the uncertainty of action and lack of fixedness of purpose, that there is no doubt that Gov. Ford was correct in saying that he had it in his power to make Illinois a repudiating State — at least for the time being. Fortunately for the good name and prosperity of the commonwealth he had no such wish or intention.

Preliminary, however, to entering upon the consideration of measures relating to State policy was the settlement of the contest for a United-States senator to succeed Judge Young. This was brought to an issue in the democratic caucus Dec. 9, —the candidates being Judges Breese, Douglas, and Young, and Mr. McClernand. After a stormy session, lasting from seven o'clock p.m. until one o'clock a.m., Judge Breese was successful on the nineteenth ballot, by the narrow margin of one majority, he receiving 56 votes, Douglas 52, and McClernand 3. He was elected in joint session December 18 by a strictly party vote — the whigs supporting Archibald Williams — and the ballot standing 108 to 49, with three scattering.

Sidney Breese was born in Whitesborough, Oneida County, New York, July 15, 1800, and graduated from Union College in 1818. Soon afterward he immigrated to Illinois, arriving at Kaskaskia, December 24 of that year, where he read law with E. K. Kane. Previously to his election as senator he had served as postmaster at Kaskaskia, as state's attorney, (1822–27), as United-States district-attorney, appointed by President Adams,

as a lieutenant-colonel in the Black-Hawk War, and as a judge of the circuit and supreme courts. He had been also an unsuccessful candidate for the legislature and congress. He was married at Kaskaskia in 1823, to Eliza, daughter of William Morrison. He was a close student, and had evinced conspicuous ability as a lawyer and judge.

The legislative election for state officers and judges occurred on Jan. 14, 1843, and resulted as follows: James Shields auditor of public accounts, Milton Carpenter treasurer, James Semple—*vice* Sidney Breese elected United-States senator, Richard M. Young—*vice* Theophilus W. Smith resigned, and John M. Robinson—*vice* Thomas Ford elected governor, as members of the supreme court.

The attention of the law-makers was also turned aside from the great business before them by the consideration of a petition from Jo Daviess County praying for the removal of Judge Thomas C. Browne "for the want of capacity to discharge the duties of his office." A week's time was consumed by the supporters of the petition in a fruitless effort, the charges and specifications against the judge being finally dismissed by a nearly unanimous vote. Although a whig he was able to command very strong support from leading democrats, who regarded the attack upon him as a persecution set on foot by disappointed attorneys.

The work of the session now began in earnest, and after a thorough discussion of the various financial measures proposed relating to the bank, canal, the State debt, and the payment of interest, the following were adopted:

1. The passage of the compromise bill drawn by the governor, requiring the State Bank to go into liquidation, and for the surrender of State-bonds to the amount of $2,050,000 in exchange for the same amount of bank stock to be delivered up by the State. A similar law was passed relating to the Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown, and providing for the surrender of State indebtedness to the amount of one million dollars.

2. An act for the completion of the canal and the payment of the canal-debt; by which the governor was authorized to negotiate a loan of $1,600,000 on the credit of the canal, its tolls, revenue, and lands.

3. An act providing for the acceptance of the distributive share of the State of the proceeds of the sales of public lands, the opposition of Gov. Carlin and other democrats to the contrary notwithstanding.

4. For the redemption of the bonds amounting to $913,215 hypothecated with Macallister and Stebbins as a pledge for the $261,500 advanced by them to pay interest.

5. Appointing the governor fund commissioner and authorizing that officer, together with the auditor, to collect, have appraised, and sell at public auction, the railroads and other property belonging to the State.

6. Providing for a tax of twenty cents on one hundred dollars worth of property, to be collected in gold or silver; and, finally, a resolution, which fully recognized the moral and legal obligation of the State to discharge "punctually every debt contracted by any authorized agent for a good and valuable consideration and that the revenues and resources of the State shall be appropriated for that purpose so soon as they can be made available."

Other laws of general interest were passed at this session as follows:

To re-district the State into seven congressional districts.

An act to establish a system for the registration of births and deaths.

An act making the secretary of state librarian, and providing for the use and care of the books, which, in its principal features, has been continued in all the revised statutes to the present time.

An act regulating the sale of property on judgments and executions, providing for the appraisement of property levied on, and that it should not be sold unless two-thirds of the appraised value was bid therefor.

Companies were chartered to complete the Central and Northern-Cross railroads, but the incorporators failing to comply with the terms imposed by the State, the same became inoperative.

By the adoption of the financial measures above enumerated the State debt on account of the banks was reduced $3,050,000. As a further result, auditor's warrants soon came to be worth

ninety cents, and State-bonds 40 to 45 cents on the dollar. The banks in liquidation gradually retired their depreciated circulation, replacing it with specie and currency of solvent banks.

The relations between Gov. Ford and Lyman Trumbull, secretary of state, had been unfriendly for some time, owing to a difference of opinion on certain executive measures; and on March 4, Thompson Campbell was nominated to the senate as his successor. Mr. Trumbull, while looked upon by the whigs as a strong partisan, was also regarded by them, and indeed generally, as an "able, efficient, and obliging" officer. Accordingly the governor found it difficult to secure the confirmation of his nominee. At first, indeed, he was rejected, but upon a reconsideration of the vote he was confirmed by barely one majority—20 to 19. As soon as the news of the action of the governor had reached the house, Mr. McClernand, the democratic leader of that body, as a salve to the political wounds which had been inflicted, introduced a series of resolutions, which were agreed to without opposition, recognizing the right of each governor to nominate a secretary of state and his power to remove him from office; and tendering the thanks of the house to "His Excellency, Governor Thomas Ford," and Lyman Trumbull, secretary of state, and the other State officers "for their efficient, zealous, and patriotic efforts to promote the honor and interests of the State and people."

On the same day, March 4, Gen. W. L. D. Ewing was in joint session elected auditor in the place of James Shields, resigned. The session adjourned March 6.

The whig national convention which assembled at Baltimore, May 1, 1844, nominated Henry Clay as a candidate for president by acclamation. Theodore Frelinghuysen was nominated for vice-president. At the democratic convention which met in the same city, May 27, James K. Polk received the nomination on the ninth ballot for president, and Silas Wright for vice-president. The latter having declined the honor, George M. Dallas was subsequently selected for that position. James G. Birney and Thomas Morris were the candidates for president and vice-president, respectively, of the liberals or abolitionists, nominated at Buffalo, Aug. 30, 1843.

The democrats achieved their greatest national victory in their defeat of "Harry of the West," and again carried the State of Illinois by a largely increased majority, that for Mr. Polk being 12,290. The fourteenth general assembly convened December 2. The senate stood 26 democrats to 15 whigs—in the house the democrats numbered 80 and the whigs 39. Ninian W. Edwards and E. B. Webb, formerly of the house, now appeared in the senate, as did Norman B. Judd, Joel A. Matteson, Michael Ryan, Robert Boal, Willis Allen, and John D. Whiteside. In the house, Arnold, Churchill, Stephen T. Logan, Manning, Gregg, S. G. Hicks, Kuykendall, Pickering, Richardson, Starne, and Yates were again returned, and for the first time, George W. Armstrong, David Davis, Anson S. Miller, J. L. D. Morrison, Lewis W. Ross, Francis C. Sherman, W. S. Wilkinson, and N. D. Strong.

Wm. A. Richardson was elected speaker, receiving 73 votes to 37 cast for Stephen T. Logan; Newton Cloud clerk of the house; Merritt L. Covell secretary of the senate, and Wm. C. Murphy, for the third time, sergeant-at-arms.

Mr. Richardson had previously served in both houses of the legislature, and being fitted by experience as well as natural aptitude, filled the office of speaker with distinguished honor and credit.

United-States Senator Samuel McRoberts having died March 27, 1843, James Semple was appointed in his place from the supreme court, August 16. He received the democratic caucus nomination, and was duly elected in joint session December 11, to fill out the term, receiving 100 votes to 47 cast for John J. Hardin, then a member of congress from the seventh district.

James Semple was a native of Green County, Kentucky, where he was born Jan. 5, 1798. His parents came from Virginia, and were descendants of an old Scotch family of Renfrewshire. He received only a common-school education, and learned the trade of tanner and currier. This being unsuited to his tastes, he decided to study law in Louisville. He first immigrated to this State in 1818, and in 1822 removed to Chariton, Mo., where he was admitted to the bar. In 1828, he returned to Illinois and settled in Edwardsville, where he entered upon the successful practice of his profession. Being six feet three inches

in height, he was distinguished for his personal presence and bearing. He was a brigadier-general in the Black-Hawk war, and, as has already appeared, served three successive terms in the general assembly having been twice elected speaker of the house. In 1837, he was appointed minister to Santa Fé de Bogota or New Grenada, now Columbia, S. A. Returning home in 1842, he was soon after elected to the supreme court, and was transferred thence to the senate.

After the expiration of his congressional term in 1847, he became so disgusted with the prevarications, trickery, and demagogism with which the life of a politician seemed to him to be inseparably connected, that he determined to withdraw from public life and devote his time to the prosecution of his large private business.

He laid out the town of Elsah in Jersey County, and purchased a large estate on the bluffs of the Mississippi just south of it, where he passed the evening of his life surrounded by the comforts and enjoyments of a home beautiful for situation and adorned by tasteful art.

He was careful in business, straightforward and upright in his dealings, affectionate in all his family relations, and kindly and sociable with his neighbors. His public life was characterized by unswerving rectitude and faithful service. He died at his home December 20, 1866.*

The financial measures passed at the last session, with the exception of those relating to the banks, were valuable rather on account of their moral effect than for the material benefits produced by them. The canal bond-holders had not been sufficiently advised in regard to the amount of the canal debt and value of the property to justify further advances without making a special investigation.

Sales of the public lands were not effected so readily as had been anticipated. Of the 210,000 acres donated by congress under the distribution law, and the 42,000 acres owned by the State under the internal-improvement system offered for sale, only 19,938 acres, producing the sum of $73,199 in bonds and scrip, had been sold.

* Since his decease, his daughter, Mrs. Lucy V. Semple Ames, of St. Louis, has erected a splendid mansion on the paternal estate, where she resides a portion of the time; his son, Eugene Semple, is now the governor of Washington Territory.



James Semple

Compliance with the law providing for the refunding of the Macalister-and-Stebbins bonds was found impossible because the bonds had been re-hypothecated by the firm to raise the money advanced by them, and were beyond their control.

The revenue law of the last session had not produced a sufficient sum to liquidate indebtedness incurred for ordinary expenses; and the State treasury had nothing left therefrom with which to pay interest.

At this session a supplemental canal bill was passed, under which the governor was enabled to complete the negotiation of a loan of $1,600,000, and that property was transferred to trustees.

It having now become apparent that something more decisive must be attempted than the mere utterance of vaporous and intangible declarations against repudiation, it was finally determined to pass another revenue law by which was imposed the collection of a tax of three mills on each dollar's valuation of property for 1845, and three and one-half mills thereafter; and the proceeds of one mill of this tax for 1845, and one and one-half mills for 1846 and "forever thereafter" should be "set apart and sacredly held for the payment of interest on the State debt." *

The idea of connecting the waters of Lake Michigan with those of the Illinois River by a canal passing through that invisible but no less actual dividing line upon which the accumulating waters pause to determine whether they will find their way to the Gulf of St. Lawrence or to that of Mexico, occurred to the earliest explorers of the Northwest; the first to suggest it having been Louis Joliet in 1673.

The attention of congress was first directed toward it as a connecting link between the east and west in an able report on roads and canals by Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury,

* The amount of the State-debt, not including the school-fund, Jan. 1, 1845, as reported by the governor, was as follows:

Illinois-and-Michigan Canal debt - - - - -	$4,741,783
Internal improvement, bank stock, and state-house -	6,712,886
Total	$11,454,669

Upon which no interest had been paid since July 1, 1841. The amount of interest now due being $2,323,199. The assessed value of real estate for 1844 in the State was $50,989,854; and of personal property, $16,473,056.

April 4, 1808.* It was subsequently referred to by A. B. Woodward in a report to the Michigan territorial legislature on internal navigation in January, 1812;† and was favorably mentioned in *Niles' Register* in an editorial on "resources and improvements," Aug. 6, 1814.‡

It was the subject of frequent discussion up to 1816, at which time, with a view to the ultimate construction of such a work, Governors Edwards of this State, and Clark of Missouri, and Col. A. Chouteau, as United-States commissioners, made a treaty with the Indians, by which the latter ceded a tract of land ten miles wide along the proposed route extending from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River. In a report to congress, Jan. 19, 1819, Mr. Calhoun, the secretary of war, made favorable mention of a canal from "the Illinois River to Lake Michigan which the growing population of the State renders very important" and which would be "valuable for military purposes."§ In December of the same year, he transmitted to congress the reports of Major Stephen H. Long of the corps of topographical engineers (dated March 4, 1817) and one made by Richard Graham and Chief-Justice Joseph Phillips of Illinois, in both of which the practicability and importance of the improvement is strongly commended.‖

In advance of any action by State authority, although both Govs. Bond and Coles had recommended it, congress passed an act, March 30, 1822, "authorizing the State of Illinois to open a canal through the public lands to connect the Illinois River with Lake Michigan," by which for said purpose ninety feet of land on each side of said canal was vested in said State. The way being thus opened, even though only to a limited extent, so far as regards governmental aid, the legislature in 1823 passed

* "American State Papers," Vol. XX, p. 714. † *Niles' Register*, VI, p. 140.

‡ *Niles' Register*, VI 394. The statement, hitherto accepted upon the authority of several historians, that it was brought to the attention of congress in a message by President Madison in 1814, can not be verified.

§ "American State Papers," XXI, p. 555.

‖ It is a noticeable fact, however, that in the "Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River" by Major Long in 1823, although he visited Chicago and carefully inspected the proposed route for a canal, he makes no reference to any former visit to this locality or to any previous report by him on the subject. In this latter narrative, while he states that "an expenditure, trifling in comparison to the

an act providing for the appointment of commissioners "to consider, devise, and adopt such means as may be required to effect the communication by canal and locks between the navigable waters of the Illinois River and Lake Michigan." $6000, a large sum at that time, was appropriated to defray the expenses of the commission. The commissioners appointed were Emanuel J. West, Erastus Brown, Theophilus W. Smith, Thos. Sloo, jr., and Samuel Alexander. Rene Paul and Justin Post were employed as engineers, who made a survey of the route—very superficial as it turned out—and reported that the cost of construction would not exceed $700,000. This underestimate was responsible for the commencement of the work on a larger scale than the State found itself able to maintain, resulting in a useless expenditure of $1,500,000.

The favorable report of the commissioners led to the passage of a law at the next session of the legislature, Jan. 17, 1825, incorporating the "Illinois-and-Michigan Canal Association with a capital of $1,000,000," by which it was provided that "all cessions, grants, and transfers, made, or that may be hereafter made, by the government of the United States for the purpose of promoting the completion of the canal shall pass and vest in said corporation." Our congressman, Daniel P. Cook, who had secured a favorable report upon a bill making a donation of land to the State for the purpose of constructing the canal, perceiving that there would be danger of defeating the bill when it was seen that the grant would inure to the benefit of a private corporation, by his personal influence secured the surrender and repeal of this charter.

On March 2, 1827, Mr. Cook, seconded by senators Kane and Thomas, secured the passage by congress of the act granting

importance of the object, would again render Lake Michigan a tributary of the Mexican Gulf," he further remarks that "it is the opinion of those best acquainted with the nature of the country, that the easiest communication would be between the Little Calamick and some point of the Desplaines, probably below the portage road."—"Long's Expedition," Vol. I, 166.

The latter view is also supported by Gov. Coles in a communication published in the "Illinois Monthly Magazine," Oct., 1830, in which he says: "There should likewise be a reconnoissance between the Kalamick of the lake and the Saganaskee and Joliet of the Deplaine, between which streams the summit level is believed to be the lowest. * * * From all the information I have been able to collect, I am of opinion that this is the best place for the construction of a canal."

to the State "for the purpose of aiding her in opening a canal to connect the waters of the Illinois River with those of Lake Michigan," the alternate sections of the public lands on each side of the canal for five miles in width along its entire route—the number of acres as subsequently ascertained being 224,322.

An act to "consider, devise, and adopt such measures as may be required to facilitate and effect" the construction of the canal was passed by the legislature Jan. 22, 1826. Under this law the canal commissioners appointed were Dr. Gershom Jayne, Edmund Roberts, and Charles Dunn. A new survey was made by Engineer James M. Bucklin, but not much progress was made until 1831, when an amendatory act was passed withdrawing the lands from private entry, and providing for the subdivision of tracts and their public sale. Under the provisions of these acts the board laid out the towns of Ottawa and Chicago.

The commissioners having reported that the cost of the canal would amount to over $4,000,000, and that of a railroad between the same points would be only one million, the question of substituting a railroad for a canal was considered. An act of congress was passed, March 2, 1833, providing that the lands granted to the State "may be used and disposed of for the purpose of making a railroad instead of a canal."

The general assembly, by act of March 1, 1833, abolished the board of canal commissioners, and made no further provision to prosecute the work. But in 1835, it was again decided to construct the canal, and a law was passed authorizing a loan of $500,000 on the credit solely of the canal-lands, but capitalists declined to invest on the security offered. On Jan. 9, 1836, another act was passed as heretofore stated, under which the loan was secured on the credit and faith of the State, and the actual work of construction, after so many years of preliminary attempts began on July 4, of that year, and the first boat, the *General Fry*, passed from Lockport to Chicago, April 10, 1848, the first to pass through the entire length of the canal being the *General Thornton*, on April 23, '48. The event was formally celebrated with enthusiastic demonstrations by citizens from LaSalle and along the line of the canal, at Chicago, April 16.

The main line from Bridgeport to LaSalle, as completed, was

96 miles in length; including the Chicago-River portion, 100 miles. It was 60 feet wide at the surface, 36 at the bottom, and 6 feet deep. It had 5 feeders and 17 locks, and was spanned by 25 bridges. Trade-basins were constructed at Lockport, Joliet, Dupage, Ottawa, and LaSalle, besides at the latter point a steamboat-basin connecting the canal with the Illinois River.

The cost of the canal and its receipts, excluding the amount paid Chicago for deepening, as reported by the chief engineer, Daniel C. Jenne, March 1, 1879, were as follows:

Expended by the canal commissioners -		$5,133,062
Expended by the canal trustees - -		- 1,424,619
Making the total cost		$6,557,681
Receipts from sale canal-lands and lots	$5,886,039	
Net earnings over expenses to Mch. '79	2,933,692	8,819,731
Receipts over cost		$2,262,050

The unsold lots and lands were valued at $156,000 in Nov., 1887.

The commissioners* appointed by Gov. Duncan were Wm. F. Thornton, Gurdon S. Hubbard, and Wm. B. Archer, who were succeeded in January, 1839, by Wm. F. Thornton as president of the board, and Jacob Fry, acting commissioners, elected by the general assembly. Isaac N. Morris succeeded Gen. Thornton as president of the board in 1842, when William Gooding became the chief engineer.

The amount expended and work done on the canal for the several years succeeding its commencement was as follows: in 1836 $39.260; 1837 $350,649; 1838 $911,902; 1839 $1,479,907; 1840 $1,117,702; 1841 $644,875; 1842 $155,195, making a total of $4,679,494. At the time of the suspension of the work in March, 1843, because of lack of funds, there was $210,000 due to superintendents and $230,000 to contractors for damages.†

Under the supplemental act of 1845, providing for a further

* These were all leading and influential whigs. Of Mr. Hubbard it may be said that he was one of Chicago's earliest citizens; was born in Windsor, Vt., August 22, 1802, and first saw Fort Dearborn in 1818. He was an Indian trader, and finally settled at Chicago in 1834, where he continuously resided until his death, Sept. 14, 1886. He served in the Black-Hawk War, was a member of the Eighth General Assembly, and an enterprising merchant and trader all his life.

† "Illinois Reports," 1842-3.

loan of $1,600,000 and the completion of the canal, its lands and appurtenances were conveyed in June, 1845, to three trustees, Wm. H. Swift and David Leavitt, representing the bondholders, and Jacob Fry the State. Under this management the work was completed.

The loan of $1,600,000 was paid by the trustees in 1858 and they also began paying the principal of the preceding debt, toward which the State contributed $600,000.

The trustees were authorized by the act of Feb. 15, 1865, to enter into an arrangement with the city of Chicago for the purpose of completing the summit division of the canal upon the original deep-cut plan, with such modifications as would secure the cleansing and purification of the Chicago River; it being provided that for the amount expended by the city, the latter should have a vested lien upon the revenues of the canal after paying the present canal-debt, and also that the cost should not exceed $2,500,000.

In August, 1871, the last incumbrance having been removed, the trustees, who had managed the affairs of the canal for twenty-six years, turned the same over to the State with a surplus fund of $92,545. After the great fire of Oct. 9, 1871, in order to aid the city in its dire calamity, the State "for the purpose of relieving the lien" appropriated $2,955,340 to reimburse the city for its expenditures thereon, and assumed control.

The receipts of the canal for the first year of its operation were $87,890, and the gross expenses, including repairs, $43,197.

The largest receipts, for any one year, were those of 1866, amounting to $302,958, the expenses being $116,363; and the smallest, those for the year 1887, being $58,024, gross expenses $71,385. Since 1879, the gross expenses have exceeded the tolls every year, making a total deficit for the nine years of $188,327, —or an annual average of $20,925. These figures, however, relate only to the operations of the canal proper. It has other sources of revenue besides tolls. Its receipts from the lease of water-power and lots, sales of clay and "spoil-bank" stone, with some other items, amounted in 1887 to $28,803; and the cash balance on hand November 30, of that year was $62,851.32, which was slightly increased for the year ending Nov. 30, 1888. And although contingent appropriations have been made by

the legislature for its use at each session since 1875, not one dollar of the State's money has been needed or expended, the same having been invariably covered back into the treasury.

The longest time the canal has been open for traffic during any one year was in 1853, from March 4 to Dec. 12, being 274 days; the shortest in 1870, from April 7 to Oct. 8, 184 days.*

Under the law for the improvement of the Illinois River, the lock and dam at Henry, costing the State $400,000, was completed in 1872, and that at Copperas Creek in 1877, costing $410,000, of which $80,000 was appropriated by the United States. The entire plan of improvement contemplates the construction of three additional locks and dams on the Illinois River at an estimated cost of $1,350,000.

Occupying so large a place in the history of the State as this work has, a plan for its enlargement to the dimensions of a ship-canal and its completion by the general government has assumed a national importance. The constitution of 1870 provided that the Illinois-and-Michigan Canal should never be sold or leased until the proposition therefor had been ratified

* Henry Grinnell of New York succeeded David Leavitt as trustee in 1859, the State trustees were: Jacob Fry from June 18, 1845, to May 1, 1847; Charles Oakley from May 1, 1847, to Jan. 17, 1849; Joseph B. Wells from Jan. 17, 1849, to Feb. 17, 1853; Josiah McRoberts from Feb. 17, 1853, to Jan. 23, 1857; Dr. Chas. H. Ray from Jan. 23, 1857, to Jan. 23, 1861; Martin H. Cassell from Jan. 23, 1861, to Feb. 13, 1865; Sheridan Wait from Feb. 13, 1865, to Feb. 8, 1869; Richard Rowett from Feb. 1869, to September, 1871, close of trust.

Under the act for canal and river improvement of Feb. 28, 1867, the following commissioners were appointed: John G. Gindele, Joseph Utley, and Virgil Hickox. Mr. Gindele was succeeded by Robert Milne, Dec. 11, 1869. Upon the surrender of the canal to the State in 1871, it was again placed in charge and under the control of commissioners, in accordance with the provisions of an act previously passed April 22, 1871. Since that period the board has been constituted as follows: 1873 to 1877, Joseph Utley, H. G. Anderson, Wm. N. Brainard; 1877 to 1883, Joseph O. Glover, Martin Kingman, and B. F. Shaw; 1883 to 1885, Charles Bent, George F. Brown, and D. J. Calligan; the present board consists of Isaac Taylor, George F. Brown, and Adam Lieberknecht.

Wm. Gooding was the chief engineer under the trustees until the completion of the work, when he was appointed secretary. E. B. Talcott was the general superintendant until 1855 when he was succeeded by John B. Preston, who held the office until 1864, when he was succeeded by Wm. A. Gooding, son of William Gooding, who continued to act up to 1871. Daniel C. Jenne was appointed chief engineer in 1871, and continued as such until 1879. Wm. Thomas was the general superintendent from 1872 to July 15, 1885, when he was succeeded by James M. Leighton.

by the people at the polls. Accordingly an act to cede the canal to the United States was passed April 22, 1882, and ratified by the people at the following November election. A bill passed congress in August of the same year providing for the survey of a canal from a point on the Illinois River, at or near Hennepin, by the most practicable route to the Mississippi River, at or above the city of Rock Island. The enlargement of the canal, its extension to the Mississippi, and the desired legislation of congress on the subject are current topics of agitation and discussion, now engrossing the minds of the people. That the great work will be accomplished before many years there does not seem to be much reason to doubt.

Ever since the construction of the first canal mentioned by historians, that connecting the waters of the Red Sea with those of the Mediterranean, and upon which we are told King Solomon passed with his fleet to join that of Hiram, king of Tyre, in an expedition to the land of Ophir, in search of gold, canals as a means of transportation were for thousands of years regarded as the first and most important national improvements for the promotion of trade and commerce.

But the railraod, the invention of the nineteenth century, being more in consonance with the spirit of activity and rush which characterizes the present age, has to a great extent superseded the canal wherever the two have come into competition. Although the latter is better adapted to the carrying of bulky freight, it must yield to the iron horse in the attainment of speedy results. The receipts on our own canal are a convincing proof of this fact. Waterways are nevertheless of the greatest importance to the commercial world and will always command encouragement and support. Their existence, and the facility with which they can be employed, operate as a standing menace against exorbitant and unjust charges by lines of rail. They may not carry the wheat or corn or lumber, but they are there ready to do so, and the rates established by them regulate the price of transportation. Their influence in this respect is not confined to the particular route over which they pass, but is as far reaching and controlling as is their connection with other routes in every direction.

CHAPTER XXX.

Administration of Gov. Ford continued — The Mormon Imbroglio — The Mexican War.

THE administration of Gov. Ford was distinguished not more on account of the important financial measures adopted to save the credit of the State, than for the serious disturbances which occurred during that period, growing out of the presence of the Mormons.

The founder of this sect was Joseph Smith, jr., who was born at Sharon, Vermont, Dec. 23, 1805. In 1815, the family removed to a farm near Palmyra, N. Y., where the education of the future seer was carried on by an intermittent attendance at the public school. In early life, he was reputed among his neighbors to be shiftless, lazy, dull, of questionable morals, with predilections toward a vagabond life, and evincing no originality, nor giving any promise of ever becoming a leader of men. He inherited from his mother a dreamy cast of mind and early claimed the gift of second-sight, and the ability, through the medium of an alleged magic stone in his possession, to find lost or stolen goods.

At the age of fifteen, he became morbidly interested in the subject of religion. The period was one peculiarly marked by many wonderful revivals in that portion of the country, in which the subjects of their influence fell into spiritual ecstasies, resulting in remarkable physical manifestations. The excitement in the local religious world was intense, and Joseph, with others, came under its spell. He spent much time, as he has stated, "in secret communion with his Maker," and in consequence soon set up a claim to be the prophet of the Lord and to receive revelations directly from God. In what he termed a vision, he declared that an angel informed him that he had been selected "as a chosen instrument in the hands of the Lord to accomplish great and marvellous purposes." It was also made known to him that certain sacred records, which had been kept and handed down through many generations by inspired

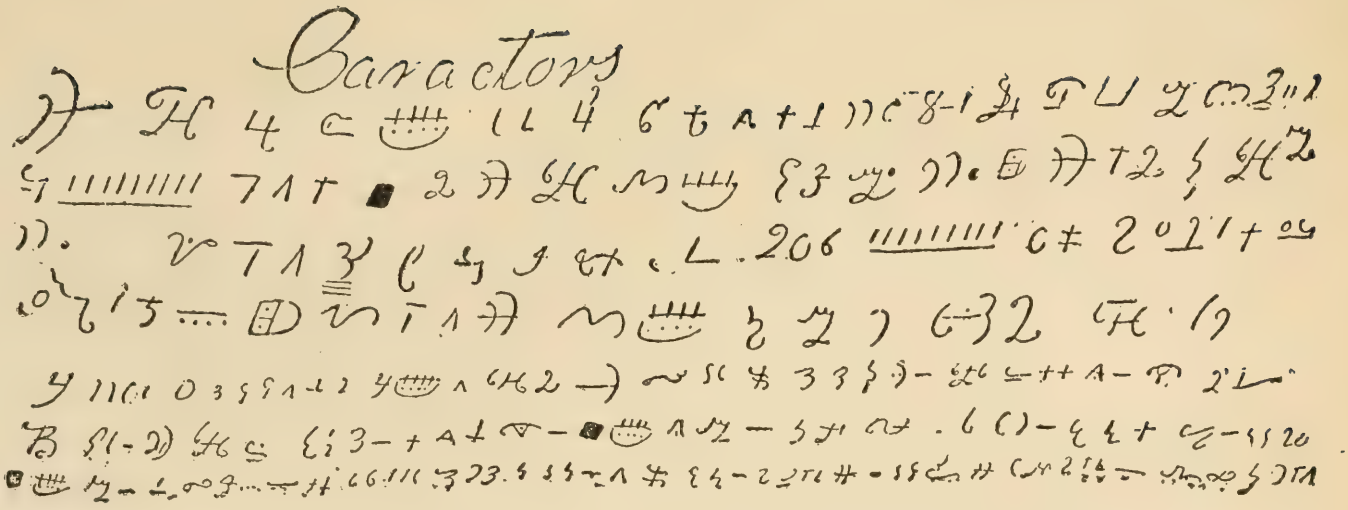
writers, were deposited in a specified locality near Manchester, N. Y., whither he was instructed to go and view them. Under the direction of this heavenly guide he was first permitted to behold these records, Sept. 22, 1823, and precisely four years thereafter, they were again inspected by him and this time delivered into his hands. They were said to be engraved upon gold plates about the thickness of common tin, eight by seven inches in size, the letters being "reformed Egyptian characters;" these plates were contained in a stone box which was buried just beneath the earth's surface. In the same box were found two stones, transparent and clear as crystal, called the *Urim* and *Thummim*, such as were used by ancient Jewish seers as instruments for interpreting revelations, by looking through which, the divine will was made manifest.

His method of proceeding in the transcription of these records, by which the text of the "Book of Mormon" was produced, was as follows: "the seer-stone having been placed in a soft hat, which was closely drawn around his face excluding the natural light, the spiritual light would shine. A piece of something resembling parchment would appear and on that was seen the writing. One character at a time would appear and under it was the interpretation in English. Brother Joseph would read off the English to Oliver Cowdery, who was his principal scribe, and when it was written down and repeated to Brother Joseph to see if it was correct, then it would disappear and another character with the interpretation would appear."*

One hundred and sixteen pages were translated through these oracular stones, but the manuscript having been carried away by the amanuensis, Harris, and carelessly lost or stolen, the Lord, by way of chastisement, took away the *Urim* and *Thummim* from his prophet, which were replaced, only after long wrestling in prayer, by another stone, oral-shaped and flat, through which he was permitted to complete his work.

David Whitmer, one of the witnesses to the "Book of Mormon," and who died at the advanced age of eighty-three years in Richmond, Mo., Jan. 25, 1888, where he had resided for over half a century, retained in his possession at the time of his death the original manuscript of this production, and also what

* David Whitmer.



Fac-simile characters transcribed from one of the golden plates from which the "Book of Mormon" was alleged to be translated. (Reduced from a cut published in the *Inter Ocean*, Chicago, Oct. 17, 1886.)

he claimed to be an original paper containing some of the characters transmitted from one of the golden plates, of which the foregoing is a copy.

The so-called translation was completed in June, 1829. The golden plates were returned to the angel as directed; the holy stone is said to be in Utah. The book purports to be an abridgment of the records of the people of Nephi, who were descendants of Joseph, of the House of Judah; of the Lamanites, who were a remnant of the House of Israel, and also of the people of Jared. It gives an account of their emigration to America, of their history here, covering a period of two thousand years, and of the final destruction of the Nephites—a white race—on account of their sins, by the Lamanites, who were the ancient red men of this country. Mormon, a holy Nephite, engraved the characters representing this history on plates, but he having been slain, the record fell into the hands of his son Moroni, who being hunted by his enemies, deposited the plates in the ground, four hundred years after Christ, where it is claimed they were found.

To establish the authenticity of the book two certificates were printed therewith, the first signed by Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris. They declare that "an angel of God came down from Heaven, and brought and laid before our eyes that we beheld and saw the plates and engravings thereon;" and that they were translated "by the gift and power of God." Eight other witnesses, four of whom were named Whitmer, three of the Smith family, and Hiram Page, certify that the translator exhibited to them the plates referred to, "which had the appearance of gold, and that they handled the leaves which had been translated, with their own hands, and saw the engravings thereon, which had the appearance of ancient work and curious workmanship"

A circumstance which has been cited as strongly presumptive of the sincerity and good faith of Martin Harris is the fact that he took a copy of the transcript of hieroglyphics to New-York City for inspection by Prof. Charles Anthon, am eminent scholar and linguist. The professor examined the paper and found it "a singular scroll" made up of Greek and other letters and curious characters, and came to the conclusion "that it was

all a trick, perhaps a hoax." Learning that Harris intended to sell his farm to raise money to pay for publishing the alleged translation, the professor became suspicious that it was a scheme to swindle Harris, which opinion he plainly communicated to him, warning him to beware of rogues. To the surprise of the savant, he was soon after again visited by Harris who brought with him a copy of the "golden book" in print, which he tried to sell him, and when the latter declined to purchase insisted upon his acceptance of a copy free of charge for the purpose of examination.

It having been stated in the "Encyclopædia Britannica,"* and various other publications, that the three witnessess, Whitmer, and Cowdery, had denied their testimony regarding the genuineness of the book of Mormon, David Whitmer, in 1881, issued what he entitled "A Proclamation to all Nations, Kindred Tongues and People," in which he positively and clearly re-affirms his original statement, and declares that neither Harris nor Cowdery had ever denied their testimony; that the latter died in 1850, in the same town where he, Whitmer, resided, and that his last words were, "Brother David, be true to your testimony to the Book of Mormon." This paper is accompanied by a certificate signed by Gen. A. W. Doniphan, Hon. Geo. W. Dunn, and twenty-two other leading citizens of Richmond, Mo., stating that, "we have been long and intimately acquainted with him, Whitmer, and know him to be a man of the highest integrity and of undoubted truth and veracity."

In 1838, all three of these original witnesses were excommunicated from the Mormon Church for apostasy, because they refused to believe in the prophet's subsequent teachings, David Whitmer being especially outspoken in his denunciation of the doctrine of polygamy, the high priesthood, and the later so-called revelations of Joseph Smith and his successors. He firmly adhered to his original faith as a member of the "church of Christ."

In 1887, he issued a pamphlet on the subject of the Mormons in which he once more strongly re-affirms his former testimony and explains his views at length. On his death-bed he called his neighbors around him, among them Dr. Geo. W.

* Vol. XVI, 852.

Buchanan, who testified to his soundness of mind, and solemnly stated that he "wanted to bear his dying testimony to the truth of the Mormon Bible." "I want to say to you all that the Bible and the record of the Nephites is true."

These are the facts relating to the Book of Mormon, as contended for by those who have faith in its verity. That these three witnesses were sincere and believed their testimony to be true, there seems hardly room to doubt; and that Joseph Smith had in his possession metallic plates of some description with engraved characters upon them, must be admitted if this testimony be accepted as trustworthy.

How far these witnesses, if at all, were operated upon by exterior influences beyond their knowledge or control; whence the plates were derived; the truth in regard to their origin; and genuineness of their translation, are questions of speculative inquiry, whose determination must depend upon the nature of the evidence, the degree of faith exercised, and the credulity of public opinion.

The American Mahomet having produced and published his Koran, believers in his wondrous revelations soon became so numerous as to warrant the formation of a new religious sect, and one was accordingly organized at Fayette, N.Y., on Apr. 6, 1830, which was at first denominated "The Church of Christ," the name being afterward changed to "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints." Although outside of a belief in the Book of Mormon, and in the exercise of miraculous powers, there was nothing specially new in its articles of faith, the growth of the church was unprecedented. The new creed was eagerly embraced by two classes always largely present in every community. To its standard flocked the discontented and the credulous. Those who had become dissatisfied with the forms of faith in which they had been reared, and which they had formerly professed, and those whose innate yearnings for the new and the mysterious led them to yield a ready ear to anything, however improbable, provided it was novel, quickly became disciples. With them was joined an element of social renegades, men of scheming ambition and dissolute life, who saw in the new movement a stepping-stone to power and wealth. In a word, among the disciples of Smith were included the

malcontent, the visionary, and the enthusiast, the scoundrel and the dupe. One and all, however, displayed a fanatical fervor which seemed to find its highest gratification in the voluntary and total surrender of property and services alike, in the hope of being numbered among the elect "according to Joseph the prophet of the Lord."

In person, Joseph Smith, then in the virile strength of early manhood, was tall and well-formed, muscular and active. He had a light complexion, light hair, blue eyes, very little beard, and an expression of countenance peculiarly attractive. His manner was affable, easy, and familiar. His temper was ordinarily amiable, but terrible in its intensity when aroused. As a speaker, he was not polished but possessed a native gift of simple, unstudied eloquence, not the least of whose charms was its originality. His addressess abounded in quaint illustrations and scriptural quotations, and whether touching on the common place, or rising to the contemplation of higher and supernatural themes, "he interested and edified, while at the same time he amused and entertained his audience."*

Naturally the promulgation of a religion possessing so many peculiar features was destined to arouse strong opposition. Other denominations fulminated in no measured terms their denunciations against it, and the press, through papers, pamphlets, and books, sought to stem the tide of successful propagandism by assailing the work and character of its founder. These attacks doubtless assumed the proportions of religious persecution and sometimes were followed by personal assaults from mobs and arrests for alleged crimes.

Believing that if the authorship of the Book of Mormon could be established in some one beside Joseph Smith, the superstructure of the new faith would be undermined and the organization founded thereon would fall, his opponents charged that the book was based upon a work written in 1812 by one Solomon Spaulding, entitled "The Manuscript Found"; which had in some way come into the possession of Joseph Smith or Sidney Rigdon, or both, who had changed its contents to suit their own purposes. A number of personal statements were produced from those who had heard all or portions of the

* "Life of Joseph the Prophet," by E. W. Tullidge.

Spaulding manuscript read by the author, and who had also heard read the Book of Mormon. These certified that "with the exception of the religious matter contained in the alleged translation, it is the same;" nearly all especially remembering the use of the names of Nephi, Lehi, and Moroni, which were said to be identical in both the translated book and the manuscript.*

The followers of Smith replied to this charge that there was no reliable evidence connecting Smith with Rigdon prior to 1830, or either with any Spaulding manuscript; that the statements of similarity between the latter and the Mormon bible were not made under the sanction of an oath, were *ex parte*, manufactured out of flimsy suppositions, and totally unworthy of credence; that the history of the only Spaulding manuscript which had ever been produced, and in regard to whose existence there was any certainty, had been definitely traced from the time the author presented it for publication in Pittsburgh, in 1812; and more recently that it was discovered in Honolulu in August, 1885, by President J. H. Fairchild of Oberlin College, and has been since published, refuting the charge of plagiarism.

The opponents of Mormonism have placed more stress upon their efforts to prove the worthlessness of the Mormon bible as an inspired record, on the ground of authorship, than the nature of the evidence produced by them warrants. The powers of mind required to conceive and execute the Mormon scheme, as a new departure of religious faith and practice, were far superior to those required to write the Mormon bible. For this work no special or unusual literary qualifications were necessary, nor are they exhibited in its composition, which is that of an unpractised writer of but small pretensions to learning. The biblical style adopted, to one imbued with its spirit, can be easily acquired, and has been frequently copied.

The condemnation of the Book of Mormon as a work of divine authority may be found in the abundant evidence which itself furnishes. It abounds in anachronisms, and in quotations from the Old and New Testaments, many of the latter being put into the mouth of alleged American prophets five hundred

* "History of Mormonism," by E. D. Howe.



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Joseph Duncan

years before they were uttered by Christ or his apostles. Many of its statements of fact, such as the killing of two millions of combatants in one battle, are wholly incredible. It contains also many revival and camp-meeting expressions current at the period of its publication, a circumstance which very clearly indicates its modern paternity.

In 1832, the membership having rapidly increased, a large portion of "the church" in pursuance of "divine indications," removed to Jackson County, Missouri, while others, with the prophet, settled at Kirtland, O. The immigrants at Independence, Mo., prospered for a time, but soon came into more or less active collision with their neighbors, which resulted in their being driven away; a portion settling in Clay County for awhile, but all afterward removing to Caldwell and Davies counties, where large tracts of land were purchased, and the town of Far West established. Here they were joined by that portion of the organization left in Ohio, which had been torn by dissensions and financial embarrassments, in 1838; the prophet leaving by night, pursued by importunate creditors. Their claims and pretensions here were equally objectionable, and brought on a conflict between them and the mob which resulted in several serious engagements, the loss of not a few lives, the calling out of the militia by Gov. Boggs, who surrounded and captured the city of Far West, and made prisoners of its undesirable inhabitants. All were released on their promise to leave the state, except Joseph Smith and six leading associates, who were tried before a court martial for treason, and condemned to be shot. This unquestionably illegal sentence would have been carried out but for the firm and determined opposition of Col. A. W. Doniphan, and the prisoners were committed to jail for trial.

They were indicted in Davies County on charges of treason, murder, and larceny, but having secured a change of venue, escaped from the sheriff, while being transferred to Marion County.

The condition of the Mormons in Missouri who had been despoiled of their property and homes and ordered to leave the State naturally appealed to the sympathy and commiseration of those to whom their tales of woe had come. Many of

them fled to Illinois, whose citizens were stirred greatly by the recitals of their sufferings and made liberal offers of assistance, which were gratefully accepted. Here, in Hancock County, at a small village called Commerce, on the bank of the Mississippi, to which was now given the name Nauvoo, the prophet determined to re-locate his scattered followers. The New Jerusalem of Missouri in spite of prophecy and special revelations regarding the prosperity and power of that new Zion, had come to naught. But the prophet had escaped from the toils of his enemies, said his followers, and would now re-organize his church in greater strength and splendor than ever before. And notwithstanding the utter failure of his colony in Missouri, their faith remained unshaken and their numbers continued rapidly to multiply. The fires of persecution seemed only to rekindle their ardor and stimulate their devotion.

Within two years, over two thousand dwellings were erected in Nauvoo, besides school-houses and other public edifices; and by 1842 the Mormons in Hancock County numbered over sixteen thousand souls.

With the steadily growing prosperity which attended the new establishment, and the constant increase in the number of "conversions," the brain of the founder and leader of the movement became intoxicated by his increasing power and the incense arising from the adulation of his disciples. Ignoring the necessity for prudence and moderation, forgetful of the dearly-learned lessons of the past, he rushed blindly forward toward the collapse of his ambition, the shipwreck of his hopes, and even to his death. Not content to confine his efforts to the propagation of his distinctive tenets, and the supervision of the spiritual interests of his followers, he assumed to meddle with, and direct the action of his adherents regarding state and national politics. In Missouri, they had allied themselves with the dominant party, but were strongly suspected of cherishing abolition sympathies, and owed their expulsion from the State to a democratic administration. President VanBuren had denied Smith a hearing on his petition for compensation for losses of property in Missouri, and the latter, not unnaturally, sought in Illinois the friendship of the whigs, who, being in the minority, did not feel disposed to reject an alliance which could render

such material aid. The Mormons accordingly voted for Gen. Harrison in 1840. But the political affinities of the Saints were based solely upon benefits accruing to their organization, and having secured the aid of the democrats in passing the city charter and the promise of other legislative favors, the prophet, in 1842, issued his proclamation calling upon his followers to support the democrats. The extraordinary powers granted in the act incorporating the city of Nauvoo laid the foundation for those ordinances by which he expected to reach the very pinnacle of power, but which in reality resulted in his downfall and ruin. Under its provisions, the city established its own courts and militia organization, both of which were independent of State control, and virtually in conflict with the laws and constitution.

A warrant, issued by Gov. Carlin in 1842, for the arrest of Joseph Smith as a fugitive from justice from Missouri, had not been executed when Gov. Ford came into office, and for the purpose of testing in the federal court, the question involved, a new writ was issued and served and the prisoner brought to Springfield. A writ of *habeas corpus* was thereupon sued out by Justin Butterfield, an eminent and witty lawyer from Chicago, before Judge Pope. The notoriety of the accused no less than the importance of the question attracted wide attention, and a large audience gathered at the hearing, including many ladies, for whom seats had been prepared on the platform upon which the judge was seated. When Butterfield arose to address the court, he began by saying that he supposed no member of the legal profession had ever before been situated as himself on that occasion — "standing in the august presence of the Pope, surrounded by angels, defending the Prophet of the Lord." He was successful in his application, the law of the case being found unquestionably in favor of his client, who was at once discharged. Smith was again indicted in Missouri in 1843, for an alleged attempt to murder Gov. Boggs, and another warrant was issued upon which he was again arrested; but while on their way the officer and his prisoner were met by an armed force of Mormons who conducted the prophet to Nauvoo, where he was released by the municipal court.

Feeling now secure from further molestation by arrest, and

emboldened by the successful operation of his city ordinances, and apparent ability to maintain his supreme authority, the overweening ambition of the prophet knew no bounds. He arrogated to himself substantially the entire civil power conferred by the city charter. As mayor, and *ex-officio* president of the council, he shaped the legislation which, as sole judge of the mayor's court and chief justice of the municipal court, it was his duty to construe, and the enforcement of which was in his own hands as chief executive. Besides the control of the police, he was invested with command of an absolutely subservient military force, and endowed with the power to conduct a system of secret espionage through an organized hireling band, whose only law was the will of an unscrupulous chief, to whom they formed a sort of body-guard.

He also instituted a select order of priesthood, whose members were called Priests and Kings, of which body he was anointed the supreme head. It was through this order, it was claimed, that he divulged his views in regard to, and initiated, his system of spiritual or "celestial marriages," out of which grew polygamy as now practised in Utah.

But as if the possession of these extraordinary civic and ecclesiastical powers were not sufficient to satisfy his ambition, he conceived the idea of becoming a temporal prince as well—and in 1844, declared himself, in an address "to the American People," a candidate for president. The government of the United States was openly denounced, and many of his followers really pretended to believe that it would be succeeded by that of Joseph Smith. And thus it appeared to the infatuated leader and his fanatical disciples that he was making rapid strides toward the attainment of great "power and glory."

The rise and progress of such an organization as the Mormons in any community or state could naturally have but one result. Fleeing to Illinois from the vengeance of Missouri mobs and as suppliants for charity, they injected into their church administration an element of fanaticism exceedingly offensive and altogether distasteful. Holding, as they soon came to do, the balance of power politically, they cast it—ostensibly by Divine command—now on one side and now on the other, a course which, so far from promoting conciliation,

fomented antagonism. Assuming to be the only church whose teachers possessed the apostolic power of working miracles and the "gift of tongues," they were unsparing in their denunciation of every other religious sect, which course could scarcely fail to awaken bitter resentment. At the same time, their claim to independence of the State, with its attendant usurpation of power, arrayed against them on yet other grounds a public hostility which was not long in finding occasion to become demonstrative.

The people of Hancock County soon became divided in their relations to this organization as follows: one portion, including generally the old, responsible citizens, although opposed to the Mormons, were not in favor of extreme or unlawful measures against them; another portion, comprising the largest, and which contained many of the worst, elements in society, the reckless and the vicious, composed the anti-Mormon party proper. There was still another portion, called Jack-Mormons, many of them unscrupulous, who sided with the Mormons from motives of self-interest.

So despotic had the rule of the prophet become through the agencies already enumerated that a number of his prominent followers had determined openly to oppose him and resist his further encroachments. To this end, for the purpose of more readily reaching the public ear, they established in Nauvoo a newspaper as their organ. But one number was ever permitted to appear. By an order of the common council, upon an *ex-parte* proceeding, the heretical press, having been declared to be a public nuisance, was destroyed; and its owners and promoters expelled from the church. This action, altogether unprecedented, arbitrary, and illegal, brought on a crisis. Warrants for the arrest of Mayor Smith and other officers who had participated in the summary proceedings were issued; but their service was either resisted, or those arrested were promptly discharged by the municipal court, so that it was found impossible to bring the perpetrators of the offence to a trial. Upon receiving a formal request to call out the militia to aid in executing civil process in Nauvoo the governor determined to visit the disturbed locality in person. There had already been presented to him the difficult problem of meeting from an

empty state treasury, the interest on an enormous state debt; he was now called upon to solve one more perplexing yet. He saw at a glance, that as in all like quarrels, some wrong had been committed on both sides, and turn whichever way he would, his conduct would be open to misinterpretation and even censure.

Upon arriving at Carthage, he found a force of twelve hundred militia assembled from the counties of Hancock, McDonough, and Schuyler, under command of Col. Levi Williams. The governor found the populace exceedingly hostile. The refusal of Smith to be arrested constituted but a small portion of the complaints brought against the Mormons, who were charged with the crimes of kidnapping, robbery, and larceny. Public meetings had been held, at which inflammatory speeches were made against the obnoxious sect, and resolutions adopted in favor of their expulsion from the State, or extermination. On the other hand, these charges were denied by the accused, who raised the cry of "persecution" against their opponents.

Gov. Ford dispatched a force of ten men with a constable to Nauvoo for the purpose of making arrests. The officer was directed to inform Smith and the other defendants, that if they surrendered they should be protected from violence and have a fair trial—in which assurance the assembled force concurred. They were to be informed further that if they refused to give themselves up, the entire militia of the State would be called out to compel their submission.

The mayor and common council, upon hearing from the governor, at once signified their willingness to surrender, on the charge of riot upon which the warrants had been issued, not to the constable, however, but to the authorities at Carthage, where they arrived on June, 23, 1844, and having entered into recognizance before the justice of the peace for their appearance at court, were all discharged, except Joseph and Hyrum Smith, against whom a new writ had been issued on complaint of treason. Upon being again arrested, neither party being ready for trial, they were committed to the county jail for greater security. The governor was urged to march the militia to Nauvoo for the purpose of searching for counterfeit money and to prevent, by intimidation, any further depredations on

the part of the Mormons, it being hoped that in this way a collision might be provoked. But the executive, although at first inclining to favor such a movement, being further advised, decided against it, and ordered the disbandment of all the troops except three companies, two of which he ordered to guard the jail, one of these—the Carthage Grays—being under command of R. F. Smith, the justice who had issued the warrants upon which the arrests had been made. Having already despatched Capt. James W. Singleton of Brown County with his company to guard Nauvoo, and to take command of the "legion," leaving Gen. Minor R. Deming in command at Carthage, the governor with Col. Nathaniel Buckmaster, quartermaster-general, and Capt. Dunn's company of dragoons, departed for the Mormon city, eighteen miles distant, to investigate the condition of affairs at that point.

The tragic termination of the life of the prophet was now near at hand. Although the military *posse* had consented to save the persons of the five prisoners from violence, so intense was the popular antipathy to the Mormons, and so bitter the prejudice — always stronger than reason or judgment—that nothing but the letting of blood could appease the wrath of the people. What the mob desired was a hostile encounter, and when it was found that the action of the governor would avoid the clash of arms, there were deep if not loud mutterings againt the lives of the Smiths. The charge of treason, upon which they were confined, was evidently a mere pretext for the purpose of holding their persons in Carthage; and it is surprising that the governor, knowing the hatred with which they were regarded, did not share in the suspicion of Col. Buckmaster and others that an attack would be made upon the jail during his absence.

About eight miles from Carthage, on the 27th day of June, a portion of the disbanded militia was met by a force from Warsaw. An angry consultation ensued regarding the situation. The absence of the governor from Carthage, the fact that the jail was only protected by one company—the other having disbanded—that a majority of the guard would prove favorable to their design, were all well considered, and the plot was formed to attack the jail and assassinate the Smiths. One hundred

and fifty desperate men were selected for this purpose, who disguised themselves by blackening their faces with powder and mud and rushed on toward the county-seat. Arriving there at five o' clock p.m., it was learned that but eight men had been detailed to guard the prisoners, while the remainder of the company was stationed in the public square, a hundred and fifty yards distant. Gen. Deming, although he could not fail to see what was going on, having been deserted by a portion of his troops, had no force upon which he could depend, and was compelled to retire from the scene.

In the meantime, the prisoners passed a gloomy day full of forebodings of evil to come. Joseph Smith was not without his premonitions of the coming catastrophe. On leaving Nauvoo he said, "If I don't come back, take care of yourselves. I am going like a lamb to the slaughter, but I am calm as a summer morning. I shall die innocent, and it shall be said of me 'he was murdered in cold blood.'" The friends who had called upon him during the day were not permitted to return. The time passed slowly, and a remarkable depression of spirits was upon all the prisoners. They endeavored to cheer themselves by drinking wine and by singing hymns, but all to no purpose. The sound of the last song had hardly died away when they heard a commotion on the outside. Their hour had come. Several shots were fired by the guard, but their feeble resistance was soon overcome. The front door of the jail was burst open, and the narrow stairway which led to the prisoners' room was filled with armed men. Arriving at the head of the stairs, the assailants fired a volley through the door into the prisoners' apartment, and Hyrum Smith fell dying to the floor. Joseph had been furnished with a revolver which he used with effect, wounding three of the attacking party. John Taylor received four wounds, but the prophet and Dr. Willard Richards were as yet untouched. The door was soon forced open, however, when Smith, though now severely wounded, sought to escape through the open window. But the relentless mob was below as well as around him, and while clinging to the sill a discharge of musketry brought him headlong to the ground, exclaiming "O Lord, my God." To make their work doubly sure he was placed against a well-curb and riddled with balls.

Thus perished one of the most conspicuous figures in the first half of the present century of American history. His mental capacity was larger than most of his hostile biographers have been willing to concede. His character presented many incongruities. While endowed with a masterful will, he was dominated by no less powerful passions; and while his faith in his own powers as a seer and leader of men was unquestionably strong, he lacked the sound judgment necessary to enable him to reap the full fruition of his hopes and schemes. His contemporaries pronounced him coarse, ignorant, and unprincipled—a self-seeking impostor, the most charitable characterizing him as a deluded fanatic. But to his followers, who believed him a truly inspired prophet, he was an idol while living, and his memory yet remains an object of veneration. His assassination, while deplored by all good citizens, served to place him upon a pinnacle of fame which he could never have reached had his murderers left him to be overtaken by either judicial punishment or natural death.

The untimely and violent death of the Smiths, so far from putting an end to the existing difficulties between the Mormons and citizens, only served to aggravate them, and add to the already serious embarrassments of the governor. The unwelcome news of the breach of faith resulting in the catastrophe at Carthage reached his excellency when, having completed his visit at Nauvoo, he had proceeded about two miles on his return from that city.

Being satisfied that he could not with any hope of success place himself at the head of either the Mormon or anti-Mormon party, both of whom had violated the law, and who irreconcilably hated each other, he had determined to raise an independent force outside of either, upon whom he might rely to restore order and peace. With this end in view, after visiting Carthage, and reinstating Gen. Deming in command and quieting affairs there as best he could, he proceeded to Quincy. On the road to that city he heard of bodies of militia from the counties of Brown and McDonough who had been ordered out in his name, but without his knowledge, whose march to Carthage he countermanded, and who thereupon returned home.

In the meantime the antagonism between the "Saints" and

the Gentiles, as the Mormons called all those who disagreed with them, increased in bitterness and violence. A blind fanaticism, aggravated by a spirit of revenge for the killing of the prophet, on the one side, and the hatred of a mad and furious populace, already infuriated by the taste of blood, on the other, made all attempts toward reconciling the contending parties and terminating the internecine strife unavailing. Midnight attacks, the burning of houses, depredations by marauding bands, and retaliatory outrages, followed on either side in rapid succession. The days were filled with turmoil and the nights with terror, with the din of predatory warfare.

At length it was determined by the anti-Mormon leaders to make the effort to expel their hated foes from the State by force. Preparations were accordingly concluded in the fall of 1844 for the assembling of several thousand citizens on the pretext of a wolf-hunt, with arms, ammunition, and provisions, for a six-days campaign. The governor being advised of the movement, upon consultation with the attorney-general and others, directed Gen. John J. Hardin, and Cols. Baker, Meriman, and Weatherford, with a force of four hundred men, to proceed to Hancock County, for the purpose of repressing the disturbances. The governor complained that he was compelled to appeal to leading whigs for that assistance and support which his own political friends hesitated to render.

Upon the arrival of the State militia, the malcontents abandoned their intended raid, and those already collected dispersed. Attempts were made to apprehend some of the leading partisans who were accused of the murder of the Smiths, which ultimately resulted in their arrest or voluntary surrender. A travesty upon justice ensued in the form of their trial and acquittal in the summer of 1845. Such was the distracted condition of society in Hancock County at this time that the administration of the law, especially of the criminal code, was an impossibility. Indeed, the very forms of civil government had been superseded, law and order had ceased, and the community was practically in a state of anarchy.

In the winter of 1845–6, Gen. Hardin was once more called upon by the governor to aid in suppressing the disorders in the unruly district. Having raised a force of three hundred men, he

proceeded again to Carthage, where, after numerous attempts to bring the unnatural conflict to a close, an agreement was finally concluded by which the greater portion of the Mormons voluntarily bound themselves to remove from the State in the spring of 1846; and by the middle of May it was estimated that sixteen thousand had crossed the Mississippi on their way to the Rocky Mountains.

The anti-Mormons, however, were determined not to rest satisfied until the last one of their detested enemies had left the country. Contrary to a later agreement, those of the Mormons who remained, a sufficient number to control the result, voted at the August election; and feeling that they were under superior obligation to the democratic party for favors shown them, supported its ticket, and the more strikingly to evince their gratitude, it was claimed, they voted three or four times each for that party's candidate for congress. This mad course raised the anger of the whigs to fever heat. The service early in August of another writ upon some citizens of Nauvoo and their arrest by a special constable being again resisted, the *posse comitatus* was again called out, which soon numbered several hundred men. To meet this action, the Mormons, having sworn out writs for the arrest of leading Gentiles, summoned a *posse* of Mormons to execute these also. "Here," says Gov. Ford, "was writ against writ; constable against constable; law against law; and *posse* against *posse*."

While the respective factions were preparing for active operations, M. Brayman as the agent of the Governor proceeded in September to Nauvoo, and was successful in effecting an adjustment by which the Mormons agreed to surrender their arms, and remove from the State, in two months. But this was not satisfactory to a portion of the anti-Mormon force, and was rejected. Gen. Singleton, Col. Chittenden, and others of the anti-Mormon camp, disgusted at this determination, withdrew. Thereupon one Thomas S. Brockman, from Brown County, was placed in command. Gov. Ford describes the new leader as "a large, awkward, uncouth, ignorant, semi-barbarian, ambitious of office, and bent upon acquiring notoriety." However this may be, Brockman, on September 10, promptly marched his command, now numbering eight hundred, against the Mormon city.

The force of Mormons and their allies was about 250. The latter took up a position a mile east of the temple, and threw up some breastworks. Brockman stationed his *posse* about half a mile distant, and began the attack. Cannon and rifle balls filled the air for awhile, but at so safe a distance, and aimed with so little precision, that the resulting casualties were slight. Retiring on the second day for want of ammunition, he soon returned and resumed the attack, which continued for several days; the losses being, on the side of the Mormons, two killed and four wounded; and on the side of the Antis,' eleven wounded—one mortally.

The intervention of a deputation of citizens from Quincy, one hundred strong, put an end to the war. The Mormons were induced to submit to such terms as the *posse* chose to dictate. These were, without any mitigating conditions — to surrender their arms, and immediately remove from the State. The redoubtable Brockman, with his victorious command, now marched into the city with flying colors, to the admiration of a large crowd, and took possession. The leaders of the *posse* held despotic sway. They not only determined who should depart, and who remain, ordering the removal of many on a few hours notice, but also assumed to expel a portion of the new citizens, who had bought out the removing Mormons the previous spring.

The inhabitants were treated as those of a conquered city, and the proceedings culminated in leaving a company in possession, under whose autocratic domination it was placed. Their reign, however, was short, and the governor was highly commended, for sending a company from Springfield to Nauvoo, October 28, who reëstablished law and order, and restored to their homes some sixty families of expelled citizens.

The great body of Mormons who removed in the spring of 1846, after numerous hardships, wintered near Council Bluffs. In the spring they proceeded on their journey, having sent in advance a pioneer party in charge of Brigham Young. On July 21, 1847, they reached the valley of the Great Salt Lake, then a part of Mexico, where they once more established themselves, and where, and in the adjacent territories, they have since remained.

The assassination of Joseph Smith, and the expulsion of the Mormons from this State, including many thousands of innocent women and children, can not be justified on any principle of natural equity or just government. Their unwelcome presence, made so by the offensive conduct of their leaders, however intolerable, ought not to have subjected them, as a body, to evictional proceedings. High-handed and indefensible as these measures were, however, they proved to be beneficial to the Mormons rather than injurious. While what they claimed to be religious persecution bound them together more closely, it spread abroad their fame over the whole civilized world, bringing them in return sympathy and recruits.

Their subsequent history, with its story of unparalleled prosperity, their marvellous increase in numbers, wealth, and power, their controversy with the United States in reference to the allied questions of polygamy and local government, does not, however, fall within the scope of a history of this State, over which for a time their settlement cast a sombre shadow. These subjects are therefore relegated to the domain of the general historian.*

The war with Mexico, which was begun during the administration of Gov. Ford, being an event of national rather than of state importance, will be mentioned in these pages only so far as relates to the volunteers from Illinois, with a glance at their services in the field, and a brief summary of general results.

The annexation, on March 1, 1845, to the United States, of Texas, which formerly belonged to Mexico, and was still claimed as a part of its territory, was regarded by the latter republic as a virtual declaration of war between the two nations; and the occupation of the Rio Grande by Gen. Zachary Taylor, with an army four thousand strong, in March, 1846, under the direction of President Polk, was considered by the Mexicans as the actual commencement of hostilities.

* AUTHORITIES. — Ford's "History of Illinois;" "History of Mormonism," by E. D. Howe; "Rise and Progress of Mormonism," by P. Tucker; "History of the Mormons," by Samuel M. Smucker; "Life of Joseph Smith," by Edward W. Tullidge; "An Address to all Believers in Christ," by David Whitmer, 1881; "The Rocky Mountain Saints," by T. B. H. Stenhouse; two volumes of "Mormon Pamphlets," in the Chicago Historical Society; "The Mormon Bible;" "Manuscript of Solomon Spaulding and the Book of Mormon," by James H. Fairchild, in "Mag. of Western History," IV. 30.

On April 24, a party of sixty-three American dragoons under command of Capt. Seth B. Thornton, sent out to observe the movements of Gen. Mariano Arista, was surprised and attacked by a body of Mexican lancers, on the river Rio Grande, about thirty miles above Matamoras, and compelled to surrender after the loss of sixteen men. Three days after the intelligence of this disastrous collision had reached Washington, Congress, on May 13, passed an act declaring that by "the act of the Republic of Mexico" a state of war existed between that government and the United States; and authorizing the President to accept the services of 50,000 volunteers, and appropriating $10,000,000 to carry on the war. Illinois was called upon to furnish three regiments of infantry, for twelve months' service, for the raising of which Gov. Ford issued his call on May 25. The response was prompt and enthusiastic—the first to volunteer being Gen. John J. Hardin of Jacksonville. Thirty-five companies were reported to the governor in ten days, and as many more were asking to be accepted before these had been organized. The troops rendezvoused at Alton, under the direction of Judge James Shields, who, at that time commissioner of the land-office, had been appointed a brigadier-general. Here the organization of the different regiments was perfected, and they were mustered into the United States service by Col. afterward Gen. Sylvester Churchill.

Col. E. D. Baker, then a member of congress from the Springfield district, having been authorized to raise an additional regiment, had only to select the required number of companies from those already tendered, in order at once to fill its ranks.

Under a second call for troops on April 19, 1847, two additional regiments were organized and sent to the field from Illinois; being the First and Second in which the men were enlisted to serve during the war, but generally denominated the Fifth and Sixth.

Independent companies were also organized and accepted—commanded by Captains Adam Dunlap of Schuyler County; Wyatt B. Stapp of Warren County; Michael K. Lawler of Shawneetown; and Josiah Little; besides these about 150 Illinoisans enlisted in the regular army.


Thomas Ford
Aug. C. French
E. W. Baker
Jas. Shields
F. T. Montgomery
Chicago

OFFICERS OF ILLINOIS VOLUNTEERS IN MEXICAN WAR:

FIRST REGIMENT (12 months); served from June, 1846, to June 17, 1847:

COLONELS

John J. Hardin, killed at Buena Vista.
William Weatherford, from Feb. 26.

LIEUT.-COLONELS

William Weatherford.
William B. Warren, from Feb. 26.

MAJORS

William B. Warren.
William A. Richardson, from Feb. 26.

ADJUTANTS

Benjamin M. Prentiss, promoted.
William H. L. Wallace, from Sept. '46.

SURGEONS

James H. White, transferred.
C. Payton.

QUARTERMASTERS

John Scanland.
William Erwin.

CAPTAINS

F	Albion T. Crow.	Jo Daviess
C	Noah Fry.	Greene
D	John L. McConnell.	Morgan
A	James D. Morgan, Feb. '47.	Adams
H	Samuel Montgomery.	Scott
K	Lyman Mower.	Cook
I	Benj. M. Prentiss, Sept. '46.	Adams
E	Wm. A. Richardson, pro.	Schuyler
E	Geo. W. Robertson, Feb. '47.	Schuyler
B	Michael P. Smith, Nov. '46.	Cook
B	Elisha Wells.	Cook
G	William J. Wyatt.	Morgan
D	Jacob W. Zabriskie, killed at Buena Vista.	Morgan

FIRST LIEUTENANTS

D	Samuel R. Black.
K	William Erwin, A. A. Q. M.
H	Hezekiah Evans, wounded at B. V.
	Wm. Y. Henry, adjt. to Warren's bat.
B	Patrick Higgins.
I	Edmund S. Holbrook.
H	Bryan R. Houghton, killed at B. V.
D	John L. McConnell, pro.
E	Allen Persinger.
I	Benjamin M. Prentiss, pro.
C	William C. Rainey.
E	George W. Robertson, pro.
B	Michael P. Smith, pro.
E	John Scanland, A. A. Q. M.
G	James H. Weatherford.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS

F	Robert C. Buzan.
C	Solomon S. Chester.
B	William A. Clark.
A	Geo. T. M. Davis, aid to Gen. Shields.
D	James E. Dunlap.
A	James Evans.
H	Thomas H. Flynn.
D	Nathan D. Hatfield.
D	John L. McConnell, pro., wounded at Buena Vista.
E	John T. May.
K	Matthew Moran.
E	George S. Myers.
K	Samuel S. Parsons.
I	John Reddick.
H	Thomas R. Roberts.
F	Francis Ryan.
I	William H. L. Wallace, adjutant.
C	Joshua C. Winters.
G	James M. Wood.
G	Isaac S. Wright.
B	E. B. Zabriskie, transf., aid to Shields.

SECOND REGIMENT (12 months); served from June, 1846, to June 18, 1847:

COLONEL

William H. Bissell.

LIEUT.-COLONEL

James L. D. Morrison.

MAJOR

Xerxes F. Trail.

ADJUTANT

Augustus G. Whitesides, wounded at B. V.

SURGEON

Edward B. Price.

QUARTERMASTER

George W. Prickett.

CAPTAINS

C	James W. Baker, wounded at B. V.	
A	Elzey C. Coffey, wounded at Buena Vista.	Washington
B	Anderson P. Corder, from Feb. '47.	
F	John S. Hacker.	Union
G	Joseph K. Lemen.	St. Clair
E	Peter Lott, after Sept. 14.	Madison
I	Maddison Miller.	Monroe
H	Julius Raith.	St. Clair
K	Charles L. Starbuck, from Feb. '47.	
B	Henry L. Webb, resigned Nov. '46.	
D	Erastus Wheeler.	Madison
K	William Woodard, killed at B. V.	

FIRST LIEUTENANTS

B John Bartleson, killed at Buena Vista.
F Sidney S. Condon.
C Turner R. DeButts.
K Nathaniel B. Dilhorn.
C Edward F. Fletcher, killed at B. V.
G Jacob C. Hinckley, act'g adjutant.
A Harvey Nevill.
H Nathaniel Niles, transf. to Texas co.
D George W. Prickett, A. A.
E John A. Prickett, wounded at B. V.
B John W. Rigby.
I Augustus G. Whiteside, adjutant.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS

B Aaron Atherton, killed at Buena Vista
C John Brown, wounded at Buena Vista
E James Catron.
A Jackson Dennis.
H Adolphus Engleman, w'nded at B. V.
C Rodney Ferguson, killed at B. V.
D Joel Foster.
B James M. Gaunt.
F Alfonso Grammar.
B Timothy Kelly, killed at Buena Vista.
G Gilbert P. McFarland, act'g adjutant.
E Aston Madeira.
F Joseph Martin.
G Andrew J. Miller.
B William Price, killed at Buena Vista.
K John D. Rees.
D William B. Reynolds.
C Lauriston Robbins, killed at B. V.
A Allan B. Rountree, killed at B. V.
A William B. Rountree.
Isaac N. Selby, died at San Antonio, Dec. 7, '46.
C James Smith.
K Charles L. Starbuck, pro.
C James C. Steel, killed at Buena Vista.
H Louis Stock.
B William W. Tate.
I James H. Waddle.
K Nichodemus West, wounded at B. V.
I John L. Wilson.

THIRD REGIMENT (12 months); served from July, 1846, to May 25, 1847:

COLONEL

Ferris Foreman.

LIEUT.-COLONEL

William W. Wiley.

MAJOR

Samuel D. Marshall.

ADJUTANTS

James T. B. Stapp, resigned.
Charles Everett, after Sept. '46.

SURGEONS

James Mahan. J. Oneal.

QUARTERMASTERS

Nathaniel Parker. John S. Bradford.

CAPTAINS

D William W. Bishop. Coles
F John A. Campbell.
B James Freeman. Shelby
I Jeduthan P. Hardy.
H Stephen G. Hicks. Jefferson
G Michael K. Lawler. Gallatin
C James C. McAdams, Bond
died at Matamoras, Jan. 4, '47.
K Theodore McGinniss. Pope
E Benjamin E. Sellers.
A Philip Stout. Fayette

FIRST LIEUTENANTS

D John J. Adams.
A James Boothe.
H Lewis F. Casey, resigned Nov. 1, '46.
I Charles Coker, resigned Oct. '46.
F Samuel Hooper.
E James M. Hubbard, res. Nov. '46.
I E. A. Lasater, promoted.
F Jacob H. Love, died at Camargo, Oct. 5, '46.
E Samuel G. McAdams.
B W. L. McNeil, com'ding company.
F Ephraim Merritt, res. Nov. 28, '46.
G Alex. W. Pool, resigned Oct. '46.
G Samuel L. M. Proctor.
C Thomas Rose, com'ding company, severely wounded at Cerro Gordo.
A J. T. B. Stapp, resigned Sept. 1, '46.
H William A. Thomas.
K George W. Walker.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS

C John Burk.
C John Corlew.
I W. C. Coons, resigned Nov. '46.
D Henry C. Dunbar.
A Charles Everett, jr., adjutant.
B David Evey.
K Green B. Field.
A Cyrus Hall.
D Charles E. Jones, died at St. Louis, Mar. 4, '47.
H Thomas S. Livingston.
K James McDonald.
G James S. Rearden.
E Isaac Redfearn.
I John I. Ritchie.
G William Stricklin, resigned Oct. '46.
Samuel J. R. Wilson, res. Aug. '46.

FOURTH REGIMENT (12 months); served from July, 1846, to May 29, 1847:

COLONEL

Edward Dickinson Baker.

LIEUT.-COLONEL

John Moore.

MAJOR

Thomas L. Harris.

ADJUTANT

William B. Fondey.

QUARTERMASTERS

James A. Barrett. Joel S. Post.

CAPTAINS

B Garrett Elkin. McLean
K John C. Hurt. Logan
G Edward Jones. Tazewell
H John S. McConkey. Edgar
D Achilles Morris, Sangamon
died at Tampico, Feb. 15, '47.
E Daniel Newcomb. DeWitt
C Isaac C. Pugh, act'g field off'r. Macon
H Horatio E. Roberts. Sangamon
I Lewis W. Ross. Fulton
F Asa D. Wright.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS

A William T. Barrett.
George W. Cowardan, killed at Cerro Gordo.
G Leonard A. Knott, died May 27, '47.
Richard Murphy, mortally wounded at Cerro Gordo; died Apr. 20, '47.
C Richard J. Oglesby, com'd'g company.
K Leonard F. Ross, com'd'g company.
F Robert C. Scott, wounded at Cerro G.
Geo. W. Stipp, resigned Aug. 1, '46.
B Andrew J. Wallace, died at Camargo, Oct. 6, '46.
B James M. Withers, res. Oct. 20, '46.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS

H John Washington S. Alexander.
A John S. Bradford, ass't commissary, after Aug. '46.
K David A. Brown.
D Alfred C. Campbell, com'd'g comp'y.
B Wm. L. Duncan, com'd'g company.
A William B. Fondey, adjutant.
D John D. Foster.
C Anderson Froman, wounded at C. G.
Benjamin Howard, wounded at C. G.
F Sheldon L. Johnson, dangerously wounded at Cerro Gordo.
E Charles Maltby, wounded at C. G.
C John P. Post.
K Jas. L. Sharp, resigned May, '47.
H Albert F. Shaw.
G William A. Tinney, com'd'g company after Dec. '46.
Elias B. Zabriskie, trans. to Hardin's regiment.

FIFTH REGIMENT (1st for the war); served from June 8, 1847, to Oct. 16, 1848:

COLONEL

Edward W. B. Newby.

LIEUT.-COLONEL

Henderson P. Boyakin.

MAJOR

Israel B. Donaldson.

ADJUTANT

William H. Snyder.

SURGEONS

Daniel Turney.
James D. Robinson, assistant.

QUARTERMASTER

Richard N. Hamilton.

CAPTAINS

I John H. Adams, promoted, from July, '47. Shelby and Moultrie
A Thomas Bond. Clinton
B John M. Cunningham. Williamson
H James Hampton. Jackson
E George W. Hook. St. Clair
K Wm. Kinman, from June, '47. Pike
F Thomas B. Kinney. Cook
D John C. Moses. Brown
I Franklin Niles, d. in Ill., July 24, '47.
G Henry J. Reed. LaSalle
C Vantrump Turner. Marion

FIRST LIEUTENANTS

I John H. Adams, pro.
K Manonah T. Bostwick.
B William M. Eubanks, promoted.
B Benjamin F. Furlong, disch. by res.
C Isham N. Haynie.
D George A. Keith.
G Riley Madison.
F Alvan V. Morey.
H James I. Provost.
A Henry Richardson.
A John B. Roper, resigned May 20, '48.
E William H. Snyder, adjutant.
I Aaron D. Treadway.
F Murray Floyd Tuley, res. Aug. 15, '48.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS

D Samuel B. Alexander.
E Robert Beer, promoted.
I Jacob Brott.
E John T. Damron, died at Santa Fe, [Dec. 24, '47.
D James H. Easly.
A Levi Edmonds.
F Richard N. Hamilton, quartermaster.
K Constantine Hicks, susp. and res.
K R. E. Hicks, susp. and res.
B Robert M. Hundley.
F James M. Hunt.
A Alexander H. Johnson.
K William Kinman, pro.
F John A. Knights.
H John Alex. Logan.
A Enoch Luckey.
G Simon Lundry.
I Thomas McDowell.
C Benjamin F. Marshall.
B Daniel R. Pulley.
G James Tebay.
H James Willis.
C Levi Wright.

SIXTH REGIMENT (2d for the war); served from Aug. 3, 1847, to July 25, 1848:

COLONEL

James Collins.

LIEUT.-COLONEL

Stephen G. Hicks, pro. from Forman's regiment.

MAJOR

Thomas S. Livingston.

ADJUTANTS

Henry S. Fitch, pro. James H. Sampson.

SURGEON

John L. Miller.

QUARTERMASTERS

Elisha Lewis. Lewis A. Norton.

CAPTAINS

E David C. Berry.
A James Bowman, died at Jalapa, Dec. 28, '47.
D John Bristow.
H James Burns.
K John Ewing, d. at Tampico, Oct. 3, '47.
D Henry S. Fitch, Feb. '48.
I Edward E. Harvey, died at Puebla, Mar. 19, '48.
C Harvey Lee.
K Thomas J. Mooneyham, 1st lieut. to April, '48.
G John M. Moore.
James R. Pierce, died at Puebla, Mar. 28, '48.
A Levin H. Powell, from Jan. '48.
William Shepard.
I Sewell W. Smith, from March, '48.
B Calmes L. Wright.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS

A Eli D. Anderson, died at Vera Cruz, Sept. 11, '47.
E Lyman Andrews.
F John Bonney, died at San Juan, Sept. 21, '47.
E Sylvanus M. Goetchius.
D Henry W. Goode.
D John H. Hart.
A Jas. B. Hinde, sergt.-maj. to Jan. '48.
A Willis B. Holden, died at Jalapa, Jan. 2, '48.
B Bushrod B. Howard.
H Malachi Jenkins, died on Gulf, June 26, '48.
K Daniel Mooneyham.
I Lewis A. Norton.
E Thomas Oates, died at San Juan, Oct. 2, '47.
G Edward O'Melvany.
E Thomas D. Timony, died Apr. 16, '48.
F Frank Wheeler.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS

A Jabers J. Anderson.
F Thomas J. Andrews.
K William Bates.
H Marquis L. Burns.
D Lorenzo E. Carter.
I William George Conkling.
A Alonzo H. Cox.
C Jesse W. Curlee.
I Hugh Fullerton.
William Haywood.
C William J. Hawkins.
C Richard M. Hawkins, died at Puebla, Mar. 28, '48.
F Spencer H. Hill.
D Hampton Hunter.
H Isaac B. Jack.
G Austin James.
G Thomas James, jr.
A Jacob B. Keller, resigned.
Elisha Lewis, A. Q. M. and com.
H James R. Lynch, died at Vera Cruz, Sept. 12, '47.
K William P. Maddox, died at Puebla, Mar. 20, '48.
K John H. Mulkey.
A Hezekiah B. Newby, d. at National Bridge, Sept. 16, '47.
B William A. Poillon.
B James H. Sampson, adjutant.
F Lorenzo D. VanHook.
H Geo. W. Walker, res. Dec. 17, '47.
D John Wyatt, resigned.

INDEPENDENT COMPANIES OF ILLINOIS MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS FOR THE WAR:

FIRST, served (with Brig.-Gen. John E. Wool) from May 21, '47, to Nov. 7, '48:

CAPTAIN
Adam S. Dunlap.

FIRST LIEUTENANT
Samuel Lambert.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS
Simon Doyle. Calvin Jackson.

SECOND, served (at Perote, Mex.) from Aug. 6, 1847, to July 26, 1848:

CAPTAIN
Wyatt B. Stapp.

FIRST LIEUTENANT
George C. Lamphere.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS
John G. Fonda. John M. Mitchell.
George W. Palmer, resigned.

THIRD, served (with Brig.-Gen. Wool) from Aug. 13, 1847, to Oct. 26, 1848:

CAPTAIN
Michael K. Lawler.

FIRST LIEUTENANT
Walter S. Clark.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS
Sam'l L. M. Proctor. John G. Ridgway.

FOURTH, served (at Rio Frio, Mexico) from Sept. 13, 1847, to July 25, 1848:

CAPTAIN
Josiah Littell.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS
Charles P. Hazard, died Oct. '47.
Thomas S. Buck.

SECOND LIEUTENANTS
Josiah Caswell, jr. Robert S. Green.

The opening battle of the war was that of Palo Alto, May 8, 1846, and the struggle was virtually ended with the surrender of the City of Mexico, Sept. 16, 1847. The troops from Illinois left Alton between July 17 and 22, and arrived in Mexico early in August. The First and Second regiments, commanded respectively by Colonels John J. Hardin and Wm. H. Bissell, were attached to the army of the centre under Gen. Taylor. They participated in the well-fought field of Buena Vista, Feb. 23, 1847. The battle lasted the entire day, the Mexican army of 20,000 commanded by Gen. Santa-Anna, being opposed only by 4500 Americans. The volunteers behaved like veterans, and it was to their distinguished valor and stubborn resistance of repeated charges by overwhelming numbers, that Gen. Taylor owed his success in holding the field at the close of the day's bloody conflict. Gen. Taylor, in his report of the battle, refers to the services of the Illinois troops as follows: "The First and Second Illinois, and the Kentucky regiments served immediately under my eye, and I bear a willing testimony to their excellent conduct throughout the day. The spirit and gallantry with which the First Illinois and Second Kentucky engaged the enemy in the morning, restored confidence to that part of the field, while the list of casualties will show how much these

three regiments suffered in sustaining the heavy charge of the enemy in the afternoon. In this last conflict we had the misfortune to sustain a very heavy loss. Colonels Hardin, McKee, and Lieut.-Colonel Clay fell at this time, while gallantly leading their commands. * * * Col. Bissell, the only surviving colonel of the three regiments, merits notice for his coolness and bravery on this occasion." He also makes honorable mention of Lieut.-Col. Weatherford, and Maj. Warren of the First, and of Lieut.-Col. Morrison, Maj. Trail, and Adjutant Whiteside of the Second, regiments. The loss of the Americans was, 264 killed, 450 wounded, and 26 missing; that of the Mexicans was 2500. The First regiment lost 29 killed, 16 wounded; the Second, 62 killed, 69 wounded. Among those of the First were: its gallant colonel, Capt. Jacob W. Zabriskie, and Lieut. Bryan R. Houghton, a young lawyer of Scott County. In the Second fell Capt. William Woodward and Lieuts. Edward F. Fletcher, John Bartleson, Rodney Ferguson, Aaron Atherton, Lauriston Robbins, Allan B. Rountree, William Price, Timothy Kelley, and James C. Steel.

Col. Hardin fell in withstanding the last desperate charge of the Mexican reserve. He was the son of Martin D. Hardin, a distinguished soldier and statesman of Kentucky, in which state he was born, at Frankfort, Jan. 6, 1810. He was educated at Transylvania University, and removed to Jacksonville in 1830, where he entered upon a successful practice of the law. He was a member of the 10th, 11th, and 12th general assemblies, and represented the Springfield district in the 28th congress, 1843–5. He was the leading whig of his State at the time of his death, and no one in it had brigher prospects before him than he. He was warm-hearted and public spirited, popular in his manners, an able lawyer, a speaker of rare power, and a christian gentleman. His remains were brought home and finally laid to rest at Jacksonville in July.

The Third and Fourth regiments, commanded respectively by Cols. Forman and Baker, were in the brigade of Gen. Shields and participated in the movement against Vera Cruz, and thereafter in the campaign against the City of Mexico. Both of these regiments distinguished themselves in the battle of Cerro Gordo, which was fought under the eye of Gen. Scott, April 18, 1847.

In making an attack upon a battery, Gen. Shields, while leading his command, fell severely, and as was supposed at the time, mortally, wounded. Col. Baker, succeeding to the command of the brigade, gallantly completed the charge and routed the enemy. In his report, honorable mention is made of Col. Forman, Maj. Harris, Capt. Post, Adjt. Fondey, Lieuts. Hammond, and Geo. T. M. Davis, for their cool and gallant conduct. The loss of the Third regiment in killed and wounded was 16, that of the Fourth 48, among the killed in the latter being Lieuts. Richard Murphy and Geo. W. Cowardan.

Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson, in command of the volunteers, in his report refers in this complimentary language to these regiments and their officers: "The enemy's lines were charged with spirit and success by the Third and Fourth Illinois, and the New-York regiment under their respective commanders, Cols. Forman and Burnett, and Maj. Harris. * * The attention of the general-in-chief is particularly called to the gallantry of Brig.-Gens. Pillow and Shields, who were both wounded at the head of their respective brigades; and to Col. Baker, who led Shields' brigade during a severe part of the action and during the pursuit; and Lieut. G. T. M. Davis, *aide-de-camp* to Shields' brigade."

Their term of enlistment having expired, these two regiments were mustered out of service at New Orleans, May 25, and the First and Second regiments at Camargo, June 17, 1847.

The Fifth regiment under Col. Newby, left Alton June 14, for Fort Leavenworth, whence it was ordered to Santa Fé. This regiment suffered severely from hard marches and exposure, and did good service, especially against the Indians, but was not called upon to encounter the enemy, the war being about over when it reached its destination.

When the regiment was mustered out of service by Gen. Churchill at Alton, Oct. 18, 1848, he spoke of it as follows:

"It is with much reluctance that I award to any soldiers more credit for good, orderly, and soldier-like conduct than I have heretofore ascribed to the regiments commanded by the lamented Col. Hardin, and the gallant Col. Bissell; but I feel constrained by a sense of justice to say, that I have never in my life mustered a regiment superior in sobriety and good order and conduct to that I have just been engaged in mustering out of the service. Both officers and men can equal the finest discipline found amongst old regulars."

The Sixth regiment, under Col. James Collins, was ordered to Mexico. At New Orleans it was divided, one battalion, in command of the colonel, being sent to Vera Cruz, and the other, under Lieut.-Col. Hicks, being ordered to Tampico. Excepting some skirmishes with *guerillas*, neither of these battalions were engaged in the field, but their losses through sickness and death were severe. The regiment was mustered out July 25, 1848. The independent companies, which rendered valuable service against scouting parties and *guerillas*, and in garrison, were mustered out as follows: Capts. Stapps's and Little's companies July 25 and 26; Capt. Lawler's Oct. 26; and Dunlap's Nov. 7, 1848.

Among the volunteers from Illinois whose military service began in the Mexican War, and who, although not heretofore personally named, first flashed their sword-blades against their country's foes in the land of the Aztecs, and who afterward attained proud distinction in the War of the Rebellion were, John A. Logan, Richard J. Oglesby, Benj. M. Prentiss, James D. Morgan, W. H. L. Wallace, Stephen G. Hicks, Michael K. Lawler, Leonard F. Ross, Isham N. Hayne, John Morrill, T. Lyle Dickey, John A. Prickett, Dudley Wickersham, Isaac C. Pugh, John P. Post, Nathaniel Niles, Adolph Engleman, James S. Reardon, John S. Bradford, Daniel G. Burr, Wm. J. Wyatt, William R. Morrison, William H. Snyder, William B. Fonday, Samuel D. Marshall, Julius Raith, Jonathan C. Winters, Thomas H. Flynn.

Many other names might be mentioned of those who subsequently became distinguished in public life; among them, Wm. A. Richardson, Peter Lott, John S. Hacker, Murray F. Tuley, Charles C. P. Holden, a sergeant in the Fifth regiment, and Capt. J. W. Hartley — the latter two of whom are worthy of special mention for the part they have taken in maintaining the *esprit du corps* of their old companions by keeping alive the interest in their annual re-unions. Mr. Holden in particular is entitled to credit for the publication of many valuable historical papers relating to the war and the services of his regiment in the field.

The total strength of our army in Mexico was 116,321, of which number 73,776 were volunteers, chiefly from the Western

and Southern States. The actual number in service in Mexico, at any one time, however, did not exceed 85,000.*

The losses in the army from June 1, 1846, to Jan. 1, 1848, as reported by the adjutant-general, were as follows: discharged from disability, 5432; killed in battle, 1049; died of wounds, 508; died of disease, 5987; deserted, 4925—total 17,906. If we add to these numbers the subsequent losses through sickness, and the 3000 volunteers who disappeared without being accounted for, the number would probably be swelled to 25,000, of whom 20,000 were supposed to have died.† Much the heaviest portion of this loss fell upon the regular army. The total number

* Table showing the number of men and casualties in the regular and volunteer forces during the war with Mexico:

STATE	STRENGTH	KILLED	DIED OF WOUNDS	WOUNDED
Regular Army, including Marines,	42,545	536	408	2102
Volunteers—Alabama,	3,026	——	——	——
Arkansas,	1,323	19	2	32
California,	571	——	——	——
Florida,	370	——	——	——
Georgia,	2,132	6	——	8
Illinois,	6,123	86	12	160
Indiana,	4,585	47	——	92
Iowa,	253	——	——	——
Kentucky,	4,842	78	4	105
Louisiana,	7,947	13	2	8
Maryland and D. C.,	1,355	8	3	21
Massachusetts,	1,057	——	——	——
Michigan,	1,103	——	——	——
Mississippi,	2,423	54	4	108
Missouri,	7,016	20	3	46
New Jersey,	425	——	——	——
New York,	2,396	24	19	156
North Carolina,	935	——	——	——
Ohio,	5,536	18	——	39
Pennsylvania,	2,503	21	14	162
South Carolina,	1,077	30	26	216
Tennessee,	5,865	43	6	129
Texas,	8,018	42	4	29
Virginia,	1,320	——	——	4
Wisconsin,	146	——	——	——
Mormons,	585	——	——	——
Remustered,	844	4	1	3
Total,	116,321	1049	508	3420

† "The Mexican War," by Edward D. Mansfield.

of officers killed and wounded was about 450, of which number more than half belonged to the regular army.

The cost of the war in dollars and cents, including the value of land-warrants issued for pensions and the amount paid under the concluding treaty, was estimated at the time to be $166,500,000.

The material results of the war, through the treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo, were the recognition by the Mexican Republic of the southern boundary of Texas, annexed in 1845, and the addition to the United States of 522,568 square miles of territory, including the present states of California and Nevada, Arizona, except that portion acquired under the Gadsden purchase, New Mexico, west of the Rio Grande and north of the Gadsden purchase, Utah, all that portion of Colorado west of the Rocky Mountains, and the south-western portion of Wyoming. This imperial domain thus obtained—described at the time by those who were inclined to underestimate the acquisition as an untrodden, untenanted wilderness, hidden from the eye of civilization—a land of rocks and rattlesnakes—is larger than the original thirteen states and contains one sixth of the present area of the United States, excluding Alaska. It contains a population estimated at 1,200,000, and property valued at $1,500,000,000. The receipts of internal revenue from the states of California, Nevada, and Colorado, and the territories of Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona, from Sept. 1, 1862, to July, 1882, were $75,237,498; and the receipts in California from customs from 1850 to 1882 inclusive, were $156,873,255, which two sums greatly exceed any cost properly chargeable against the acquisition from Mexico. The mines of these states and territories have added to the wealth of the country nearly $1,800,000,000 in precious metals; if to this vast sum be added the value of other mineral and agricultural products, some idea of the material benefits accruing to the nation therefrom may be formed.

But stupendous as were the material results of the war, the political consequences were no less important. The annexation of Texas, which was the primal cause of the conflict, was a democratic measure; but had its far-reaching results been foreseen, the larger portion of that party, who so strenuously supported it, would have changed sides with an equal number of whigs who as vehemently opposed it.

Among the minor fruits of the war was the making of the political fortunes of a by no means inconsiderable number of aspiring young statesmen. The popular knee is always ready to bend in homage to heroism; to have "smelt powder," to have passed through the fiery smoke of battle, is a sure passport to favor; and when to a creditable military record is joined a fair share of native talent, the rough places in the path of success are made comparatively smooth. To expose the scars which the happy accident of a Mexican bullet had inflicted, opened many a door of preferment which otherwise would have remained forever closed to him who knocked for admission.

To illustrate the popular feeling in favor of the war spirit, and the odium attached to those who ranged themselves against it, the following story is told of Justin Butterfield, who had opposed the War of 1812 very greatly to the hindrance of his political aspirations. When the war with Mexico broke out some one inquired of him, being a whig, if he was opposed to that war. Remembering his former experience, he exclaimed, "No, sir; I oppose no wars. I opposed one war, and it ruined me. Henceforth I am for *war, pestilence, and famine!*" The whigs generally, while opposed to the measure which brought on the war, did not oppose its successful prosecution.

In Illinois, the following officers, who had made meritorious records in the war, some of whom had already served with ability in civil positions, were rapidly advanced in the race for civic honors on their return home, namely: Gen. Shields to the United-States senate, John Moore to the State treasurership, Col. Bissell, Majors Richardson and Harris, and Lieut. John A. Logan, to congress, and Lieut. R. J. Oglesby to the State senate.

Col. Baker, after his return, at first entertained some thought of running for governor, as the whig candidate; but perceiving the hopelessness of such a race, even with the prestige of his distinguished military record in his favor, he abandoned the idea, and decided to remove to the Galena district, where he was nominated and elected to congress in 1848.

Col. Baker combined within himself every attribute of a great orator. Of medium height, his figure was finely formed and well rounded. To a presence which would attract attention in

any crowd, was added a voice of rare melody and compass. His speeches abounded in flashes of wit, brilliant flights of genius, and touches of deep pathos, and were delivered with an inimitable ease and grace. The ability with which he held these great powers in hand was the most remarkable feature of his mental constitution. His efforts made upon the spur of the moment were characterized by as perfect purity of diction, and amplitude and logical arrangement of thought as though the midnight oil had been burned in their preparation.

Alike on the platform, in the court-room, or in legislative halls, his eloquence was irresistible. While lacking the solid learning of Hardin and the cogent reasoning powers of Lincoln, he excelled either in the rhetorical polish and classical elegance of his orations. This triumvirate of great men had been dissolved by the death of Hardin, and Lincoln was now left alone in the field of their former friendly rivalry. If Col. Baker was vain of his rare gifts, and if his business habits were careless and unmethodical, so manly was his bearing, such was the suavity of his demeanor, and such his generosity and frankness, that these weaknesses were regarded by his friends as but spots upon the sun.*

An important political result of the war was the elevation of its acknowledged hero, Gen. Zachary Taylor, to the presidency, through which was effected a radical change not only in the *personnel*, but also in the policy, of the national administration.

But the most far-reaching consequence of all was the renewed agitation in congress of that most inflammable of all subjects—the slavery question—arising upon the introduction of bills to organize newly acquired territories. Out of the controversies upon this subject, which had been legislatively laid to rest since 1821, sprang that sectional bitterness which ultimately culminated in the War of the Rebellion, and finally in the extirpation

* His subsequent career—his removal to California, his marvelous success as a lawyer on the Pacific coast, and his election to the United-States senate from Oregon—forms one of the most interesting and remarkable pages of biographical history; as his devotion to the Union in its hour of peril, and the self-sacrificing devotion which led to his early death form one of the saddest episodes in the annals of the late civil war. He was born in London, England, on Feb. 24, 1811, and fell, fighting for his adopted country, at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, 1861.

of human slavery from every square foot of territory over which floats the American flag.

Gov. Ford witnessed the expiration of his term of office with feelings of satisfaction, rather than of regret. His administration had been a stormy one, full of perplexing and embarrassing situations. And although, as he admits, he committed errors, and while he failed to display that energy, decision, and prompt action demanded at a critical period in the Hancock County disturbances, he could point with just pride to the part he had taken in restoring the public credit, and in placing the finances of the State upon a more satisfactory basis. Having devoted all his time and best energies to the discharge of public duties, more onerous than those which had devolved upon any of his predecessors, and having been unable to engage in any other business, and the meagre salary which he received not having been sufficient to support his family, he left the executive office a bankrupt.

He was the only governor of the State selected from the bench, and although he could scarcely hope to reassume his judicial position, he might begin again the practice of his profession for a living, which he did at Peoria; but did not meet with that encouragement and success which his undoubted ability deserved. His remaining years were therefore principally devoted to the preparation of a history of Illinois from 1818 to 1847. This is an invaluable contribution to the literature of the State. Without much regard to logical arrangement of subjects, it abounds with important statements of fact, and fairly bristles with original views relating to politics, politicians, and state-craft. In strength of expression and perspicuity of style, though not always sustained, it ranks with the standard histories of the country.* In describing his contemporaries, his criticisms are not confined to the members of his own party. He was a close observer of passing events, but his judgment of men, influenced as it was by his own strong feelings, was often obscured by prejudice, not infrequently ill-founded, and has

* When John Walters, M. P., proprietor of the *London Times*, visited Chicago, he asked Mr. John B. Drake, of the Grand Pacific Hotel, to procure him a copy of Ford's History, pronouncing it a remarkable work, and stated that he thought of having it reprinted in London.

been refuted by subsequent events. Indeed, in some instances, his strictures were so unsparing and severe, as to have been considered libelous by the publishers, and were omitted from the text. As a writer, however, he has not been excelled by any of those who have filled the executive chair.

With growing habits not faultless, his last days were beclouded with the gloom of poverty and ill-health. He died, leaving his family destitute, at Peoria, Nov. 3, 1850. The legislature of the following year appropriated $500 for the erection of a monument to his memory.

AUTHORITIES: "History of the Mexican War," by E. D. Mansfield; Gardners' "Dictionary of the Army of the United States;" "The Other Side" or a Mexican History of the War, translated by Alex. C. Ramsey; "Congressional and State Documents, and Reports;" "Papers," by Chas. C. P. Holden; "Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War," by William Jay.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Administration of Gov. French—Fifteenth General Assembly—Election of Douglas to the United-States Senate—Election of Auditor and other Officers—Laws—Progress.

THE August election of 1846 for governor, lieutenant-governor, and members of the general assembly, was the last held under the constitution of 1818.

The candidates for nomination before the democratic convention, which was held at Springfield, Feb. 10, were Lyman Trumbull, Augustus C. French, John Calhoun, Richard M. Young, Walter B. Scates, and Alfred W. Cavarly. The choice—in accordance with a line of precedents, which seemed almost to indicate a settled policy—fell upon him who had achieved least prominence as a party leader, and whose record as a public man had been least conspicuous. Upon the first ballot, Mr. Trumbull led with 56 votes, to 45 for French, 44 for Calhoun, 35 for Young and Scates each, and 20 for Cavarly. Both Trumbull and French steadily gained up to the third ballot, when their respective votes stood at 74 and 92. At this juncture, one by one, the other candidates withdrew, the last to retire being Calhoun. Trumbull, quickly perceiving that this action could not fail to injure his chances, followed the example of his competitors, upon which French, thus left in sole possession of a deserted field, was promptly declared the nominee.

Joseph B. Wells, a lawyer from Rock Island, was nominated for lieutenant-governor, likewise on the fourth ballot, his competitors being Lewis W. Ross, Wm. McMurtry, J. B. Hamilton, and W. W. Thompson.

The whigs had not hitherto held a State convention for the nomination of governor and lieutenant-governor, but this year it was determined to call one, which met at Peoria, June 8.

Thomas M. Kilpatrick of Scott County, received the nomination for governor, and Nathaniel G. Wilcox of Schuyler, for

lieutenant-governor. Kilpatrick was then serving his second term of four years in the State senate. He was born in Crawford County, Penn., June 1, 1807, and removed to Illinois in 1834. He was a potter by trade, but an apt and industrious student of public affairs; of a high cast of mind as a thinker, and a natural orator. There were few men in his own party who were equal to him on the stump, and there was no one in the opposite party who cared to meet him the second time. Gov. Ford spoke highly of his ability and services in supporting the financial measures of his administration; he also took a decided stand in favor of education, temperance, and the calling of a convention to amend the constitution.*

The result of the election was a foregone conclusion. The Mexican War, now under way, was a democratic measure, popular with the masses, and there was no withstanding the *furor* in its favor. There was no excitement and very little effort was made to stem the tide toward the democratic camp. Baker and Hardin were in the field, and the election of Lincoln to congress from the Sangamon district, over Peter Cartwright, was the only crumb of comfort which fell to the whigs.

The vote in the State stood for French 58,700, Kilpatrick 36,775, and 5112 for Richard Eells, the abolition candidate.

Gov. French was born in the town of Hill, New Hampshire, Aug. 2, 1808, and was the first "Yankee" elevated to the executive chair in this State. He was a lawyer by profession, enjoying a fair practice in Crawford County, where he resided. He had been a member of the tenth and eleventh general assemblies, and receiver of the land-office at Palestine. He had not distinguished himself in the legislature as a leader or speaker, and was but little known outside of his senatorial district; but he possessed those qualities of prudence, economy, good judgment, and integrity, which enabled him to fill the executive

* He emigrated to California in 1850, hoping to gain that worldly fortune which he had failed to find in Illinois; but meeting with poor success he returned in time to take part in the great political campaigns of 1858–60. When the war of the rebellion broke out, he raised a company, and was commissioned colonel of the 28th Regiment. He was killed at Shiloh, April 6, 1862. On the morning of that memorable day, against the remonstrance of his friends, he donned his uniform and rode at the head of his command, where he soon bravely fell in the thickest of the fight.

office with credit to himself and tended to the promotion of the best interests of the State at this time. He was of medium height, solidly built, of florid complexion, and plain, though agreeable, manners.

The fifteenth general assembly convened Dec. 7, 1846. The democrats controlled each house by a majority of over two to one. Among the "hold-over" senators were Messrs. Willis Allen, Boal, Cavarly, Constable, Dougherty, Edwards, Kilpatrick, Matteson, Webb. Norman B. Judd and Jacob C. Davis entered upon their second terms. Among the new senators were Thomas G. C. Davis, Joseph Gillespie, who was in the twelfth house, Josiah McRoberts, Anson S. Miller, Silas Noble, and Wm. Reddick.

The house was composed mostly of new members — there being but twenty-two, out of the one hundred and twenty-one, who had previously served in that body. Among these were John Reynolds, after an absence of eighteen years, Wm. B. Archer, Curtis Blakeman, Newton Cloud, U. F. Linder, Dr. John Logan, Stephen T. Logan, Wm. Pickering, Francis C. Sherman, and E. H. Starkweather.

Among the new members were Wm. F. DeWolf* of Madison County, James Herrington of Kane, Samuel S. Hayes, Dr. James M. Higgins of Pike County, Edward G. Miner,† and John B. Campbell of Scott, Isaac N. Morris, Joseph Morton, Dorice D. Shumway, Mark Skinner,‡ Rigdon B. Slocumb, Wm. Thomas, who had previously served in the senate, and Wm. H. Underwood.

Newton Cloud of Morgan County, who proved to be a popular and efficient presiding officer, was elected speaker of the house — the whigs voting for Stephen T. Logan — John Mc Donald clerk, Andrew J. Galloway engrossing and enrolling clerk, and John A. Wilson doorkeeper—the latter by acclamation. The officers elected in the senate were, Henry W. Moore

* He afterward removed to Chicago, where he has acceptably filled many responsible positions, and is still living, though an invalid, at an advanced age.

† Still living—an honored citizen—at the age of eighty years.

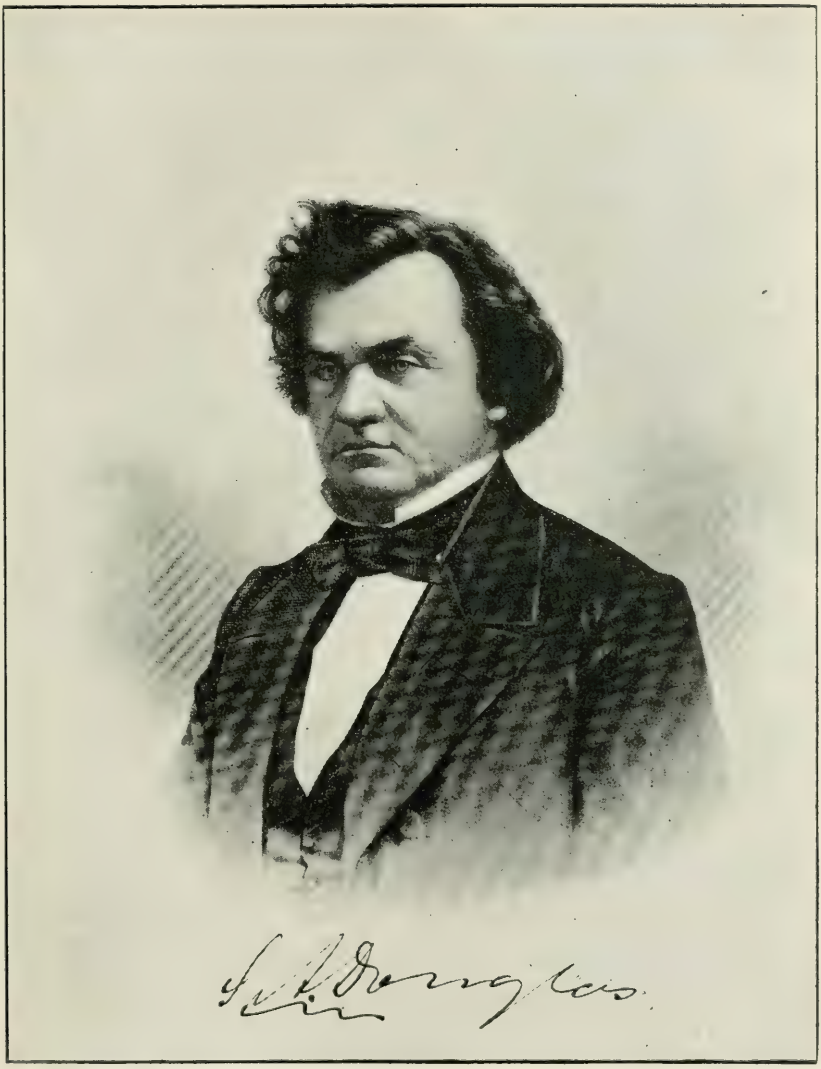
‡ Judge Skinner was born in Vermont, Sept. 13, 1813, and resided in Chicago from 1836 to the time of his death, Sept. 16, 1887. He was of high character, an eminent lawyer, and influential citizen.

secretary, Nelson D. Elwood assistant, and Wm. J. Cline sergeant-at-arms.

The farewell message of Gov. Ford was very brief, and was confined to a review of the financial side of his administration, in which the striking contrast between the condition of state affairs at its commencement and close, was clearly set forth.

The inaugural of Gov. French was a plain, business-like document. He cautioned the members against excessive legislation, and the too frequent changes of laws; recommended the refunding and payment of the public debt; favored the completion of the canal, and the reorganization of the militia system; called attention to the advisability of a more liberal, as well as more efficient, common-school law; referred to the obligation resting upon the State to make provision for the insane; and took ground against "incorporate banking."

But while the members listened with commendable attention to the address of the new governor, they were not yet ready to enter upon its practical consideration. The usual elections which devolved upon the legislature were of paramount importance. First, there was a United-States senator to elect in place of Judge Semple. As to a candidate for this place, however, there was very little difference of opinion among the democrats, Stephen A. Douglas being their almost unanimous choice. No man had ever grown so fast into popular favor in this State as he. Thirteen years before this he had come to Illinois, a beardless boy, without friends, fortune, or profession. But he possessed what was more valuable than these, a mental and physical constitution of the highest order. He read law, with a natural taste for it, was quickly admitted to the bar, and in less than two years was elected by the legislature prosecuting-attorney of Morgan County, over John J. Hardin. At Vandalia, where the contest took place, his comprehensive mind took in the objective political situation at once. He perceived that the democratic party, with which he cast his fortunes, lacked not only a leader, but also that essential pre-requisite to success—organization. To perfect this he bent his best energies. Taking into his counsels Ebenezer Peck and a few others, he soon brought order out of confusion, and thenceforth, under the convention sys-



tem adopted, there was no longer danger of losing an election by dissipating the party strength upon different candidates. He was under the average size, being only five feet four inches in height—just a foot shorter than Lincoln—but was compactly built and gracefully formed, with a finely developed head—larger than the average—covered with a thick growth of black hair. A never-failing flow of animal spirits imparted to manners naturally polite and winning a feature of whole-heartedness which made them irresistible. Although reared in the cold latitude of New England he took kindly to the easy ways of his adopted western home. His faculty of adapting himself to his surroundings, and his remarkable power as a conversationalist attached him to his friends, with whom he was ever popular, while toward his opponents his demeanor, though frank and courteous, was aggressive—even belligerent. His courage quailed before no danger, his energy faltered before no obstacle. In the ranks of his opponents he created as much consternation as did Napoleon in his campaign against Gen. Wurmser in Italy; while among the old fogies of his own party he was regarded with suspicion and distrust. John Reynolds and Breese and Ford made no attempt to disguise their dislike of the man and his methods, and growled their ineffectual discontent—Douglas having endeared himself to the people who admired him as a man and hung upon his words: for he had already manifested the possession of those oratorical powers which soon made him the champion of his party and the foremost stump athlete of his time.

In 1836, he was elected to the legislature as has been shown, and although he claimed to have been elected to congress in 1838, Stuart received the certificate. In 1840, he was appointed and confirmed secretary of state, and a few months thereafter elevated to the supreme court. But the bench was not to his taste, and in 1842 he ran for congress in the Quincy district against O. H. Browning. It was a remarkable contest. Browning was a Kentucky whig, who had served with distinguished ability in the legislatures of his native and adopted states. He was a fine lawyer, and was considered at the time perhaps the ablest speaker in the State. They took the stump

and canvassed the district together, speaking in all the principal towns. Browning, dressed in Kentucky jeans, appealed to the sectional predilections of a Kentucky and Western constituency; Douglas, a Vermont Yankee, took off his coat, rolled up his shirt sleeves, and presented the issues of the campaign to and as one of the common people. The result was that in a district which two years before had given only one majority for VanBuren, the "Little Giant" as he had come to be popularly designated, succeeded in obtaining a majority of 451. At the next congressional election he was again successful—this time running against D. M. Woodson of Greene County—by an increased majority. He made a strong impression in congress, by his effort in favor of refunding a fine imposed at New Orleans against Gen. Jackson, and soon occupied a front rank among its leading debaters. And now, at the early age of thirty-three years, he reached a still higher round in the ladder of his ambition toward the presidency by his election, on Dec. 13, to the United-States senate. The whigs again cast their merely complimentary vote for Cyrus Edwards.

The success of the judge was celebrated by a grand fête given in his honor at the state-house. A fine collation was spread in the senate chamber, where the most dainty eatables, with no lack of drinkables, were dispensed by liberal and admiring hands. The chamber of the house was converted into a ball-room, where those having a taste for the poetry of motion enjoyed themselves till morning.

On December 19, Gustavus Koerner, *vice* James Shields, resigned, and Norman H. Purple, *vice* Jesse B. Thomas, were elected justices of the supreme court; and David B. Campbell attorney-general — the whigs casting their vote for Elihu B. Washburne, this being his first appearance in state politics.

On December 23, Horace S. Cooley was nominated and confirmed secretary of state.

On January 2, Thomas H. Campbell was reëlected auditor of public accounts, and Milton Carpenter state treasurer, both by acclamation. January 19, Wm. A. Denning of Franklin County, was elected a member of the supreme court, *vice* Walter B. Scates, resigned; and on January 26, Jesse B. Thomas was again elected to the supreme court in place of Judge

Young, who resigned to take the position of commissioner of the general land-office.*

The fifteenth general assembly continued in session until March 1, and in contrast with its immediate predecessors was exceedingly quiet and orderly. The principal subjects of discussion were the bill providing for a convention to frame a constitution,† the new common school law, and the revenue laws. The Mexican War came in for its full share of political debate, strong resolutions in its favor being passed, to which the whigs succeeded in adding an endorsement of Gen. Taylor.

The school law—approaching very nearly the free system—contained 121 sections; authority was given the legal voters of any district to levy a tax to build school-houses, and support common schools.

The favorite mode of expression by this legislature was through joint resolutions, twenty-two of which — a greater number than by any other general assembly prior to 1869— were adopted. Among these was one relating to a geological and mineralogical survey of the State, and one instructing our senators and representatives in congress, in favor of a railroad from "Lake Michigan to the Pacific Ocean."

Other laws of general interest were enacted as follows: authorizing the sale of the Gallatin County salines; incorporating the University of Chicago; authorizing the sale of the Northern-Cross Railroad; "to incorporate the Illinois Literary and Historical Society;" "to establish the Illinois State Hospital for the Insane at Jacksonville;" authorizing a settlement

* After the election of Gen. Taylor, Judge Young made a strong effort to continue in the land-office, and had some influential whig support, as against Mr. Lincoln who was a candidate for the position, and who was generally endorsed by the whig members of congress. Young would have been re-appointed but for the fact that during the campaign he wrote a very severe article against Gen. Taylor and sent it to all the newspapers in Illinois, and on the copy he sent to Quincy, he stated at the bottom of the article in large letters "I wrote this. R. M. Y." Browning got hold of the article and sent it to Lincoln, who showed it to Gen. Taylor—that settled the pretentions of the judge in that direction. Through the influence of Daniel Webster, the land-office was given to Justin Butterfield of Chicago, (MS. of John Wentworth). Judge Young was elected clerk of the United-States house of representatives, (31st congress). He died at Washington in an insane asylum in 1853.

† The whole number of votes cast at the August election, when the calling of a convention was submitted, was 99,654; for a convention 58,339, against 23,013.

of the Macalister and Stebbins bonds; providing that all the lands sold by the United States should be subject to taxation as soon as sold—the restriction of five years having been removed by congress; "to authorize the refunding of the State debt;" "to establish district courts in the State of Illinois." This latter act was passed to meet not only the judicial complications which had occurred in Hancock County, but, and more directly, the disturbances which had more recently occurred in the southern portion of the State.

Outbreaks of the mob spirit—local revolts against the constituted authorities have, indeed, been of rather frequent occurrence in Illinois. In 1816–17, while yet a territory, a class of criminals—horse-thieves and counterfeiters—had become so numerous and powerful, including as it did many town and county officers, as to be able to prosecute their nefarious work with impunity. If any of them were arrested, their friends would connive at their escape, or, if tried, would succeed in procuring some of their number on the jury, who would be sure to prevent a conviction. What the government, through its weakness, was powerless to accomplish—the punishment of these bandits—was taken in hand by the citizens, who organized themselves into companies and proceeded on their own responsibility to run down, punish, or drive away those whom the ordinary administration of the law failed to reach. In a sparsely-settled country, where sessions of court were infrequent, these proceedings were not only winked at by the authorities, but were generally approved, as justifiable in the existing condition of civil affairs.

In 1831, a band of outlaws in Pope and Massac counties fortified themselves and defied the authorities to attack them. The challenge was accepted by the people, who stormed their fort, killed three of the beseiged, and made prisoners of the remainder.

In 1840, numerous and powerful bands of swindlers and knaves associated together for the purpose of horse stealing and counterfeiting in the counties of Ogle, Winnebago, Lee, and DeKalb. A few were arrested, but generally, through the aid of confederates upon the jury, perjured evidence, and changes of venue, they managed to avoid or escape that pun-

ishment they so justly deserved. The people once more "became a law unto themselves," and by whippings, banishments, and two or three capital executions, soon rid the country of the worst of these outlaws.

During the last year of Gov. Ford's administration, another rebellion, on a smaller scale, but characterized by equal violence as that in Hancock, broke out in Massac County. The arrest of a criminal for robbery led to disclosures by him, implicating a large number of persons who were banded together for the commission of crimes in that and surrounding counties. So extensive was the field of their operations and so great their numbers, that a large portion of the community formed themselves into a company of self-appointed regulators, who proceeded to notify the suspected parties to leave the county. At the August election, 1846, those opposed to these irregular measures succeeded in electing their candidates for sheriff and county clerk. The failure of the regulators at the polls had the effect of redoubling their energies as an organization. They seized many suspected persons, some of whom they caused to leave the county, others they punished, and others tortured into further confessions. Upon complaint of some of those who had thus suffered at their hands, leading regulators were arrested and put in jail, but were soon after rescued by their friends. The sheriff and county clerk were ordered to leave the country.

It was at this juncture that the interference of the governor was invoked. Gen. John T. Davis was ordered to investigate the state of affairs in the perturbed district, and, if necessary, to call upon the militia for assistance. He brought about an interview between representatives of the warring factions, and succeeded, as he supposed, in effecting a settlement of the differences between them; but he had no sooner left than hostilities were renewed. As the feud progressed, parties who at first stood aloof—including many from adjoining counties—became involved, not only through family connections, but also as partisans, on one side or the other, of the question of maintaining the supremacy of the law.

At the fall term of the circuit court, Judge Walter B. Scates presiding, indictments were found against several regulators,

who were arrested and sent to jail. The friends of the prisoners assembled, and threatened to release them and to lynch the judge. The sheriff summoned a *posse* to aid him in maintaining his authority; but so great was the intimidation of the inhabitants that only sixty responded, while the regulators marched into Metropolis City with a much larger opposing force, and, as a result, the sheriff's party surrendered, under promise of exemption from violence. The victors then liberated their friends, carried several of the sheriff's *posse* off with them as prisoners, some of whom, it was claimed, were put to death by drowning in the Ohio River. The sheriff and his friends were again notified to leave.

Another attempt by the governor to restore order, through Dr. Wm. J. Gibbs, failed of any other result than to leave the regulators masters of the field and stronger than ever. They proceeded to seize, try, and punish alleged offenders with a high hand. Other indictments of regulators and collisions between their friends and the "flat-heads," as the other side was called, followed, and other seizures and outrages rapidly succeeded each other until the meeting of the legislature.

Ordinary processes and legal proceedings had been found wholly ineffectual, because nearly the entire body of inhabitants had become interested on one side or the other.

The object of the passage of the law to establish district courts was, in effect, to provide for a change of venue by the State—to enable the judge to hold court in any county in his circuit, so that the administration of the law would not be obstructed by interested jurors or tainted with partisan feelings. The determination of the state authorities to interfere and restore order had a quieting effect for the time on all parties. But the same lawless spirit has since been frequently manifested in that locality to such a degree as to be difficult of control.

The revolutionary proceedings of mobs, unless summarily checked, afford an evidence of the weakness and inefficiency of the government; and while sometimes the midnight lynching of a depraved criminal is but the execution of a swifter justice than is possible by ordinary processes, and is felt to be excusable by the best citizens, lawlessness, when once countenanced and permitted to mark out its own path of administration, not

Table showing receipts and expenditures of the State of Illinois from Dec. 1, 1818, to Dec. 1, 1848:

YEARS. Dec. 1 to Dec. 1.	RECEIPTS			EXPENDITURES					
	From Taxes.	Special Sources.†	Totals.	General Assembly.	Executive.	Judiciary.	Special.	Totals.	State Debt.
1818–20	$43,362	$10,000*	$53,362	$17,284	$8,000*	$7,200	$3,171	$35,655	
1820–22	57,000*	5,000	62,226	14,966	6,940	7,932	17,306	47,145	
1822–24	65,309*	5,000	70,309	15,000*	42,000*	13,000*	24,868	79,868	
1824–26	60,304*	8,000	68,304*	41,008	20,834	16,128	29,812	107,782	
1826–28	70,219	5,996	76,215	23,296	27,288	13,580	26,035	90,119	
1828–30	70,396	16,751	87,147	16,984	25,123	9,676	32,264	84,047	
1830–32	88,218	18,680	106,898	15,932	53,952	9,323	40,163[1]	119,370	$150,000
1832–34	76,864	32,675	109,539	27,790	52,931	9,893	56,103[2]	146,717	267,000
1834–36	84,399	42,418	126,817	38,245	71,987	15,606	37,185	163,023	378,286
1836–38	87,196	62,023	147,970	97,167	53,978	15,925	136,863[3]	303,933	6,688,784
1838–40	128,382	39,125	167,507	155,841	74,261	14,575	244,120[4]	488,797	13,039,572
1840–42	285,200	20,084	305,284	82,432	65,452	26,695	199,822[5]	374,401	15,657,950
1842–44	230,648	141,783	372,431	91,658	75,955	25,688	141,211[6]	334,512	14,633,969
1844–46	361,981	19,454	381,435	69,897	108,505	26,372	129,654[7]	334,428	16,389,817
1846–48	584,010	59,884	643,894	78,527	79,125	34,242	442,802[8]	634,696	16,661,795

* Estimated. † Salines, Vandalia lots, bank dividends, licenses, State-house subscriptions, school and fund com'rs, from 1842–8.

[1] Including 31,328 interest paid.
[2] " 37,350 " and bank-paper funded and burnt.
[3] " 60,268 for new State-House and 51,716 interest.
[4] " 128,300 " " " 88,176 "
[5] " 36,885 " " " 127,448 "
[6] Including 100,534 interest on School, Col. and Sem. fund.
[7] " 49,661 " " " and 62,000 on debt.
[8] " 91,856 " " " 72,815 constitutional convention. 43,992 Mormon war. 234,139 int. on pub. debt.

The above table has been prepared from the best accessible data, and is believed to be substantially correct. As remarked by Gov. Edwards in his inaugural address of 1826, up to that time no report had been presented to the legislature which

only frequently results in the perpetration of fatal errors, whereby the innocent suffer instead of the guilty, but also leads to the subversion of all government.

The financial condition of the State under the constitution of 1818, as nearly as can be ascertained from the reports of the auditor, state treasurer, and governors' messages, is exhibited in convenient form in the foregoing table, which shows the receipts and expenditures, arranged biennially, to correspond with the several general assemblies, from the time of its organization.

The progress of the State during the first portion of this period has already been referred to. The growth in population had been steady and permanent, from 1835 to 1840, the increase being 206,207, about seventy per cent. From 1840 to 1845, notwithstanding the financial depression, and uninviting prospects for immigrants, there was an increase of 185,967, nearly forty per cent, the total population being 662,150. The State now had seven representatives in congress; and although it had not overtaken Indiana or Kentucky in this respect, it stood along-side of Maine, Alabama, and South Carolina. All the counties as now existing were organized except Kankakee, Douglas, and Ford.

Notwithstanding these evidences of healthy growth, Illinois at this period was in a crude and undeveloped condition. She had not yet come under the magic influence of the electric telegraph, nor of the steam railway, which she was soon to feel, and had received but little benefit from the inventive genius of the American mechanic. Chicago, already the largest city in the State, could boast only a population of 16,859. The next largest city was Quincy, reaching about 6000, with Galena and

exhibited anything like a distinct view of the amount chargeable on the respective branches of revenue, or of the aggregate amount of taxes that had accrued in any one year. And it may be added, that the manner of keeping the state accounts did not much improve for many years thereafter. Even as late as 1842, the auditor made two separate reports the same year which differed very widely in the statements of amounts received and expended. The amount received on account of the school, college, and seminary fund ($920,136) is not included in the amount of receipts except ($141,252) for the years 1842–8. It is a singular fact that under the constitution of 1818 the value of real and personal property in the State was not reported separately to the auditor, except from a few counties, nor even the aggregate values from most of the counties.

Peoria not far behind; while Springfield, the capital of the State, could only number 4000, and Jacksonville less than 3000. There were but five daily and 45 weekly papers published in the State. The total assessed value of real and personal property in 1839, as estimated by the auditor, was $58,889,529, and in 1847 had increased to $92,206,493; which latter amount is equal only to the present assessment in the five counties of LaSalle, Adams, Sangamon, McLean, and St. Clair; while that of Cook exceeds these early figures by fifty per cent.

But two of the State benevolent institutions had been established, and those on a small scale. The land was still plowed by the cast-iron plow with wooden mouldboard, the corn planted by hand, the golden grain gathered by sickle or cradle, threshed by flail or horsepower, and winnowed by hand.

The people in the country, numbering three-fourths of the population, still dressed in homespun and home-made clothing; and manufacturing, outside of the half-dozen cities, where a few infantile industries had been established, was confined to the blacksmith, the cabinet, chair, and wagon-maker.

END OF VOLUME ONE.

APPENDIX.

Ordinance of July 13, 1787.

An Ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio.

1. BE IT ORDAINED by the United States in Congress assembled, That the said territory, for the purpose of temporary government, be one district; subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

2. Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates both of resident and non-resident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to, and be distributed among their children, and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child or grandchild to take the share of their deceased parent in equal parts among them: and where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin, in equal degree; and among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parents' share; and there shall in no case, be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half-blood; saving in all cases to the widow of the intestate, her third part of the real estate for life, and one-third part of the personal estate; and this law relative to descent and dower, shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district. And until the governor and judges shall adopt laws as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her, in whom the estate may be, (being of full age,) and attested by three witnesses; and real estate may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed, and delivered, by the person, being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after, proper magistrates, courts, and registers shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery; saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, Saint Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs, now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

3. Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That there shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress: he shall reside in the district and have a freehold estate therein, in one thousand acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

4. There shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years, unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district and have a freehold estate therein, in five hundred acres of land, while

in the exercise of his office; it shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his executive department; and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings, every six months to the secretary of Congress. There shall also be appointed a court, to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

5. The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district, such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time, which laws shall be in force in the district, until the organization of the general assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but afterwards the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

6. The governor for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same, below the rank of general officers; all general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

7. Previous to the organization of the general assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same. After the general assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

8. For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper division thereof; and he shall proceed from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

9. So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of full age in the district, upon giving proofs thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships, to represent them in the general assembly; provided that, for every five hundred free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on, progressively, with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five; after which the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature; provided, that no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years; and in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land within the same; provided also, that a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the states, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

10. The representatives thus elected, shall serve for the term of two years; and in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue

a writ to the county or township for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

11. The general assembly, or legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress; any three of whom to be a quorum: and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected, the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together, and when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid: and whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to Congress; one of whom Congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term: And every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of council, the said house shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission as members of the council five years, unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council, and house of representatives shall have authority to make laws, in all cases, for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no bill or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve, the general assembly, when in his opinion it shall be expedient.

12. The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity, and of office; the governor before the president of Congress, and all other officers before the governor. As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and house assembled, in one room, shall have authority, by a joint ballot, to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting during this temporary government.

13. And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws, and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide, also, for the establishment of states, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original states, at as early a period as may be consistent with the general interest.

14. It is hereby ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact, between the original states and the people and states in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

ART. I. No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

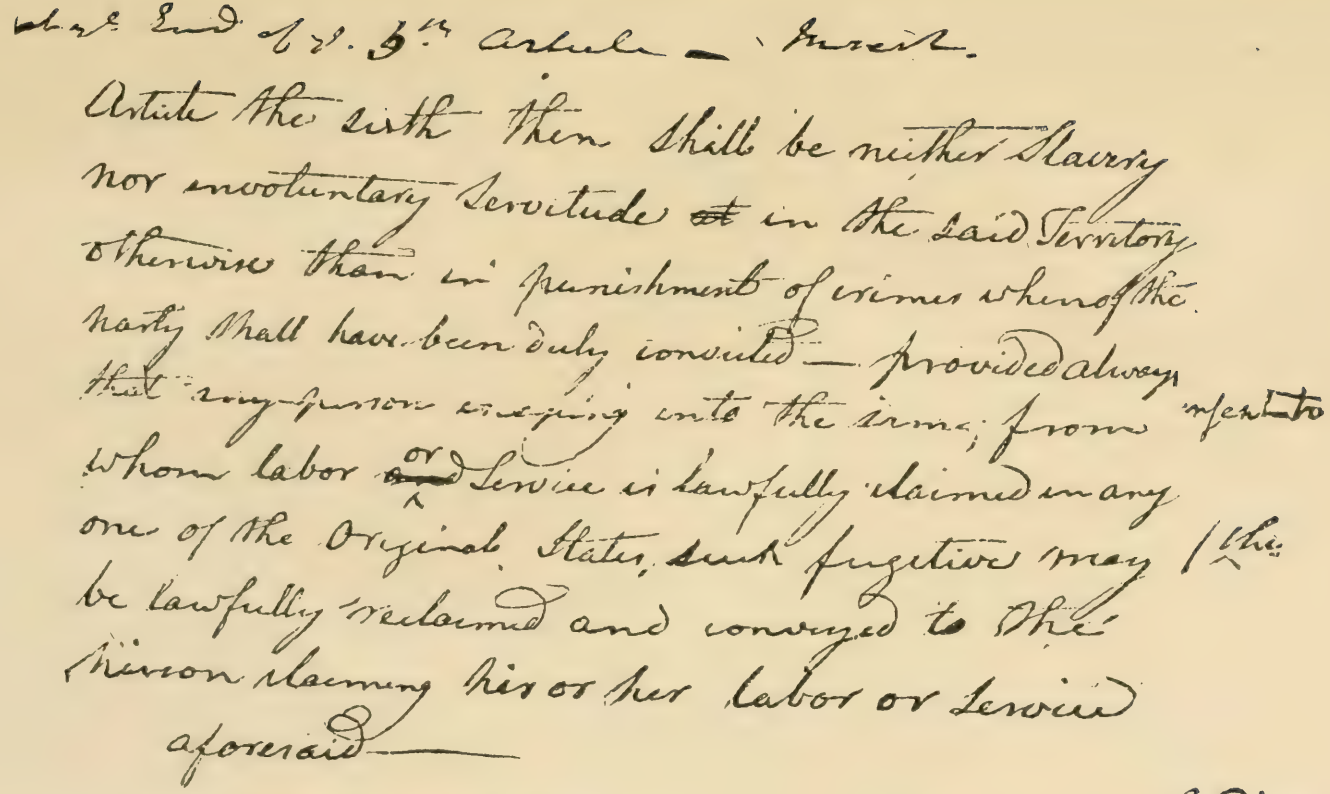
ART. II. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writs of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate represen-

tation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences, where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land, and should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with, or affect, private contracts or engagements, bona fide, and without fraud, previously formed.

ART. III. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time, be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

ART. IV. The said territory, and the states which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the articles of confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts, contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states; and the taxes for paying their proportion, shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislature of the district or districts, or new states, as in the original states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled. The legislatures of those districts, or new states, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary, for securing the title in such soil, to the bona-fide purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States, and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory, as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other states that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor.

ART. V. There shall be formed in the said territory not less than three, nor more than five states; and the boundaries of the states, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of session, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit: the western state in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio and Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincents, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle states shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash, from Post Vincents to the Ohio, by the Ohio, by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of


the End of the 5th article — Insert.

Article the sixth There shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary Servitude ~~et~~ in the said Territory otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted — provided always that any person escaping into the same; from whom labor ~~or~~ and Service is lawfully claimed in any one of the Original States, such fugitive may ~~I~~ the be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or Service aforesaid —

insert to

P. Dane

FAC-SIMILE OF "ARTICLE VI" OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787 IN HANDWRITING OF NATHAN DANE.

the Great Miami to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The eastern state shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: provided, however, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three states shall be subject so far to be altered, that, if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east-and-west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. And whenever any of the said states shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such state shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and state government; provided the constitution and government, so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the state than sixty thousand.

ART. VI. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be, and the same are hereby repealed and declared null and void. WM. GRAYSON, Chairman.

Done by the United States, in Congress assembled, the 13th day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1787, and of the Sovereignty and Independence the twelfth.

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795.

A treaty of peace between the United States of America, and the tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Miamis, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias.

TO put an end to a destructive war, to settle all controversies, and to restore harmony and friendly intercourse between the said United States and Indian tribes, Anthony Wayne, major general, commanding the army of the United States, and sole commissioner for the good purposes above mentioned, and the said tribes of Indians, by their sachems, chiefs, and warriors, met together at Greenville, the headquarters of the said army, have agreed on the following articles, which when ratified by the president, with the advice and consent of the senate of the United States, shall be binding on them and the said Indian tribes:

ART. I. Henceforth all hostilities shall cease; peace is hereby established, and shall be perpetual; and a friendly intercourse shall take place between the said United States and Indian tribes.

ART. II. All prisoners shall, on both sides, be restored. The Indians, prisoners

to the United States, shall be immediately set at liberty. The people of the United States, still remaining prisoners among the Indians, shall be delivered up in ninety days from the date hereof, to the general or commanding officer at Greenville, Fort Wayne, or Fort Defiance, and ten chiefs of the said Indian tribes shall remain at Greenville as hostages, until the delivery of the prisoners shall be effected.

ART. III. The general boundary line between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of Cuyahoga river, and run thence up the same to the portage, between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum, thence down that branch to the crossing-place above Fort Lawrence, thence westerly to a fork of that branch of the great Miami river, running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loramie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio, and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into lake Erie; thence a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence southwesterly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of Kentucky or Cuttawa river. And in consideration of the peace now established; of the goods formerly received from the United States; of those now to be delivered; and of the yearly delivery of goods now stipulated to be made hereafter; and to indemnify the United States for the injuries and expenses they have sustained during the war, the said Indian tribes do hereby cede and relinquish forever, all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the general boundary line now described; and these lands, or any part of them, shall never hereafter be made a cause or pretence, on the part of the said tribes or any of them, of war or injury to the United States, or any of the people thereof.

And for the same considerations, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for their accommodation, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land, to wit: 1. One piece of land six miles square, at or near Loramie's store, before mentioned. 2. One piece two miles square, at the head of the navigable water or landing, on the St. Mary's river, near Girty's town. 3. One piece six miles square, at the head of the navigable water of the Auglaize river. 4. One piece six miles square, at the confluence of the Auglaize and Miami rivers, where Fort Defiance now stands. 5. One piece six miles square, at or near the confluence of the rivers St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it. 6. One piece two miles square, on the Wabash river, at the end of the portage from the Miami of the lake, and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne. 7. One piece six miles square, at the Ouatanon, or old Wea towns, on the Wabash river. 8. One piece twelve miles square, at the British fort on the Miami of the lake, at the foot of the rapids. 9. One piece six miles square, at the mouth of the said river, where it empties into the lake. 10. One piece six miles square, upon Sandusky lake, where a fort formerly stood. 11. One two miles square, at the lower rapids of Sandusky river. 12. The post of Detroit, and all the land to the north, the west, and the south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments: and so much more land to be annexed to the district of Detroit, as shall be comprehended between the river Rosine on the south, lake St. Clair on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west end of lake Erie and Detroit river. 13. The post of Michilimackinac, and all the land on the island on which that post

stands, and the main land adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and a piece of land on the main to the north of the island, to measure six miles, on lake Huron, or the strait between lakes Huron and Michigan, and to extend three miles back from the water of the lake or strait; and also, the island De Bois Blanc, being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation. 14. One piece of land six miles square, at the mouth of Chicago river, emptying into the southwest end of lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood. 15. One piece twelve miles square, at or near the mouth of Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi. 16. One piece six miles square, at the old Piorias fort and village, near the south end of the Illinois lake, on said Illinois river. And whenever the United States shall think proper to survey and mark the boundaries of the lands hereby ceded to them, they shall give timely notice thereof to the said tribes of Indians, that they may appoint some of their wise chiefs to attend and see that the lines are run according to the terms of this treaty.

And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United States a free passage by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, along the chain of posts hereinbefore mentioned—that is to say, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, at or near Loramie's store, thence along said portage to the Saint Mary's, and down the same to Fort Wayne, and then down the Miami to lake Erie; again, from the commencement of the portage at or near Loramie's store along the portage from thence to the river Auglaize, and down the same to its junction with the Miami at Fort Defiance; again, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, to Sandusky river, and down the same to Sandusky bay and lake Erie, and from Sandusky to the post which shall be taken at or near the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the lake; and from thence to Detroit. Again, from the mouth of Chicago, to the commencement of the portage, between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois river to the Mississippi; also, from Fort Wayne, along the portage aforesaid, which leads to the Wabash, and then down the Wabash to the Ohio. And the said Indian tribes will also allow to the people of the United States, the free use of the harbors and mouths of rivers along the lakes adjoining the Indian lands, for sheltering vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes where necessary for their safety.

Art. IV. In consideration of the peace now established, and of the cessions and relinquishments of lands made in the preceding article by the said tribes of Indians, and to manifest the liberality of the United States, as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual, the United States relinquish their claims to all other Indian lands northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the Great Lakes and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed on by the United States and the king of Great Britain, in the treaty of peace made between them in the year 1783. But from this relinquishment by the United States, the following tracts of land are explicitly excepted. 1st. The tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres near the rapids of the river Ohio, which has been assigned to Gen. [G. R.] Clark, for the use of himself and his warriors. 2d. The post of St. Vincennes, on the river Wabash, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished. 3d. The lands at all other places in possession of the French people and other white settlers among them, of which the Indian title has been extinguished as mentioned in the third article. And, 4th. The post of Fort Massac toward the mouth of the Ohio. To which several parcels of land so excepted, the tribes relinguish all the title and claim which they or any of them may have.

And for the same considerations and with the same views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes a quantity of goods to the value of twenty thousand dollars, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge, and henceforward, every year, forever, the United States will deliver, at some convenient place northward of the river Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars—reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States where they shall be procured. The tribes to which those goods are to be annually delivered, and the proportions in which they are to be delivered are the following:

1st. To the Wyandots, the amount of one thousand dollars. 2d. To the Delawares, the amount of one thousand dollars. 3d. To the Shawnees, the amount of one thousand dollars. 4th. To the Miamis, the amount of one thousand dollars. 5th. To the Ottawas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 6th. To the Chippewas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 7th. To the Pottawatimas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 8th. And to the Kickapoo, Wea, Eel River, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskia tribes, the amount of five hundred dollars each.

Provided, that if either of the said tribes shall hereafter, at an annual delivery of their share of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils convenient for them, and in compensation to useful artificers who may reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit, the same shall, at the subsequent annual deliveries, be furnished accordingly.

ART. V. To prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States in the 4th article, it is now explicitly declared, that the meaning of that relinquishment is this: the Indian tribes who have a right to those lands, are quietly to enjoy them—hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who may intrude upon the same. And the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States, and no other power whatever.

ART. VI. If any citizen of the United States, or any other white person or persons, shall presume to settle upon the lands now relinquished by the United States, such citizen or other person shall be out of the protection of the United States; and the Indian tribes, on whose land the settlement shall be made, may drive off the settler, or punish him in such manner as they shall think fit; and because such settlements, made without the consent of the United States, will be injurious to them as well as to the Indians, the United States shall be at liberty to break them up, and remove and punish the settlers as they shall think proper, and so effect that protection of the Indian lands herein before stipulated.

ART. VII. The said tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory and lands which they have now ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury to the people of the United States.

ART. VIII. Trade shall be opened with the said Indian tribes; and they do hereby respectively engage to afford protection to such persons, with their property, as shall be duly licensed to reside among them for the purpose of trade, and to their agents

and servants; but no person shall be permitted to reside at any of their towns or hunting-camps, as a trader, who is not furnished with a license for that purpose, under the hand and seal of the superintendent of the department northwest of the Ohio, or such other person as the president of the United States shall authorize to grant such license; to the end, that the said Indians may not be imposed on in their trade. And if any licensed trader shall abuse his privilege by unfair dealing, upon complaint and proof thereof, his license shall be taken from him, and he shall be further punished according to the laws of the United States. And if any person shall intrude himself as a trader, without such license, the said Indians shall take and bring him before the superintendent, or his deputy, to be dealt with according to law. And to prevent impositions by forged licenses, the said Indians shall, at least once a year, give information to the superintendent, or his deputies, of the names of the traders residing among them.

ART. IX. Lest the firm peace and friendship now established, should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the United States, and the said Indian tribes agree, that for injuries done by individuals on either side, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured, to the other; by the said Indian tribes, or any of them, to the president of the United States, or the superintendent by him appointed; and by the superintendent or other person appointed by the president, to the principal chiefs of the said Indian tribes, or of the tribe to which the offender belongs; and such prudent measures shall then be pursued as shall be necessary to preserve the said peace and friendship unbroken, until the legislature (or great council) of the United States, shall make other equitable provision in the case, to the satisfaction of both parties. Should any Indian tribes meditate a war against the United States, or either of them, and the same shall come to the knowledge of the before-mentioned tribes, or either of them, they do hereby engage to give immediate notice thereof to the general, or officer commanding the troops of the United States, at the nearest post. And should any tribe, with hostile intentions against the United States, or either of them, attempt to pass through their country, they will endeavor to prevent the same, and in like manner give information of such attempt, to the general, or officer commanding, as soon as possible, that all causes of mistrust and suspicion may be avoided between them and the United States. In like manner the United States shall give notice to the said Indian tribes of any harm that may be meditated against them, or either of them, that shall come to their knowledge; and do all in their power to hinder and prevent the same, that the friendship between them may be uninterrupted.

ART. X. All other treaties heretofore made between the United States and the said Indian tribes, or any of them, since the treaty of 1783, between the United States and Great Britain, that come within the purview of this treaty, shall henceforth cease and become void.

In testimony whereof, the said Anthony Wayne, and the sachems and war chiefs of the before-mentioned nations and tribes of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

Done at Greenville, in the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, on the third day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

Anthony Wayne, [L. S.]

WYANDOTS.

Tarhe, or Crane, his x mark,
J. Williams, jun., his x mark,
Teyyaghtaw, his x mark,
Haroenyou, or Half King's son, his x mark,
Tehaawtorens, his x mark,

Awmeyeeray, his x mark,
Stayetah, his x mark,
Shateyyaronyah, or Leather Lips, his x mark,
Daughshuttah, his x mark,
Shaawrunthe, his x mark.

DELAWARES.

Tetabokshke, or Grand Glaize King, his x mark,
Lemantanquis, or Black King, his x mark,
Wabatthoe, his x mark,
Maghpiway, or Red Feather, his x mark,
Kikthawenund, or Anderson, his x mark,
Bukongehelas, his x mark,
Peekeelund, his x mark,
Wellebawkeelund, his x mark,
Peekeetelemund, or Thomas Adams, his x mark,
Kishkopekund, or Capt. Buffalo, his x mark,
Amenahehan, or Capt. Crow, his x mark,
Queshawksey, or George Washington, his x mark,
Weywinquis, or Billy Siscomb, his x mark,
Moses, his x mark.

SHAWANEES.

Misquacoonacaw or Red Pole, his x mark,
Cutthewekasaw, or Black Hoof, his x mark,
Kaysewaesekah, his x mark,
Weythapamattha, his x mark,
Nianymseka, his x mark,
Waytheah, or Long Shanks, his x mark,
Weyapiersenwaw, or Blue Jacket, his x mark,
Nequetaughaw, his x mark,
Hahgooseeeaw, or Capt. Reed, his x mark.

OTTAWA.

Chegonickska, (an Ottawa from Sandusky) his x mark.

POTTAWATOMIES OF THE RIVER ST. JOSEPH.

Thupenebu, his x mark,
Nawac, (for himself and brother Etsimethe) his x mark,
Nenanseka, his x mark,
Keesass, or Sun, his x mark,
Kabamasaw, (for himself and brother Chisaugan,) his x mark,
Sugganunk, his x mark,
Wapmeme, or White Pigeon, his x mark,
Wacheness, (for himself and brother Pedagoshok,) his x mark,
Wabshicawnaw, his x mark,
La Chasse, his x mark,
Meshegethenogh, (for himself and brother Wawasek,) his x mark,
Hingoswash, his x mark,
Anewasaw, his x mark,
Nawbudgh, his x mark,
Missenogomaw, his x mark,
Waweegshe, his x mark,
Thawme, or Le Blanc, his x mark,
Geeque, (for himself and brother Shewinse,) his x mark.

POTTAWATOMIES OF HURON.

Okia, his x mark,
Chamung, his x mark,
Segagewan, his x mark,
Nanawme, (for himself and brother A. Gin,) his x mark,
Marchand, his x mark,
Wenameac, his x mark.

MIAMIS.

Nagohquangogh, or Le Gris, his x mark,
Meshekunnoghquoh, or Little Turtle, his x mark.

OTTAWAS.

Augooshaway, his x mark,
Keenoshameek, his x mark,
La Malice, his x mark,
Machiwetah, his x mark,
Thowonawa, his x mark,
Secaw, his x mark.

CHIPPEWAS.

Mashipinashiwish, or Bad Bird, his x mark,
Nahshogashe, (from Lake Superior,) his x mark,
Kathawasung, his x mark,
Masass, his x mark,
Nemekass, or Little Thunder, his x mark,
Peshawkay, or Young Ox, his x mark,
Nanguey, his x mark,
Meenedohgeesogh, his x mark,
Peewanshemenogh, his x mark,

Weymegwas, his x mark,
Gobmaatick, his x mark.

MIAMIS AND EEL RIVERS.

Peejeewa, or Richard Ville, his x mark,
Cochkepoghtogh, his x mark.

EEL RIVER TRIBE.

Shamekunnesa, or Soldier, his x mark.

MIAMI.

Wapamangwa, or White Loon, his x mark.

WEAS FOR THEMSELVES AND PIANKESHAWS.

Amacunsa, or Little Beaver, his x mark,
Acoolatha, or Little Fox, his x mark,
Francis, his x mark.

KICKAPOOS AND KASKASKIAS.

Keewhah, his x mark,
Nemighka, or Josey Renard, his x mark,
Paikeekanogh, his x mark.

DELAWARES OF SANDUSKY.

Hawkinpumiska, his x mark,
Peyamawksey, his x mark,
Reyntueco, (of the Six Nations living at Sandusky,) his x mark.

In presence of, (the word "goods" in the 6th line of the 3d article; and word "before" in the 26th line of the 3d article; the words "five hundred" in the 10th line of the 4th articles, and the word "Piankeshaw" in the 14th line of the 4th article, being first interlined.)

H. De Butts, first aide-de-camp and sec'y to Maj.-Gen. Wayne,
Wm. H. Harrison, aide-de-camp to Maj.-Gen. Wayne,
T[homas] Lewis, aide-de-camp to Maj.-Gen. Wayne,
James O'Hara, quartermaster-general,
John Mills, major of infantry, and adjutant general.

Caleb Swan, P. M. T. U. S.
Geo. Demler, lieut. artillery,
[François] Vigo,
P. Frs. La Fontaine,
Ant. Lasselle,
H. Lasselle,
Jn. Beau Bien,
David Jones, chaplain U. S. S.
Lewis Beaufait,
R. Lachambre,
Jas. Pepen,
Baties Coution,
P. Navarre.

SWORN INTERPRETERS.

William Wells,
Jacques Lasselle,
M. Morins,
Bt. Sans Crainte,
Christopher Miller,
Robert Wilson,
Abraham Williams, his x mark,
Isaac Zane, his x mark.

Act of Congress, 3 February, 1809.

Dividing the Indiana Territory into two separate governments, and establishing the territory of Illinois.

§ 1. BE IT ENACTED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the first day of March next, all that part of the Indiana territory which lies west of the Wabash river, and a direct line drawn from the said Wabash river and Post Vincennes due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called Illinois.

§ 2. And be it further enacted, That there shall be established within the said

territory a government in all respects similar to that provided by the ordinance of congress, passed on the 13th day of July, 1787, for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, and by an act passed on the 7th day of August, 1789, entitled "An act to provide for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio;" and the inhabitants thereof shall be entitled to and enjoy all and singular the rights, privileges, and advantages, granted and secured to the people of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, by the said ordinance.

§ 3. And be it further enacted, That the officers for the said territory who, by virtue of this act, shall be appointed by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall, respectively, exercise the same powers, perform the same duties, and receive for their services the same compensations, as, by the ordinance aforesaid, and the laws of the United States, have been provided and established for similar officers in the Indiana territory. And the duties and emoluments of superintendent of Indian affairs shall be united with those of governor. Provided, that the president of the United States shall have full power, in the recess of congress, to appoint and commission all officers herein authorized, and their commissions shall continue in force until the end of the next session of congress.

§ 4. And be it further enacted, That so much of the ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, as relates to the organization of a general assembly therein, and prescribes the powers thereof, shall be in force and operate in the Illinois territory, whenever satisfactory evidence shall be given to the governor thereof that such is the wish of a majority of the freeholders, notwithstanding there may not be therein 5000 free male inhabitants of the age of 21 years and upward: Provided, That until there shall be 5000 free male inhabitants of 21 years and upward in said territory, the whole number of representatives to the general assembly shall not be less than seven, nor more than nine, to be apportioned by the governor to the several counties in the said territory, agreeably to the number of free males of the age of 21 years and upward, which they may respectively contain.

§ 5. And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed so as in any manner to affect the government now in force in the Indiana territory, further than to prohibit the exercise thereof within the Illinois territory, from and after the aforesaid first day of March next.

§ 6. And be it further enacted, That all suits, process, and proceedings, which, on the first day of March next, shall be pending in the court of any county which shall be included within the said territory of Illinois, and also all suits, process, and proceedings, which, on the said first day of March next, shall be pending in the general court of the Indiana territory, in consequence of any writ of removal, or order for trial at bar, and which had been removed from any of the counties included within the limits of the territory of Illinois aforesaid, shall, in all things concerning the same, be proceeded on, and judgments and decrees rendered thereon, in the same manner as if the said Indiana territory had remained undivided.

§ 7. And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to prevent the collection of taxes which may, on the first day of March next, be due to the Indiana territory on lands lying in the said territory of Illinois.

§ 8. And be it further enacted, That, until it shall be otherwise ordered by the legislature of the said Illinois territory, Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi river, shall be the seat of government for the said Illinois territory.

Act of Congress, 18 April, 1818.

Enabling the people of Illinois to form a state constitution.

§ 1. BE IT ENACTED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the inhabitants of the territory of Illinois be, and they are hereby authorized to form for themselves a constitution and state government, and to assume such name as they shall deem proper; and the said state, when formed, shall be admitted into the union upon the same footing with the original states, in all respects whatever.

§ 2. And be it further enacted, That the said state shall consist of all the territory included within the following boundaries, to wit: Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash River; thence up the same, and with the line of Indiana, to the northwest corner of said state, thence east with the line of the same state to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence north along the middle of said lake, to north latitude 42 degrees 30 minutes; thence west to the middle of the Mississippi river; and thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio river; and thence up the latter river along its northwestern shore, to the beginning: Provided, That the convention hereinafter provided for, when formed, shall ratify the boundaries aforesaid; otherwise they shall be and remain as now prescribed by the ordinance for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio: Provided also, That the said state shall have concurrent jurisdiction with the state of Indiana on the Wabash river, so far as said river shall form a common boundary to both, and also concurrent jurisdiction on the Mississippi river, with any state or states to be formed west thereof, so far as said river shall form a common boundary to both.

§ 3. And be it further enacted, That all white male citizens of the United States, who shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and have resided in said territory six months previous to the day of election, and all persons having in other respects the legal qualifications to vote for representatives in the general assembly of the said territory be, and they are hereby, authorized to choose representatives to form a convention, who shall be apportioned amongst the several counties as follows:

From the county of Bond, two representatives; From the county of Madison, three representatives; From the county of St. Clair, three representatives; From the county of Monroe, two representatives; From the county of Randolph, two representatives; From the county of Jackson, two representatives; From the county of Johnson, two representatives; From the county of Pope, two representatives; From the county of Gallatin, three representatives; From the county of White, two representatives; From the county of Edwards, two representatives; From the county of Crawford, two representatives; From the county of Union, two representatives; From the county of Washington, two representatives; And from the county of Franklin, two representatives;

And the election for the representatives aforesaid shall be holden on the first Monday of July next, and the two following days, throughout the several counties in the said territory, and shall be conducted in the same manner, and under the same regulations, as prescribed by the laws of the said territory regulating elections therein for members of the house of representatives.

§ 4. And be it further enacted, That the members of the convention, thus duly elected, be, and they are hereby authorized to meet at the seat of government of the said territory, on the first Monday of the month of August next, which convention, when met, shall first determine, by a majority of the whole number elected, whether

it be, or be not, expedient at that time to form a constitution and state government for the people within the said territory, and, if it be expedient, the convention shall be and hereby is authorized to form a constitution and state government: or, if it be deemed more expedient, the said convention shall provide by ordinance for electing representatives to form a constitution or frame of government; which said representatives shall be chosen in such manner, and in such proportion, and shall meet at such time and place, as shall be prescribed by the said ordinance, and shall then form for the people of said territory a constitution and state government: provided, That the same, whenever formed, shall be republican, and not repugnant to the ordinance of the 13th of July, 1787, between the original states and the the people and states of the territory northwest of the river Ohio; excepting so much of said articles as relate to the boundaries of the states therein to be formed: And provided also, That it shall appear, from the enumeration directed to be made by the legislature of the said territory, that there are, within the proposed states, not less than 40,000 inhabitants.

§ 5. And be it further enacted, That until the next general census shall be taken, the said state shall be entitled to one representative in the house of representatives of the United States.

§ 6. And be it further enacted, That the following propositions be and the same are hereby offered to the convention of the said territory of Illinois, when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection, which, if accepted by the convention, shall be obligatory, upon the United States and the said state:

First. The section numbered 16 in every township, and, when such section has been sold or otherwise disposed of, other lands equivalent thereto, and as contiguous as may be, shall be granted to the state, for the use of the inhabitants of such township, for the use of schools.

Second. That all salt springs within such state, and the land reserved for the use of the same, shall be granted to the said state, for the use of the said state, and the same to be used under such terms, and conditions, and regulations, as the legislature of the said state shall direct: Provided, The legislature shall never sell nor lease the same for a longer period than 10 years, at any one time.

Third. That five per cent of the net proceeds of the lands lying within such state, and which shall be sold by congress, from and after the first day of January, 1819, after deducting all expenses incident to the same, shall be reserved for the purposes following, viz.: two-fifths to be disbursed, under the direction of congress, in making roads leading to the state; the residue to be appropriated, by the legislature of the state, for the encouragement of learning, of which one-sixth part shall be exclusively bestowed on a college or university.

Fourth. That 36 sections, or one entire township, which shall be designated by the president of the United States, together with the one heretofore reserved for that purpose, shall be reserved for the use of a seminary of learning, and vested in the legislature of the said state, to be appropriated solely to the use of such seminary by the said legislature: Provided always, That the four foregoing propositions, herein offered, are on the conditions that the convention of the said state shall provide, by an ordinance irrevocable, without the consent of the United States, that every and each tract of land sold by the United States, from and after the first day of January, 1819, shall remain exempt from any tax laid by order, or under any authority of, the state, whether for state, county, or township, or any other purpose whatever, for the term of five years from and after the day of sale: And further, That the bounty lands

granted, or hereafter to be granted, for military services during the late war, shall, while they continue to be held by the patentees, or their heirs, remain exempt, as aforesaid, from all taxes, for the term of three years, from and after the date of the patents respectively; and that all the lands belonging to the citizens of the United States, residing without the said state, shall never be taxed higher than lands belonging to persons residing therein.

§ 7. And be it further enacted, That all that part of the territory of the United States lying north of the state of Indiana, and which was included in the former Indiana territory, together with that part of the Illinois territory which is situated north of and not included within the boundaries prescribed by this act, to the state thereby authorized to be formed, shall be, and hereby is, attached to and made part of the Michigan territory, from and after the formation of the said state, subject, nevertheless, to be hereafter disposed of by congress, according to the right reserved in the fifth article of the ordinance aforesaid, and the inhabitants therein shall be entitled to the same privileges and immunities, and subject to the same rules and regulations, in all respects, with the other citizens of the Michigan territory.

Constitution of 1818.

Adopted at Kaskaskia in convention, August 26, 1818.

THE people of the Illinois territory, having the right of admission into the general government as a member of the Union, consistent with the constitution of the United States, the ordinance of congress of 1787, and the law of congress approved April 18th, 1818, entitled "An act to enable the people of the Illinois territory to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union, on an equal footing with the original states, and for other purposes;" in order to establish justice, promote the welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, do by their representatives in convention, ordain and establish the following constitution or form of government; and do mutually agree with each other to form themselves into a free and independent state, by the name of the State of Illinois. And they do hereby ratify the boundaries assigned to such state by the act of congress aforesaid, which are as follows, to wit: Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash river, thence up the same, and with the line of Indiana to the northwest corner of said state; thence east with the line of the same state, to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence north, along the middle of said lake, to north latitude 42 degrees and 30 minutes; thence west to the middle of the Mississippi river, and thence down, along the middle of that river, to its confluence with the Ohio river; and thence up the latter river, along its northwestern shore, to the beginning.

ART. I. § 1. The powers of the government of the state of Illinois, shall be divided into three distinct departments, and each of them be confided to a separate body of magistracy, to wit: Those which are legislative, to one; those which are executive, to another; and those which are judiciary, to another.

§ 2. No person or collection of persons being one of those departments, shall exercise any power properly belonging to either of the others, except as hereinafter expressly directed or permitted.

ART. II. § 1. The legislative authority of this state shall be vested in a general

assembly which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives, both to be elected by the people.

§ 2. The first election for senators and representatives shall commence on the third Thursday of September next, and continue for that and the two succeeding days; and the next election shall be held on the first Monday in August, 1820; and forever after, elections shall be held once in two years, on the first Monday of August, in each and every county, at such places therein as may be provided by law.

§ 3. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of 21 years, who shall not be a citizen of the United States, and an inhabitant of this state; who shall not have resided within the limits of the county or district in which he shall be chosen 12 months next preceeding his election, if such county or district shall have been so long erected; but if not, then within the limits of the county or counties, district or districts out of which the same shall have been taken, unless he shall have been absent on the public business of the United States, or of this state, and who, morever, shall not have paid a state or county tax.

§ 4. The senators, at their first session herein provided for, shall be divided by lot from their respective counties or districts, as near as can be, into two classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, and those of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, so that one-half thereof, as near as possible, may be biennially chosen forever thereafter.

§ 5. The number of senators and representatives shall, at the first session of the general assembly, holden after the returns herein provided for are made, be fixed by the general assembly, and apportioned among the several counties or districts to be established by law, according to the number of white inhabitants. The number of representatives shall not be less than 27, nor more than 36, until the number of inhabitants within this state shall amount to 100,000; and the number of senators shall never be less than one-third, nor more than one-half of the number of representatives.

§ 6. No person shall be a senator who has not arrived at the age of 25 years, who shall not be a citizen of the United States, and who shall not have resided one year in the county or district in which he shall be chosen immediately preceeding his election, if such county or district shall have been so long erected; but if not, then within the limits of the county or counties, district or districts out of which the same shall have been taken, unless he shall have been absent on the public business of the United States, or of this state, and shall not, moreover, have paid a state or county tax.

§ 7. The senate and house of representatives, when assembled, shall each choose a speaker and other officers, (the speaker of the senate excepted.) Each house shall judge of the qualifications and elections of its members, and sit upon its own adjournments. Two-thirds of each house shall constiute a quorum, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members.

§ 8. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and publish them. The yeas and nays of the members, on any question, shall, at the desire of any two of them, be entered on the journals.

§ 9. Any two members of either house shall have liberty to dissent and protest against any act or resolution which they may think injurious to the public, or to any individual, and have the reasons of their dissent entered on the journals.

§ 10. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member, but not a second time for the same cause.

§ 11. When vacancies happen in either house, the governor, or the person exercising the powers of governor, shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

§ 12. Senators and representatives shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during the session of the general assembly, and in going to and returning from the same, and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

§ 13. Each house may punish, by imprisonment during its session, any person not a member, who shall be guilty of disrespect to the house, by any disorderly or contemptuous behavior in their presence; provided such imprisonment shall not at any one time exceed 24 hours.

§ 14. The doors of each house, and of committees of the whole, shall be kept open, except in such cases as in the opinion of the house require secrecy. Neither house shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than two days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

§ 15. Bills may originate in either house, but may be altered, amended or rejected by the other.

§ 16. Every bill shall be read on three different days in each house, unless in case of urgency, three-fourths of the house where such bill is so depending shall deem it expedient to dispense with this rule; and every bill having passed both houses shall be signed by the speakers of their respective houses.

§ 17. The style of the laws of this state shall be: Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly.

§ 18. The general assembly of this state shall not allow the following officers of government greater or smaller annual salaries than as follows, until the year 1824: The governor, $1000; and the secretary of state, $600.

§ 19. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he shall have been elected, be appointed to any civil office under this state, which shall have been created, or the emoluments of which shall have been increased during such time.

§ 20. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law.

§ 21. An accurate statement of the receipts and expenditures of the public money shall be attached to and published with the laws, at the rising of each session of the general assembly.

§ 22. The house of representatives shall have the sole power of impeaching, but a majority of all the members present must concur in an impeachment. All impeachments shall be tried by the senate, and when sitting for that purpose, the senators shall be upon oath or affirmation to do justice according to law and evidence. No person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of all the senators present.

§ 23. The governor, and all other civil officers under this state, shall be liable to impeachment for any misdemeanor in office; but judgment in such cases shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualifiation to hold any office of honor, profit, or trust under this state. The party, whether convicted or acquitted, shall nevertheless be liable to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

§ 24. The first session of the general assembly shall commence on the first Monday of October next, and forever after the general assembly shall meet on the first Monday in December next ensuing the election of the members thereof, and at no other period, unless as provided by this constitution.

§ 25. No judge of any court of law or equity, secretary of state, attorney general, attorney for the state, register, clerk of any court of record, sheriff, or collector, member of either house of congress, or person holding any lucrative office under the United States, or this, (provided that appointments in the militia, postmasters, or justices of the peace shall not be considered lucrative offices,) shall have a seat in the general assembly; nor shall any person holding an office of honor or profit under the government of the United States, hold any office of honor or profit under the authority of this state.

§ 26. Every person who shall be chosen or appointed to any office of trust or profit shall, before entering upon the duties thereof, take an oath to support the constitution of the United States and of this state, and also an oath of office.

§ 27. In all elections, all white male inhabitants above the age of 21 years, having resided in the state six months next preceding the election, shall enjoy the right of an elector; but no person shall be entitled to vote except in the county or district in which he shall actually reside at the time of the election.

§ 28. All votes shall be given viva voce until altered by the general assembly.

§ 29. Electors shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at elections, and in going to and returning from the same.

§ 30. The general assembly shall have full power to exclude from the privilege of electing or being elected any person convicted of bribery, perjury, or any other infamous crime.

§ 31. In the year 1820, and every fifth year thereafter, an enumeration of all the white inhabitants of the state shall be made in such manner as shall be directed by law.

§ 32. All bills for raising a revenue shall originate in the house of representatives, subject, however, to amendment, or rejection as in other cases.

ART. III. § 1. The executive power of the state shall be vested in a governor.

§ 2. The first election of governor shall commence on the third Thursday of September next, and continue for that and the two succeeding days; and the next election shall be held on the first Monday of August, in the year of our Lord 1822. And forever after, elections for governor shall be held once in four years, on the first Monday in August. The governor shall be chosen by the electors of the members of the general assembly, at the same places and in the same manner that they shall respectively vote for members thereof. The returns for every election of governor shall be sealed up and transmitted to the seat of government by the returning officers, directed to the speaker of the house of representatives, who shall open and publish them in the presence of a majority of the members of each house of the general assembly. The person having the highest number of votes, shall be governor; but if two or more be equal and highest in votes, then one of them shall be chosen governor by joint ballot of both houses of the general assembly. Contested elections shall be determined by both houses of the general assembly in such manner as shall be prescribed by law.

§ 3. The first governor shall hold his office until the first Monday of December, in the year of our Lord 1822, and until another governor shall be elected and qualified to office; and forever after the governor shall hold his office for the term of four years and until another governor shall be elected and qualified; but he shall not be elegible for more than four years in any term of eight years. He shall be at least 30 years of age, and have been a citizen of the United States 30 years; two years of

which next preceding his election he shall have resided within the limits of this state.

§ 4. He shall, from time to time, give the general assembly information of the state of the government, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall deem expedient.

§ 5. He shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons after conviction, except in cases of impeachment.

§ 6. The governor shall, at stated times, receive a salary for his services, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the term for which he has been elected.

§ 7. He may require information in writing from the officers in the executive department, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

§ 8. When any officer, the right of whose appointment is, by this constitution, vested in the general assembly, or in the governor and senate, shall, during the recess, die, or his office by any means become vacant, the governor shall have power to fill such vacancy, by granting a commission, which shall expire at the end of the next session of the general assembly.

§ 9. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the general assembly by proclamation, and shall state to them when assembled, the purpose for which they shall have been convened.

§ 10. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of this state, and of the militia, except when they shall be called into the service of the United States.

§ 11. There shall be elected in each and every county in the said state, by those who are qualified to vote for members of the general assembly, and at the same time and places where the election for such members shall be held, one sheriff and one coroner, whose election shall be subject to such rules and regulations as shall be prescribed by law. The said sheriffs and coroners respectively, when elected, shall continue in office two years, be subject to removal and disqualification, and such other rules and regulations as may be, from time to time, prescribed by law.

§ 12. In case of disagreement between the two houses with respect to the time of adjournment, the governor shall have power to adjourn the general assembly, to such time as he thinks proper, provided it be not a period beyond the next constitutional meeting of the same.

§ 13. A lieutenant-governor shall be chosed at every election for governor, in the same manner, continue in office for the same time, and possess the same qualifications. In voting for governor and lieutenant-governor, the electors shall distinguish whom they vote for as governor, and whom as lieutenant-governor.

§ 14. He shall, by virtue of his office be speaker of the senate, have a right, when in committee of the whole, to debate and vote on all subjects; and whenever the senate are equally divided, to give the casting vote.

§ 15. Whenever the government shall be administered by the lieutenant-governor, or he shall be unable to attend as speaker of the senate, the senators shall elect one of their own members as speaker for that occasion; and if, during the vacancy of the office of governor, the lieutenant-governor shall be impeached, removed from office, refuse to qualify, or resign, or die, or be absent from the state, the speaker of the senate shall in like manner, administer the government.

§ 16. The lieutenant-governor, while he acts as speaker of the senate, shall receive for his services, the same compensation, which shall, for the same period be allowed to the speaker of the house of representatives and no more; and during the

time he administers the government as governor, he shall receive the same compensation which the governor would have received had he been employed in the duties of his office.

§ 17. If the lieutenant governor shall be called upon to administer the government, and shall, while in such administration resign, die, or be absent from the state during the recess of the general assembly, it shall be the duty of the secretary, for the time being, to convene the senate for the purpose of choosing a speaker.

§ 18. In case of an impeachment of the governor, his removal from office, death, refusal to qualify, resignation or absence from the state, the lieutenant governor shall exercise all the power and authority appertaining to the office of governor, until the time pointed out by this constitution for the election of governor shall arrive, unless the general assembly shall provide by law for the election of a governor to fill such vacancy.

§ 19. The governor for the time being, and the judges of the supreme court or a major part of them, together with the governor, shall be and are hereby constituted a council to revise all bills about to be passed into laws by the general assembly; and for that purpose shall assemble themselves from time to time when the general assembly shall be convened; for which nevertheless they shall not receive any salary or consideration under any pretense whatever; and all bills which have passed the senate and house of representatives shall, before they become laws, be presented to the said council for their revisal and consideration; and if, upon such revisal and consideration, it should appear improper to the said council or a majority of them, that the bill should become a law of this state, they shall return the same, together with their objections thereto in writing to the senate or house of representatives (in whichsoever the same shall have originated) who shall enter the objections set down by the council at large in their minutes, and proceed to reconsider the said bill. But if, after such reconsideration, the said senate or house of representatives shall, notwithstanding the said objections, agree to pass the same by a majority of the whole number of members elected, it shall, together with the said objections, be sent to the other branch of the general assembly, where it shall also be reconsidered; and if approved by a majority of all the members elected, it shall become a law. If any bill shall not be returned within 10 days after it shall have been presented, the same shall be a law, unless the general assembly shall by their adjournment, render a return of the said bill in 10 days impracticable; in which case the said bill shall be returned on the first day of the meeting of the general assembly, after the expiration of the said 10 days, or be a law.

§ 20. The governor shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, appoint a secretary of state, who shall keep a fair register of the official acts of the governor, and when required, shall lay the same and all papers, minutes and vouchers relative thereto, before either branch of the general assembly and shall perform such other duties as shall be assigned him by law.

§ 21. The state treasurer and public printer or printers for the state shall be appointed biennially by the joint vote of both branches of the general assembly: Provided, that during the recess of the same, the governor shall have power to fill such vacancies as may happen in either of said offices.

§ 22. The governor shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, appoint all officers whose offices are established by this constitution, or shall be established by law, and whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for; Provided however, that inspectors, collectors and their deputies, survey-

ors of the highways, constables, jailors, and such inferior officers whose jurisdiction may be confined within the limits of the county, shall be appointed in such manner as the general assembly may prescribe.

ART. IV. § 1. The judicial power of this state shall be vested in one supreme court, and such inferior courts as the general assembly shall, from time to time, ordain and establish.

§ 2. The supreme court shall be holden at the seat of government, and shall have an appellate jurisdiction only, except in cases relating to the revenue, in cases of mandamus, and in such cases of impeachment as may be required to be tried before it.

§ 3. The supreme court shall consist in a chief justice and three associates, any two of whom shall form a quorum. The number of justices may, however, be increased by the general assembly after the year 1824.

§ 4. The justices of the supreme court and the judges of the inferior courts shall be appointed by joint ballot of both branches of the general assembly, and commissioned by the governor, and shall hold their offices during good behavior until the end of the first session of the general assembly, which shall be begun and held after the first day of January, in the year of our Lord 1824, at which time their commissions shall expire: and until the expiration of which time, the said justices, respectively, shall hold circuit courts in the several counties, in such manner and at such times, and shall have and exercise such jurisdiction as the general assembly shall by law prescribe. But ever after the aforesaid period, the justices of the supreme court shall be commissioned during good behavior, and the justices thereof shall not hold circuit courts unless required by law.

§ 5. The judges of the inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behavior, but for any reasonable cause, which shall not be sufficient ground for impeachment, both the judges of the supreme and inferior courts shall be removed from office on the address of two-thirds of each branch of the general assembly: Provided always, that no member of either house of the general assembly, nor any person connected with a member by consanguinity, or affinity, shall be appointed to fill the vacancy occasioned by such removal. The said justices of the supreme court, during their temporary appointments, shall receive an annual salary of $1000, payable quarter-yearly out of the public treasury. The judges of the inferior courts, and the justices of the supreme court who may be appointed after the end of the first session of the general assembly, which shall be begun and held after the first day of January, in the year of our Lord 1824, shall have adequate and competent salaries, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

§ 6. The supreme court, or a majority of the justices thereof, the circuit courts, or the justices thereof, shall, respectively, appoint their own clerks.

§ 7. All process, writs and other proceedings shall run in the name of: The people of the State of Illinois. All prosecutions shall be carried on: In the name and by the authority of the People of the State of Illinois, and conclude: Against the peace and dignity of the same.

§ 8. A competent number of justices of the peace shall be appointed in each county in such manner as the general assembly may direct, whose time of service, power, and duties shall be regulated and defined by law. And justices of the peace, when so appointed, shall be commissioned by the governor.

ART. V. § 1. The militia of the State of Illinois shall consist of all free male able-bodied persons, negroes, mulattoes and Indians excepted, resident in the state,

between the ages of 18 and 45 years, except such persons as now are, or hereafter may be, exempted by the laws of the United States or of this state, and shall be armed, equipped and trained as the general assembly may provide by law.

§ 2. No person or persons, conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, shall be compelled to do militia duty in time of peace, provided such person or persons shall pay an equivalent for such exemption.

§ 3. Company, battalion and regimental officers, staff officers excepted, shall be elected by the persons composing their several companies, battalions, and regiments.

§ 4. Brigadier and major generals shall be elected by the officers of their brigades and divisions respectively.

§ 5. All militia officers shall be commissioned by the governor, and may hold their commissions during good behavior, or until they arrive at the age of sixty years.

§ 6. The militia shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at musters and elections of officers, and in going to and returning from the same.

ART. VI. § 1. Neither slavery or involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this state, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; nor shall any male person, arrived at the age of 21 years, nor female person arrived at the age of 18 years, be held to serve any person as a servant, under any indenture hereafter made, unless such person shall enter into such indenture while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition of a bona-fide consideration received or to be received for their service. Nor shall any indenture of any negro or mulatto, hereafter made and executed out of this state, or if made in this state, where the term of service exceeds one year, be of the least validity, except those given in cases of apprenticeship.

§ 2. No person bound to labor in any other state, shall be hired to labor in this state, except within the tract reserved for the salt works near Shawneetown; nor even at that place for a longer period than one year at any one time; nor shall it be allowed there after the year 1825: any violation of this article shall effect the emancipation of such person from his obligation to service.

§ 3. Each and every person who has been bound to service by contract or indenture in virtue of the law of Illinois territory heretofore existing, and in conformity to the provisions of the same, without fraud or collusion, shall be held to a specific performance of their contracts or indentures; and such negroes and mulattoes as have been registered in conformity with the aforesaid laws, shall serve out the time appointed by said laws: Provided however, that the children hereafter born of such person, negroes or mulattoes, shall become free, the males at the age of 21 years, the females at the age of 18 years. Each and every child born of indentured parents, shall be entered with the clerk of the county in which they reside, by their owners, within six months after the birth of said child.

ART. VII. § 1. Whenever two-thirds of the general assembly shall think it necessary to alter or amend this constitution, they shall recommend to the electors, at the next election of members to the general assembly, to vote for or against a convention; and if it shall appear that a majority of all the citizens of the state, voting for representatives, have voted for a convention, the general assembly shall, at their next session, call a convention, to consist of as many members as there may be in the general assembly, to be chosen in the same manner, at the same place, and by the same electors that choose the general assembly, and which convention shall

meet within three months after the said election, for the purpose of revising, altering, or amending this constitution.

ART. VIII. That the general, great and essential principles of liberty and free government may be recognized and unalterably established, we declare:

§ 1. That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent and indefeasible rights; among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, and of acquiring, possessing and protecting property and reputation, and of pursuing their own happiness.

§ 2. That all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness.

§ 3. That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; that no man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and that no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious establishments or modes of worship.

§ 4. That no test shall ever be required as a qualifiation to any office or public trust under this state.

§ 5. That elections shall be free and equal.

§ 6. That the right of the trial by jury shall remain inviolate.

§ 7. That the people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and possessions, from unreasonable searches and seizures; and that general warrants whereby an officer may be commanded to search suspected places without evidence of the fact committed, or to seize any person or persons not named, whose offenses are not particularly described and supported by evidence, are dangerous to liberty, and ought not to be granted.

§ 8. That no freeman shall be imprisoned or disseized of his freehold, liberties, or privileges, or outlawed or exiled, or in any manner deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land. And all lands which have been granted as a common to the inhabitants of any town, hamlet village, or corporation, by any person, body politic or corporate, or by any government having power to make such grant, shall forever remain common to the inhabitants of such town, hamlet, village, or corporation; and the said commons shall not be leased, sold, or divided under any pretense whatever: Provided however, that nothing in this section shall be so construed as to affect the commons of Cahokia or Prairie du Pont: Provided also, that the general assembly shall have power and authority to grant the same privileges to the inhabitants of the said villages of Cahokia and Prairie du Pont as are hereby granted to the inhabitants of other towns, hamlets and villages.

§ 9. That in all criminal prosecutions, the accused hath a right to be heard by himself and counsel; to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him; to meet the witnesses face to face; to have compulsary process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his favor. And in prosecutions by indictment or information, a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the vicinage; and that he shall not be compelled to give evidence against himself.

§ 10. That no person shall, for any indictable offense, be proceeded against criminally by information, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or the militia when in actual service, in time of war, or public danger, by leave of the courts, for oppression or misdemeanor in office.

§ 11. No person shall, for the same offense, be twice put in jeopardy of his life or limb; nor shall any man's property be taken or applied to public use, without the consent of his representatives in the general assembly, nor without just compensation being made to him.

§ 12. Every person within this state ought to find a certain remedy in the laws, for all injuries or wrongs which he may receive in his person, property or character; he ought to obtain right and justice freely, and without being obliged to purchase it, completely and without denial, promptly and without delay, conformably to the laws.

§ 13. That all persons shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offenses, where the proof is evident or the presumption great; and the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

§ 14. All penalties shall be proportioned to the nature of the offense, the true design of all punishments being to reform, not to exterminate mankind.

§ 15. No person shall be imprisoned for debt, unless upon refusal to deliver up his estate for the benefit of his creditors, in such manner as shall be prescribed by law, or in cases where there is strong presumption of fraud.

§ 16. No ex post facto law, nor any law impairing the validity of contracts shall ever be made; and no conviction shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture of estate.

§ 17. That no person shall be liable to be transported out of this state for any offence committed within the same.

§ 18. That a frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of civil government is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty.

§ 19. That the people have a right to assemble together in a peaceable manner to consult for their common good, to instruct their representatives, and to apply to the general assembly for redress of grievances.

§ 20. That the mode of levying a tax shall be by valuation, so that every person shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of the property he or she has in his or her possession.

§ 21. That there shall be no other banks or moneyed institutions in this state than those already provided by law, except a state bank and its branches, which may be established and regulated by the general assembly of the state as they may think proper.

§ 22. The printing presses shall be free to every person, who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the general assembly or of any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man, and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

§ 23. In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or of men acting in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence. And in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have the right of determining both the law and the fact, under the direction of the court as in other cases.

SCHEDULE. § 1. That no inconveniences may arise from the change of a territorial to a permanent state government, it is declared by the convention, that all rights, suits, actions, prosecutions, claims, and contracts, both as it respects individuals and bodies corporate, shall continue as if no change had taken place in this government in virtue of the laws now in force.

§ 2. All fines, penalties, and forfeitures due and owing to the territory of Illinois shall inure to the use of the state. All bonds executed to the governor, or to any other officer in his official capacity in the territory, shall pass over to the governor or to the officers of the state, and their successors in office, for the use of the state, by him or by them to be respectively assigned over to the use of those concerned, as the case may be.

§ 3. No sheriff or collector of public moneys, shall be eligible to any office in this state, until they have paid over according to law, all moneys which they may have collected by virtue of their respective offices.

§ 4. There shall be elected in each county, three county commissioners for the purpose of transacting all county business, whose time of service, power, and duties shall be regulated and defined by law.

§ 5. The governor, secretary, and judges, and all other officers under the territorial government shall continue in the exercise of the duties of their respective departments until the said officers are superceded under the authority of this constitution.

§ 6. The governor of this state shall make use of his private seal, until a state seal shall be provided.

§ 7. The oaths of office herein directed to be taken, may be administered by any justice of the peace until the general assembly shall otherwise direct.

§ 8. Until the first census shall be taken as directed by this constitution, the county of Madison shall be entitled to one senator and three representatives; the county of St. Clair, to one senator and three representatives the county of Bond, to one senator and one representative; the county of Washington, to one senator and one representative; the county of Monroe, to one senator and one representative; the county of Randolph, to one senator and two representatives; the county of Jackson, to one senator and one representative; the counties of Johnson and Franklin to form one senatorial district, and to be entitled to one senator, and each county to one representative; the county of Union, to one senator and two representatives; the county of Pope, to one senator and two representatives; the county of Gallatin, to one senator and three representatives; the county of White, to one senator and three representatives; the county of Edwards, to one senator and two representatives; and the county of Crawford, to one senator and two representatives.

§ 9. The president of the convention shall issue writs of election directed to the several sheriffs of the several counties, or in case of the absence or disability of any sheriff, then to the deputy sheriff, and in case of the absence or disability of the deputy sheriff, then such writ to be directed to the coroner, requiring them to cause an election to be held for governor, lieutenant governor, representative to the present congress of the United States, and members to the general assembly, and sheriffs and coroners in the respective counties; such election to commence on the third Thursday of September next, and to continue for that and the two succeeding days; and which election shall be conducted in the manner prescribed by the existing election laws of the Illinois territory; and the said governor, lieutenant governor, members of the general assembly, sheriffs, and coroners, then duly elected, shall continue to exercise the duties of their respective offices for the time prescribed by this constitution, and until their successor or successors are qualified, and no longer.

§ 10. An auditor of public accounts, an attorney general, and such other officers for the state as may be necessary, may be appointed by the general assembly, whose duties may be regulated by law.

§ 11. It shall be the duty of the general assembly to enact such laws as may be necessary and proper to prevent the practice of dueling.

§ 12. All white male inhabitants above the age of 21 years, who shall be actual residents of this state, at the signing of this constitution, shall have a right to a vote at the election to be held on the third Thursday and the two following days of September next.

§ 13. The seat of government for the state shall be at Kaskaskia until the general assembly shall otherwise provide. The general assembly, at their first session holden under the authority of this constitution, shall petition the congress of the United States, to grant to this state a quantity of land, to consist of not more than four, nor less than one section, or to give to this state the right of preëmption in the purchase of the said quantity of land. The said land to be situate on the Kaskaskia river, and as near as may be, east of the third principal meridian on said river. Should the prayer of such petition be granted, the general assembly, at their next session thereafter, shall provide for the appointment of five commissioners to make the selection of said land so granted; and shall further provide for laying out a town upon the said land so selected; which town, so laid out, shall be the seat of government of this state for the term of 20 years. Should, however, the prayer of said petition not be granted, the general assembly shall have power to make such provision for a permanent seat of government as may be necessary, and shall fix the same where they may think best.

§ 14. Any person of 30 years of age who is a citizen of the United States and has resided within the limits of this state two years next preceding his election, shall be eligible to the office of lieutenant governor: anything in § 13 Art. III. of this constitution contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Done in convention at Kaskaskia, the twenty-sixth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the forty-third.

In testimony whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names:

JESSE B. THOMAS,
President of the convention and representative from the county of St. Clair.

JOHN MESSINGER, JAMES LEMON, jr. — St. Clair County.
GEORGE FISHER, ELIAS KENT KANE — Randolph County.
B[ENJ]. STEPHENSON, JOSEPH BOROUGH, ABRAHAM PRICKETT — Madison County.
MICHAEL JONES, LEONARD WHITE, ADOLPHUS F'D'K HUBBARD — Gallatin County.
HEZEKIAH WEST, WILLIAM M'FATRIDGE — Johnson County.
SETH GARD, LEVI COMPTON — Edwards County.
WILLIS HARGRAVE, WILLIAM M'HENRY — White Co.
CALDWELL CAIRNS, ENOCH MOORE — Monroe County.
SAMUEL OMELVANY, HAMLET FERGUSON — Pope County.
CONRAD WILL, JAMES HALL, jr. — Jackson County.
JOSEPH KITCHELL, ED. N. CULLOM — Crawford Co.
THOS. KILPATRICK, SAMUEL G. MORSE — Bond County.
WILLIAM ECHOLS, JOHN WHITEAKER — Union County.
ANDREW BANKSON — Washington Co.
ISHAM HARRISON, THOMAS ROBERTS — Franklin Cou'ty.

Attest, WM. C. GREENUP,
Secretary to the Convention.

Ordinance accepting the Enabling Act.

Adopted at Kaskaskia, 26 August, 1818, by the convention which framed the first constitution of Illinois.

WHEREAS, the congress of the United States, in the act entitled "An act to enable the people of the Illinois territory to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states," passed the 18th of April, 1818, have offered to this convention for their free acceptance or rejection, the following propositions, which, if accepted by the convention, are obligatory upon the United States, viz.:

(Sections 1, 2, 3, and 4, are omitted — the same being copied from the enabling act in section 6 above.)

And whereas, the four foregoing propositions are offered on the condition that this convention shall provide by ordinance, irrevocable without the consent of the United States, that every and each tract of land sold by the United States, from and after the first day of January, 1819, shall remain exempt from any tax laid by order, or under the authority of the state, whether for state, county, or township, or any other purpose whatever, for the term of five years from and after the day of sale. And further, that the bounty lands granted, or hereafter to be granted for military services during the late war, shall, while they continue to be held by the patentees or their heirs, remain exempt as aforesaid from all taxes for the term of three years from and after the date of the patents respectively; and that all the lands belonging to the citizens of the United States, residing without the said state shall never be taxed higher than lands belonging to persons residing therein.

Therefore, this convention, on behalf of, and by the authority of the people of the state, do accept of the foregoing propositions; and do further ordain and declare, that every and each tract of land sold by the United States, from and after the first day of January, 1819, shall remain exempt from any tax laid by order, or under any authority of the state, whether for state, county, or township, or any purpose whatever, for the term of five years from and after the day of sale. And that the bounty lands granted, or hereafter to be granted, for military services during the late war, shall, while they continue to be held by the patentees or their heirs, remain exempt, as aforesaid, from all taxes for the term of three years from and after the date of the patents respectively; and that all the lands belonging to the citizens of the United States, residing without the said state, shall never be taxed higher than lands belonging to persons residing therein. And this convention do further ordain and declare, that the foregoing ordinance shall not be revoked without the consent of the United States.

Resolution of Congress, December 3, 1818.

Declaring the admission of the State of Illinois into the Union.

WHEREAS, in pursuance of an act of congress, passed on the 18th day of April, 1818, entitled "An act to enable the people of the Illinois territory to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union, on an equal footing with the original states," the people of the said territory did, on the 26th day of August, in the present year, by a convention called for that purpose, form for themselves a constitution and state government, which con-

stitution and state government, so formed, is republican, and in conformity to the principles of the articles of compact between the original states and the people and states in the territory northwest of the river Ohio, passed on the 13th day of July, 1787: Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the State of Illinois shall be one and is hereby declared to be one of the United States of America, and admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever.

Congressional Apportionment under the Constitution of 1818.

UNTIL 1832, the State constituted one congressional district. Under the act of February 13, 1831, it was divided into three districts as follows:

First District—The counties of Alexander, Bond, Clinton, Franklin, Gallatin, Jackson, Johnson, Macoupin, Madison, Monroe, Perry, Pope, Randolph, St. Clair, Union, and Washington.

Second District—Clark, Clay, Coles, Crawford, Edgar, Edwards, Fayette, Hamilton, Jefferson, Lawrence, Marion, Montgomery, Shelby, Vermilion, Wabash, Wayne, and White.

Third District—Adams, Calhoun, Cook, Fulton, Greene, Hancock, Henry, Jo Daviess, Knox, LaSalle, Macon, McDonough, McLean, Mercer, Morgan, Peoria, Pike, Putnam, Sangamon, Schuyler, Tazewell, and Warren.

Under the act of March 1, 1843, the State was divided into seven districts as follows:

First District—The counties of Alexandria, Bond, Jackson, Madison, Monroe, Perry, Randolph, St. Clair, Union, and Washington.

Second District—Edwards, Franklin, Gallatin, Hamilton, Hardin, Jefferson, Johnson, Pope, Marion, Massac, Wabash, Wayne, White, and Williamson.

Third District—Christian, Clark, Clay, Coles, Crawford, DeWitt, Edgar, Effingham, Fayette, Jasper, Lawrence, Macon, Montgomery, Moultrie, Piatt, Richland, and Shelby.

Fourth District—Boone, Bureau, Champaign, Cook, DeKalb, Dupage, Grundy, Iroquois, Kane, Kendall, Lake, LaSalle, Livingston, McHenry, McLean, Vermilion, and Will.

Fifth District—Adams, Brown, Calhoun, Fulton, Greene, Jersey, Macoupin, Marquette, Peoria, Pike, and Schuyler.

Sixth District—Carroll, Hancock, Henderson, Henry, Jo Daviess, Knox, Lee, McDonough, Mercer, Ogle, Rock Island, Stark, Stephenson, Warren, Whiteside, and Winnebago.

Seventh District—Cass, Logan, Marshall, Mason, Menard, Morgan, Putnam, Sangamon, Scott, Tazewell, and Woodford.

Table showing the Genesis and Growth of Counties.

COUNTIES	ORIGIN* OF NAME	ESTABLISHED	PRESENT COUNTY SEAT	POPULATION 1820	1830	1835	1840	1845
Adams†	John Adams	Jan. 13, 1825	Quincy	-------	2,186	7,091	14,476	19,399
Alexander	William M. Alexander	Mar. 4, 1819	Cairo	626	1,390	2,030	3,313	1,307
Bond	Gov. Shadrach Bond	Jan. 4, 1817	Greenville	2931	3,124	3,560	5,060	6,218
Boone	Daniel Boone	Mar. 4, 1837	Belvidere	-------	-------	-------	1,705	5,508
Brown	Gen. Jacob Brown	Feb. 1, 1839	Mt. Sterling	-------	-------	-------	4,183	5,372
Bureau	Pierre de Buero, an Indian trader	Feb. 28, 1837	Princeton	-------	-------	-------	3,067	5,303
Calhoun	John C. Calhoun	Jan. 10, 1825	Hardin	-------	1,090	1,091	1,741	2,242
Carroll	Charles Carroll of Carrollton	Feb. 22, 1839	Mt. Carroll	-------	-------	-------	1,023	2,622
Cass	Gen. Lewis Cass	Mar. 3, 1837	Virginia	-------	-------	-------	2,981	5,409
Champaign	A county in Ohio	Feb. 20, 1833	Urbana	-------	-------	1,038	1,475	2,041
Christian	A county in Kentucky	Feb. 15, 1839	Taylorville	-------	-------	-------	1,878	2,168
Clark	George Rogers Clark	Feb. 22, 1819	Marshall	931	3,940	3,413	7,453	10,496
Clay	Henry Clay	Dec. 23, 1824	Louisville	-------	755	1,418	3,228	3,558
Clinton	DeWitt Clinton	Dec. 27, 1824	Carlyle	-------	2,330	2,648	3,718	5,033
Coles	Gov. Edward Coles	Dec. 25, 1830	Charleston	-------	-------	5,142	9,616	8,675
Cook	Daniel P. Cook	Jan. 15, 1831	Chicago	-------	-------	9,825	10,201	21,581
Crawford	William H. Crawford	Dec. 31, 1816	Robinson	2999	3,117	3,504	4,422	6,336
Cumberland	Cumberland Road	May 1, 1843	Majority Point	-------	-------	-------	-------	2,859
DeKalb	Baron DeKalb	Mar. 4, 1837	Sycamore	-------	-------	-------	1,697	4,013
DeWitt	DeWitt Clinton	Mar. 1, 1839	Clinton	-------	-------	-------	3,247	3,316
Douglas	Stephen A. Douglas	Feb. 13, 1857	Tuscola	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------
DuPage	DuPage River	Feb. 9, 1839	Wheaton	-------	-------	-------	3,535	7,194
Edgar	John Edgar	Jan. 3, 1823	Paris	-------	4,071	6,668	8,225	9,265
Edwards	Gov. Ninian Edwards	Nov. 28, 1814	Albion	3444	1,649	2,006	3,070	3,287
Effingham	Gen. Edward Effingham	Feb. 15, 1831	Effingham	-------	-------	1,055	1,675	2,561
Fayette	Marquis de la Fayette	Feb. 14, 1821	Vandalia	-------	2,704	3,734	6,328	7,849
Ford	Gov. Thomas Ford	Feb. 17, 1859	Paxton	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------
Franklin	Benjamin Franklin	Jan. 2, 1818	Benton	1763	4,083	5,551	3,682	4,978
Fulton	Robert Fulton	Jan. 28, 1823	Lewiston	-------	1,841	5,917	13,142	17,155
Gallatin	Albert Gallatin	Sept. 14, 1812	Shawneetown	3155	7,405	7,901	10,760	10,891
Greene	Gen. Nathaniel Greene	Jan. 20, 1821	Carrollton	-------	7,674	12,082	11,951	11,562
Grundy	Felix Grundy	Feb. 17, 1841	Morris	-------	-------	-------	-------	1,314
Hamilton	Alexander Hamilton	Feb. 8, 1821	McLeansboro	-------	2,616	2,811	3,945	5,726
Hancock	John Hancock	Jan. 13, 1825	Carthage	-------	483	3,238	9,946	22,559

* The author is indebted to Wm. R. Sandham of Wyoming, Ill., for valuable information in preparing this table.

† The census of 1845 includes that of Marquette County, 5888, established Feb. 11, 1843, and the name changed to Highland, Feb. 27, 1847, to be reorganized after favorable vote; failing to organize, the territory reverted to Adams County.

COUNTIES	ORIGIN OF NAME	ESTABLISHED	PRESENT COUNTY SEAT	POPULATION 1820	1830	1835	1840	1845
Hardin	A county in Kentucky*	Mar. 2, 1839	Elizabethtown	----	----	----	1,378	1,800
Henderson	Henderson River†	Jan. 20, 1841	Oquawka	----	----	----	----	3,418
Henry	Patrick Henry	Jan. 13, 1825	Cambridge	----	41	----	1,260	2,327
Iroquois	Iroquois Indians	Feb. 26, 1833	Watseka	----	----	1,164	1,695	2,730
Jackson	Andrew Jackson	Jan. 10, 1816	Murphysboro	1542	1,828	2,783	3,566	5,040
Jasper	Sergt. William Jasper	Feb. 15, 1831	Newton	----	----	415	1,472	2,360
Jefferson	Thomas Jefferson	Mar. 26, 1819	Mt. Vernon	691	2,555	3,350	5,762	7,613
Jersey	New Jersey	Feb. 28, 1839	Jerseyville	----	----	----	4,535	5,659
Jo Daviess	Col. Jo. Daviess	Feb. 17, 1827	Galena	----	2,111	3,986	6,180	12,625
Johnson	Col. Richard M. Johnson	Sept. 14, 1812	Vienna	843	1,596	2,166	3,626	3,822
Kane	Senator Elias K. Kane	Jan. 16, 1836	Geneva	----	----	----	6,501	12,721
Kankakee	Indian	Feb. 11, 1851	Kankakee	----	----	----	----	----
Kendall	Amos Kendall	Feb. 19, 1841	Yorkville	----	----	----	----	5,402
Knox	Gen. Henry Knox	Jan. 13, 1825	Galesburg	----	274	2,340	7,060	9,680
Lake	Local	Mar. 1, 1839	Waukegan	----	----	----	7,654	8,236
LaSalle	LaSalle, the explorer	Jan. 15, 1831	Ottawa	----	----	4,742	9,348	10,149
Lawrence	Com. James Lawrence	Jan. 10, 1821	Lawrenceville	----	3,668	4,450	7,092	5,469
Lee	Richard Henry Lee	Feb. 27, 1839	Dixon	----	----	----	2,035	3,282
Livingston	Edward Livingston	Feb. 27, 1837	Pontiac	----	----	----	759	1,000
Logan	Dr. John Logan	Feb. 15, 1839	Lincoln	----	----	----	2,333	3,907
McDonough	Com. Thomas McDonough	Jan. 25, 1826	Macomb	----	----	2,868	5,308	6,266
McHenry	Gen. William McHenry	Jan. 16, 1836	Woodstock	----	----	----	2,578	10,047
McLean	John McLean	Dec. 25, 1830	Bloomington	----	----	5,308	6,565	6,904
Macon	Nathaniel Macon	Jan. 19, 1829	Decatur	----	1,122	3,022	3,039	2,929
Macoupin	Macoupin Creek	Jan. 17, 1829	Carlinville	----	1,990	5,556	7,826	10,092
Madison	James Madison	Sept. 14, 1812	Edwardsville	13,550	6,221	9,061	14,433	17,959
Marion	Gen. Francis Marion	Jan. 24, 1823	Salem	----	2,125	2,844	4,742	6,177
Marshall	John Marshall	Jan. 19, 1839	Lacon	----	----	----	1,849	2,833
Mason	A county in Kentucky	Jan. 20, 1841	Havanna	----	----	----	----	3,135
Massac	Fort Massac	Jan. 8, 1843	Metropolis	----	----	----	----	3,198
Menard	Pierre Menard	Feb. 15, 1839	Petersburg	----	----	----	4,431	4,807
Mercer	Gen. Hugh Mercer	Jan. 13, 1825	Aledo	----	26	497	2,352	4,279
Monroe	James Monroe	June 1, 1816	Waterloo	1516	2,000	2,760	4,481	6,083
Montgomery	Gen. Richard Montgomery	Jan. 12, 1821	Hillsboro	----	2,953	3,740	4,490	5,586

* From Col. John Hardin of Kentucky. † From Col. Rich'd Henderson of Ky.

NOTE.—The name of Illinois, the first county established in the State by Virginia in 1778, was changed under the organization of the Northwest Territory to that of St. Clair, in March, 1790. Randolph was established in 1795. These two counties

Morgan	Gen. Daniel Morgan	Jan. 31, 1823
Moultrie	Gen. William Moultrie	Feb. 16, 1843
Ogle	Lieut. Joseph Ogle	Jan. 16, 1836
Peoria	Peoria Indians	Jan. 13, 1825
Perry	Com. Oliver H. Perry	Jan. 29, 1827
Piatt	The Piatt family, first settlers	Jan. 27, 1841
Pike	Zebulon M. Pike	Jan. 31, 1821
Pope	Nathaniel Pope	April 1, 1816
Pulaski	Baron Casimir Pulaski	Mar. 3, 1843
Putnam	Gen. Israel Putnam	Jan. 13, 1825
Randolph	Beverly Randolph	Apr. 28, 1809
Richland	A county in Ohio	Feb. 24, 1841
Rock Island	Local	Feb. 9, 1831
St. Clair	Gen. Arthur St. Clair	Apr. 28, 1809
Saline	Saline Creek	Feb. 25, 1847
Sangamon	Indian	Jan. 13, 1821
Schuyler	Gen. Philip Schuyler	Jan. 13, 1825
Scott	A county in Kentucky*	Feb. 16, 1839
Shelby	Gov. Isaac Shelby	Jan. 23, 1827
Stark	Gen. John Stark	Mar. 2, 1839
Stephenson	Col. Benjamin Stephenson	Mar. 4, 1837
Tazewell	Gov. Littleton W. Tazewell	Jan. 31, 1827
Union	The Union	Jan. 2, 1818
Vermilion	Vermilion River	Jan. 18, 1826
Wabash	Wabash River	Dec. 27, 1824
Warren	Gen. Joseph Warren	Jan. 13, 1825
Washington	George Washington	Jan. 2, 1818
Wayne	Gen. Anthony Wayne	Mar. 26, 1819
White	Capt. Isaac White	Dec. 9, 1815
Whiteside	Col. Samuel Whiteside	Jan. 16, 1836
Will	Conrad Will	Jan. 12, 1836
Williamson	A county in Tennessee	Feb. 28, 1839
Winnebago	Indian	Jan. 16, 1836
Woodford	A county in Kentucky	Feb. 27, 1841

were re-established and continued with the same names and boundaries by the Illinois territorial government in 1809. Their population in 1800 was reported as follows: Randolph, 1103; St. Clair, 1255; and in 1810: Randolph, 7275; St. Clair, 5007.

* From Gen. Charles Scott, governor of Kentucky

Jacksonville	-------	12,714	19,214	19,547	16,541
Sullivan	-------	-------	-------	-------	2,492
Oregon	-------	-------	-------	3,479	6,113
Peoria	-------	-------	3,220	6,153	10,549
Pinckneyville	-------	1,215	2,041	3,222	4,681
Monticello	-------	-------	-------	-------	1,037
Pittsfield	-------	2,396	6,037	11,728	15,972
Golconda	2610	3,316	3,755	4,094	4,057
Mound City	-------	-------	-------	-------	1,795
Hennepin	-------	1,310	3,948	2,131	3,129
Chester	3492	4,429	5,695	7,944	8,819
Olney	-------	-------	-------	-------	3,844
Rock Island	-------	-------	616	2,610	5,058
Belleville	5248	7,078	9,074	13,631	17,358
Harrisburg	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------
Springfield	-------	12,960	7,571	14,716	186,97
Rushville	-------	2,959	6,265	6,972	8,581
Winchester	-------	-------	-------	6,215	6,553
Shelbyville	-------	2,972	4,828	6,659	6,972
Toulon	-------	-------	-------	1,573	2,489
Freeport	-------	-------	-------	2,800	6,244
Pekin	-------	4,716	5,878	7,221	7,615
Jonesboro	2362	3,239	4,175	5,524	6,030
Danville	-------	5,836	8,103	9,303	10,235
Mt. Carmel	-------	2,710	2,939	4,240	4,360
Monmouth	-------	308	2,613	6,739	6,101
Nashville	1517	1,675	3,282	4,810	5,895
Fairfield	1114	2,553	2,933	5,133	6,497
Carmi	4828	6,091	6,214	7,919	8,087
Morrison	-------	-------	-------	2,514	3,761
Joliet	-------	-------	-------	10,167	10,156
Marion	-------	-------	-------	4,457	5,780
Rockford	-------	-------	-------	4,609	7,831
Metamora	-------	-------	-------	-------	3,288
	55,162	157,445	269,974	476,183	662,150

State Officers under the Constitution of 1818:

GOVERNORS:

NAME.	PLACE AND DATE OF BIRTH.	INAUGURATED.	DEATH.
Shadrach Bond,	Frederick Co., Md., 1773,	Oct. 6, 1818,	Apr. 12, 1832.
Edward Coles,	Virginia, Dec. 15, 1786,	Dec. 5, 1822,	July 7, 1868.
Ninian Edwards,	Maryland, Mar. 17, 1775,	Dec. 6, 1826,	July 20, 1833.
John Reynolds,	Penn., Feb. 26, 1788,	Dec. 9, 1830,	May 8, 1865.
Wm. Lee D. Ewing,*	Kentucky, 1794,	Nov. 17, 1834,	Mar. 26, 1846.
Joseph Duncan,	Kentucky, Feb. 22, 1794,	Dec. 3, 1834,	Jan. 15, 1844.
Thomas Carlin,	Kentucky, July 18, 1789,	Dec. 7, 1838,	Feb. 14, 1852.
Thomas Ford,	Penn., Dec. 5, 1800,	Dec. 8, 1842,	Nov. 3, 1850.
Augustus C. French,	N.H., Aug. 2, 1808,	Dec. 9, 1846,	Sept. 4, 1864.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS:

NAME.	INAUGURATED.	FROM WHAT COUNTY.	REMARKS.
Pierre Menard,	Oct. 6, 1818,	Randolph,	died June 14, 1844.
Adolphus Fred'k Hubbard,	Dec. 5, 1822,	Gallatin,	
William Kinney,	Dec. 6, 1826,	St. Clair,	born in Ky., 1781.
Zadok Casey,	Dec. 9, 1830,	Jefferson,	resigned Mar. 1, 1833.
Wm. Lee D. Ewing,	Mar. 1, 1833,	Fayette,	pres. of senate and act-
Alexander M. Jenkins,	Dec. 5, 1834,	Jackson,	resigned. [ing lt.-gov.
William H. Davidson,	Dec. 9, 1836,	White,	pres. of senate and act-
Stinson H. Anderson,	Dec. 7, 1838,	Jefferson,	[ing lt.-gov.
John Moore,	Dec. 9, 1842,	McLean,	born 1793, died 1863.
Joseph B. Wells,	Dec. 5, 1846,	Rock Island.	

SECRETARIES OF STATE:

Elias Kent Kane,	Oct. 6, 1818,	Randolph,	resigned Dec. 16, 1822.
Samuel D. Lockwood,	Dec. 18, 1822,	Madison,	resigned Apr. 2, 1823.
David Blackwell,	Apr. 2, 1823,	St. Clair,	resigned Oct. 15, 1824.
Morris Birkbeck,	Oct. 15, 1824,	Edwards,	resigned Jan. 15, 1825.
George Forquer,	Jan. 17, 1825,	Sangamon,	resigned Dec. 31, 1828.
Alexander Pope Field,	Dec. 31, 1828,	Union,	rem'v'd Nov. 30, 1840.
Stephen A. Douglas,	Nov. 30, 1840,	Morgan,	resigned Feb. 27, 1841.
Lyman Trumbull,	Feb. 27, 1841,	St. Clair,	removed Mar. 4, 1843.
Thompson Campbell,	Mar. 4, 1843,	Jo Daviess,	resigned Dec. 23, 1846.
Horace S. Cooley,	Dec. 23, 1846,	Adams,	elected in 1848.

AUDITORS OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS:

Elijah C. Berry,	Oct. 9, 1818,	Fayette,	continued in office
James T. B. Stapp,	Aug. 27, 1831,	Fayette,	[until 1831.
Levi Davis,	Nov. 16, 1835,	Madison,	
James Shields,	Mar. 4, 1841,	Randolph,	resigned. [Mar. 26,'46.
Wm. Lee D. Ewing,	Mar. 2, 1843,	Fayette,	reëlected Feb.'45; died
Thomas H. Campbell,	Mar. 26, 1846,	Randolph,	elec. by G. A. Jan. 7,'47

* *Vice* Reynolds, who, on being elected to congress, resigned Nov. 17, 1834.

STATE TREASURERS:

NAME.	INAUGURATED.	FROM WHAT COUNTY.	REMARKS.
John Thomas,	Oct., 1818,	St. Clair,	
Robert K. McLaughlin,	Aug. 2, 1819,	Fayette,	
Abner Field,	Jan. 14, 1823,	Union,	
James Hall,	Feb. 12, 1827,	Gallatin,	
John Dement,	Feb. 5, 1831,	Franklin,	resigned Dec. 3, 1836.
Charles Gregory,	Feb. 5, 1836,	Greene,	
John D. Whiteside,	Mar. 4. 1837,	Monroe,	
Milton Carpenter,	Mar. 6, 1841,	Hamilton,	reëlected Jan. 2, 1847.

ATTORNEY-GENERALS:

Daniel Pope Cook,	Mar. 5, 1819,	Randolph,	resigned.
William Mears,	Dec. 14, 1819,	St. Clair,	
Samuel D. Lockwood,	Feb. 26, 1821,	Madison,	resigned.
James Turney,	Jan. 14, 1823,	Washington,	reëlected in 1825.
George Forquer,	Jan. 23, 1829,	Monroe,	resigned Dec. 3, 1832.
James Semple,	Jan. 30, 1833,	Madison,	res. [Jan. 1, '35; res.
Ninian W. Edwards,	Sept. 1, 1834,	Sangamon,	app. and elec. by G. A.
Jesse Burgess Thomas, jr.,	Feb. 12, 1835,	Madison,	resigned Jan. 8, 1836.
Walter B. Scates,	Jan. 18, 1836,	Jefferson,	resigned Dec. 26, 1836.
Usher F. Linder,	Feb. 4, 1837,	Coles,	resigned June 11, '38.
George W. Olney,	June 26, 1838,	Madison,	resigned Feb. 1, 1839.
Wickliffe Kitchell,	Mar. 5, 1839,	Crawford,	resigned Nov. 19, 1840.
Josiah Lamborn,	Dec. 23, 1840,	Morgan,	
James Allen McDougall,	Jan. 12, 1843,	Morgan,	
David B. Campbell,	Dec. 21, 1846,	Sangamon,	

ADJUTANT-GENERALS:

William M. Alexander,	Apr. 24, 1819,	Randolph,	
Elijah C. Berry,	June 11, 1821,	Fayette,	
James W. Berry,	Dec. 19, 1828,	Fayette,	resigned Nov. 11, 1839.
Moses K. Anderson,	Dec. 16, 1839,	Sangamon.	

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